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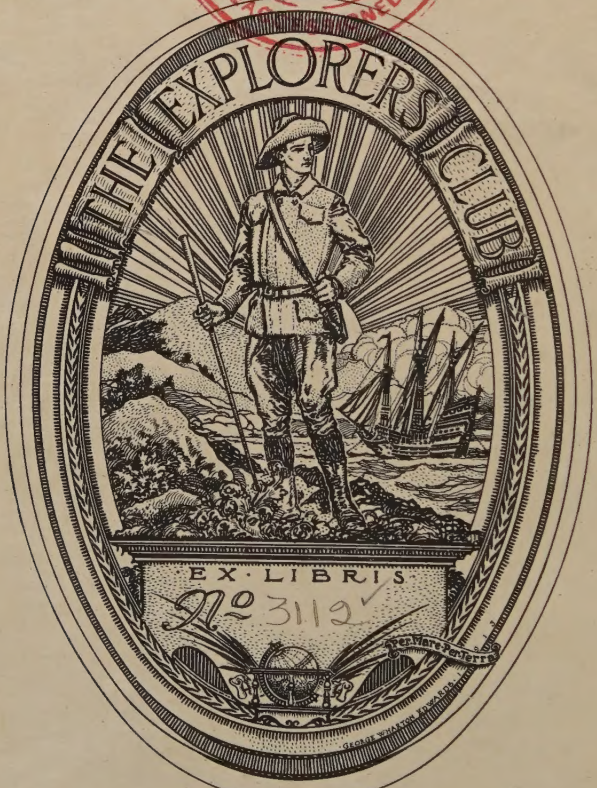

PRESENTED BY

James B. Ford, Esq

Case Shelf

THE STATE FLOWER

Chapter 219, Laws of 1903. That on and after the passage of this act the state floral emblem of South Dakota shall be the Pasque Flower (Anemone patens), with the accompanying motto: "I Lead."

While wasting snowdrifts, lingering, enshroud,
You, smiling, cheer the chill, despondent field;
Unerringly to prophesy the proud
And gorgeous beauties that the summers yield.

So, South Dakota, be it thine to lead;
Thy smile to light affliction's dreary time,
While o'er the drifts you scatter wisdom's seed,
And harvest glory in the season's prime.

EXPLORERS
JAMES B. FORD
LIBRARY

SOUTH DAKOTA

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND ENGRAVINGS

—COMPILED BY THE—

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME II

1904

1904
News Printing Co.
Aberdeen, S. D.

Copyrighted 1904 by Doane Robinson, Secretary, for the benefit of the
State Historical Society

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CONTENTS

PART I

I. Letter of Transmittal.

II. Report of the Secretary.

III. Report of the Curator.

IV. Excerpts from Official Correspondence.

V. First Annual Review of the Progress of South Dakota for 1901.

VI. Second Annual Review of the Progress of South Dakota for 1902.

VII. Third Annual Review of the Progress of South Dakota for 1903.

VIII. Bibliography of South Dakota Official Publications, compiled by Ferd J. Goodfellow.

IX. Descriptive Catalogue of South Dakota Bound Books exhibited at St. Louis Exposition.

X. Historical Sketch of South Dakota, prepared by Doane Robinson for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commissioners.

XI. Biennial Address of President Thomas L. Riggs.

XII. Address of Bishop Thomas O'Gorman.

XIII. Analytical Index to Part I.

PART II

A Comprehensive History of the Dakota or Sioux Indians, by Doane Robinson.

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

His Excellency, Charles N. Herreid,
Governor of South Dakota.

Sir: Herewith please find the second biennial report of the State Historical Society for the period ending June 30, 1904, as required by section 28, chapter 135 of the laws of 1901.

DOANE ROBINSON,
Secretary.

Pierre, June 30, 1904.

BIENNIAL REPORT

The State Historical Society of South Dakota was duly organized on January 21, 1901, and was chartered as the Department of History by act of the legislature of February 5, 1901. It is composed of the following life, annual, honorary and corresponding members:

LIFE MEMBERS

Thomas O'Gorman, Sioux Falls
O. C. Berg, Redfield
Robert F. Kerr, Brookings
Burton A. Cummins, Pierre
David Eastman, Wilmot
Cassius C. Bennett, Pierre
Emiel Brauch, Hurley
C. B. Billinghurst, Pierre
E. E. Collins, Vermillion
Howard C. Shober, Highmore
William H. Roddle, Brookings
*John L. Pyle, Huron
Isaac Lincoln, Aberdeen
Coe I. Crawford, Huron
Frank Crane, Watertown
Robert J. Gamble, Yankton
John Hayes, Fort Pierre
John Schamber, Freeman
Joseph M. Greene, Chamberlain
Dick Haney, Mitchell
Robert E. McDowell, Yankton
Pattison F. McClure, Pierre
E. P. Farr, Pierre
Louis G. Ochsenreiter, Webster
Charles M. Daley, Huron
John D. Lavin, Aberdeen
Frank A. Morris, Huron
James D. Elliott, Tyndall
John T. Kean, Woonsocket
Nathan P. Johnson, Vinita, Indian Ter.
Charles L. Hyde, Pierre
F. W. Boettcher, Eureka
John E. Hipple, Pierre
Seth Bullock, Deadwood
James D. Reeves, Groton
L. B. Albright, Pierre
Charles H. Burke, Pierre
Louis K. Lord, Parker
Garrett Droppers, Vermillion
George V. Ayres, Deadwood
John Sutherland, Pierre
Thomas M. Shanafelt, Huron
Charles N. Herreid, Eureka
John Q. Anderson, Crow Creek Agency
Thomas L. Riggs, Oahe
E. H. Wilson, Salem
George W. Snow, Springfield
Mrs. George W. Snow, Springfield
N. C. Nash, Canton
Ellery C. Chilcott, Brookings
Charles E. DeLand, Pierre
Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson, Pierre
Doane Robinson, Aberdeen
G. J. Schellenger, Selby
Marcus P. Beebe, Ipswich
James Halley, Rapid City
Samuel Grant Dewell, Pierre
John Westdahl, Huron
B. F. Pucket, Hosmer
Herman Ellerman, Aberdeen
Charles B. Foncanon, Eureka
Theodore F. Riggs, Oahe
Cephas W. Ainsworth, Oak Park, Illinois
Charles E. McKinney, Sioux Falls
James M. Brown, Eureka
Walter M. Cheever, Brookings
Ben C. Ash, Pierre
David E. Lloyd, Yankton
Sidney R. Gold, Big Stone
Horace G. Tilton, Vermillion
David Williams, Webster
Edmund Cook, Wilmot
O. S. Swenson, Sioux Falls
Philip Lawrence, Huron

*Died February 21, 1902.

John D. Logan, New York City
Ernest J. Warner, Leslie
Joseph William Parmley, Ipswich
Charles Bartlett Kennedy, Canton
William Herbert Thrall, Huron
Charles A. Howard, Aberdeen
Thomas M. Goddard, Hot Springs
Morris A. Lange, Canistota
Abraham Lincoln VanOsdel, Mission Hill
George Grosvener Lasell, Waubay
G. T. Notson, Pierre
Mary Noyes Farr, Pierre
Myrtle Richmond, Ree Heights
Dr. Richard L. Smith, Ree Heights
George W. Nash, Canton
Irwin Dayton Aldrich, Big Stone
Eben W. Martin, Deadwood
William Peake Dunlevy, Pierre
Ferdinand Jasper Goodfellow, Brookings

HONORARY MEMBERS

Pierre Chouteau, St. Louis, Missouri
Rev. John P. Williamson, Greenwood
Moses K. Armstrong, St. James, Minnesota

ANNUAL MEMBERS WHOSE TERMS HAVE EXPIRED

J. H. Maynard, Waubay
Henry Kimball Warren, Yankton
Eugene Huntington, Webster
Willis Bower, Senate Annex, Washington, D. C.
Frank L. Fuller, Pierre
John F. Schroeder, Rapid City
Robert C. Hayes, Deadwood
Ernest May, Lead
J. L. Knowles, Sioux Falls
A. Clarence Hipple, Pierre
Johnston Jeffries, Pierre

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

Reuben Gold Thwaites, Madison, Wisconsin
Warren Upham, St. Paul, Minnesota
Charles Aldrich, DesMoines, Iowa
Grace King, Baton Rouge, Louisiana
Jay Amos Barrett, Lincoln, Nebraska

As provided by the charter, the affairs of the department are administered by an executive committee, consisting of the governor, secretary of state, state auditor and the secretary of the State Historical Society and the following elective members: Thomas L. Riggs, Thomas M. Shanafelt, Robert F. Kerr and DeLorme W. Robinson, whose terms expire January, 1905; Charles E. DeLand, Burton A. Cummins, John Hayes and Charles M. Daley, whose terms expire January, 1907; Seth Bullock, George W. Nash and Louis K. Lord, whose terms expire January, 1909.

The officers for the current period are Thomas L. Riggs, president; Thomas M. Shanafelt, vice president; Doane Robinson, secretary, and Ferd J. Goodfellow, curator. The state treasurer is ex-officio treasurer of the society.

The following tables show the financial condition of the department. All of its financial operations are conducted through the regular channels of the state and all payments are made upon regular state warrants issued upon verified vouchers duly

audited by the state auditor. Duplicate vouchers for all transactions are kept on file in the office of the department. To bring the exhibit into harmony with the fiscal year established by the state a complete report is made from organization down to this date, June 30, 1904:

STATE APPROPRIATIONS

1901 and 1902—

Appropriation	$500.00

EXPENDITURES

Freight and express	$ 1.65
Stationery and postage	70.50
Incidentals	44.00
Miscellaneous	1.20
Library	17.26
Furniture and fixtures	307.51
Railway fares	38.18
Hotel bills	19.70
Total expenditures	$500.00

1902 and 1903—

Appropriation	$500.00

EXPENDITURES

Freight and express	$ 53.86
Stationery and postage	28.48
Incidentals	13.30
Miscellaneous	143.42
Library	209.91
Railway fares	22.78
Hotel bills	28.25
Total expenditures	$500.00

1902 and 1903—

Deficiency appropriation	$850.00

EXPENDITURE

Secretary's salary, February 1, 1902—July 1, 1903	850.00

APPROPRIATIONS

1903 and 1904—

Secretary's salary	$1,400.00
Curator's salary	600.00
Expense fund	900.00
Total appropriation	$2,900.00

EXPENDITURES

Secretary's salary	$1,400.00
Curator's salary	600.00

Expense fund—

Freight and express	$103.68
Stationery and postage	159.44
Incidentals	33.05
Miscellaneous	29.01
Library	154.93
Gallery	52.31
Furniture and fixtures	323.25

Railway fares	7.58	
Hotel bills	36.75	
Total expense		$900.00
Total expenditures		$2,900.00

SOCIETY'S PRIVATE FUND

From the date of the organization of the Society to June 30, 1904

RECEIPTS

From life membership fees		$927.65
From annual membership fees	22.00	
From the sale of books	41.80	
Total receipts		$991.45

EXPENDITURES

Freight and express	$ 11.38	
Stationery and postage	58.40	
Incidentals	23.08	
Miscellaneous	41.35	
Library	52.87	
Gallery	3.25	
Furniture and fixtures	13.25	
Railway fares	15.84	
Hotel bills	17.87	
Secretary's salary	612.50	
Total expenditures		$849.79
Cash on hand July 1, 1904		$141.66

The first biennial meeting of the society was, pursuant to law, held at the capitol on the third Wednesday of January, 1903, for the election of three members of the executive committee, resulting in the election of Seth Bullock, George W. Nash and Louis K. Lord. The meeting was largely attended, both by members and the general public. The splendid historical addresses delivered by President Riggs and Bishop O'Gorman are appended as a part of this report.

The legislature provided a small salary for a curator for the society and made it possible to keep the rooms in the capitol open to the public, as well as to systematize the work, build up the library and museum, and make the department a great educational institution in the gathering and dissemination of historical and general information.

At a meeting of the executive committee held on June 20, 1903, Mr. Ferd J. Goodfellow of Brookings was duly elected curator, and for the more convenient transaction of business the following sub-committees were provided for and appointed:

Finance—Burton A. Cummins, Charles E. DeLand and Thomas L. Riggs.

Printing—DeLorme W. Robinson and Charles E. DeLand.
Library—DeLorme W. Robinson and Louis K. Lord.
Museum—Robert F. Kerr and Burton A. Cummins.
Gallery—Charles E. DeLand and George W. Nash.

The secretary is ex-officio a member of all committees except that on finance.

Mr. Goodfellow entered upon the discharge of his duties as curator upon July 1, 1903, and has rendered most efficient service. He has constructed an extensive and rapidly growing index, which makes the wide range of information collected by the society instantly available. This index is so arranged as to permit of infinite expansion, and while already most useful, is destined to become the state's great storehouse of information relating to every topic of state interest, historical, political, geographical, scientific and personal.

In lieu of the system of scrap books in general use in historical societies, a system of document files has been adopted by this department, through which all of the information relating to a given topic is assembled in a single envelope, thus bringing all that is ascertainable upon that topic directly to the attention of the investigator, and to which additional information may be added at any time. This is found to be vastly preferable to scattering the matter through scrap books, requiring painstaking care lest a portion be overlooked at each examination of the topic.

Mr. Goodfellow has been indefatigable in his efforts to build up the library of the society, and we have been able to already secure a creditable working library of Dakota and American history with but a nominal outlay of cash. This has been accomplished through exchanges of the collections of this society and the other state publications for the publications of other states and societies and of individuals.

Section 29 of the charter of this society (chapter 135, laws of 1901) provides that "one hundred copies of each of the official reports and other publications of the state shall be provided for the use of the State Historical Society to be used in exchange with other states and individuals." The commissioner of public printing has not deemed it practicable to carry out this provision of the law up to the present time. It is believed that it could now be done without increasing the number of copies printed

by the state or materially inconveniencing the several officers and departments making reports. If done it would place within the hands of the society a highly valuable means of building up its library.

The miscellaneous library of the state already contains a vast and valuable collection of books, but by reason of the lack of space and lack of attention from any authorized official the library is not accessible to the public, and even the professional reader is not able to find the authorities embraced in it. There is no good reason why the state should build up two miscellaneous libraries, and it would seem wise policy to at once place the state miscellaneous library in the custody of this society and provide means for its classification and arrangement where it will be available to students and others desiring to consult an extensive reference library. About the only expense necessary to accomplish this will be provision for sufficient shelving to properly distribute the books about the capitol building and make them available for use. Until other arrangements are made it is recommended that sectional, glass fronted book cases be purchased, which may be placed about the walls of the various rooms of the capitol, thus distributing the great weight of the library, which is already racking the building.

The thanks of the society are due to the publishers of the state, who have almost unanimously responded to the request of the society for their publications. More than two hundred are now regularly received. It is desired that provision be made for regularly binding these publications into convenient volumes. It is not the intention to attempt the indexing of all of these newspapers, but to keep up an index of one publication from the beginning of the territory, while matters of special importance in all of the papers will be noted in the card index.

For detailed information relating to library, newspapers, museum and gallery of portraiture reference is made to the report of the curator, which is appended.

The society has continued its plan of making at the close of each year a comprehensive review of the progress of the state during the year, and these reports have created great interest and have been widely circulated. The three reviews already made are appended hereto.

The purpose of the society to not only engage in careful

historical research, but to give the results the widest possible circulation among the citizens of the state, with a view to the creation of state pride and the good citizenship consequent upon it, has been pursued. With this end in view the secretary has made fifty-four public addresses upon historical and South Dakota topics, since the last report, before schools and citizens' meetings. The newspapers have not failed to give prompt publicity to all matters of historic interest developed.

Great effort has been put forth to discover, develop and verify facts relating to the history of the region, and as the story of the past is thus placed upon a solid basis of fact the people show a growing pride and reverence for the state and its history.

The correspondence of the society has been extensive and grows with the increasing interest of the people in the work done and as knowledge is extended that the state is sustaining an institution whose business it is to supply authentic information upon topics of interest to the commonwealth and her people. Excerpts from such of the correspondence as develop new facts of general interest are appended. Copies of all letters written are preserved, and letters received are carefully filed, those bearing upon historical topics being indexed through the document file system before mentioned. More than 2,600 letters have been written during the year just ended.

With this report the society presents its second volume of collections, this volume being devoted exclusively to the history of the Dakota family of the Siouan Indians. South Dakota being the heart of the Sioux country and almost all of the great men of that people being natives of our soil, makes the preparation and publication of this the first comprehensive history of them by this society peculiarly fitting. It has been a task of no small magnitude to gather the material for this paper, but it is believed its importance justifies the labor and outlay involved.

It is with something of pride that the society presents to the view of the people its work during the short period of its existence, believing that the wisdom of the legislature in providing its modest endowment has been completely justified.

Respectfully,

DOANE ROBINSON, Secretary.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
State of South Dakota

Pierre, South Dakota, June 30, 1904.

Doane Robinson,
Secretary State Historical Society.

Sir: When I entered upon my duties as curator, July 1, 1903, I found the property of the society in a very disorderly condition. Books, relics and newspapers, as shipped to the society, had been piled on the floor, there being no provision by the legislature for their care. Securing the use of a second room, I immediately set about systematizing and arranging the material in the library, museum, gallery and newspaper division. The room formerly occupied by the society is now used for the office, library and a portion of the portraits of the gallery. The second room is occupied by the newspaper division and duplicate books. Last October our two rooms became so crowded that it became necessary to move the museum into a third room. This museum room will also be used as a gallery for portraits which are received in the future.

In connection with the museum I wish to mention the flag case, the winged exhibition stand for the display of interesting letters and papers, and the photograph case, which have been placed in this room. The flag case was an absolute necessity, as the flags were being destroyed by dust and constant handling. If we were to display our letters and papers of historic interest we must have some device which would place them in readable form and still protect them against handling. The winged exhibition stand, planned by yourself, was the very thing needed. Our photograph case, while holding all photographs in a convenient way for exhibition, also keeps them clean and attractive.

It gives me great pleasure to report that the old-fashioned hide tepee, which Hump and other prominent Sioux chiefs have been making for this society, is now completed. At the suggestion and solicitation of Mr. E. J. Warner, financial clerk at Cherry Creek and also a life member of this society, Hump and other Sioux Indians of the Cheyenne River reservation have contributed seventy-two relics to the society, to be displayed with the tepee. Mr. Warner informs me that the tepee is a splendid specimen of its type, and that many of the relics donated are very old and valuable. As soon as this collection

can be brought in from Leslie, where it is now stored, we will be obliged to secure a fourth room in which to place it. By this generous contribution our red brothers have set a good example to the citizens of South Dakota and I sincerely hope that many will profit by it and swell our collections accordingly.

The card index and document file are among the most important and interesting branches of our work. They are kept in neat sectional cases in the vault, where they are secured against loss by fire. The card index now contains over six thousand cards. My time has been so fully taken up with the systematizing of the different divisions and the bringing up to date of the various records—which have not been kept up since the organization of the society, because there was no officer to do such work—that I have been unable to give the index the time I wished to. It is my intention to make this index so complete, by cross-indexing and subdividing, that it will be possible to learn in a moment what references we have on any one subject. This will necessitate a great deal of time and labor, and I cannot do it to my satisfaction until I am relieved of some of the routine office work, which now occupies a good share of my time. The document file is going to be one of our most valuable reference divisions. Here are kept all circulars, newspaper clippings, etc., relating to our state history. They are placed in heavy document envelopes, numbered consecutively and carefully indexed. This system is a great improvement over the old-style scrap books, which require the consulting of several books to secure the references on one subject, or relating to one person. By the envelope system all references to one person, section or subject are placed together in an envelope, under correct heading and index. Three hundred and fifty-seven envelopes are now in use in this file.

The last penny of our appropriation was expended on April 30, 1904, and had it not been for the society's private fund the work of the department would have been at a standstill. It is to be hoped that the next legislature, realizing our needs and the work the society is doing, will make an appropriation sufficient to defray necessary expenses and still leave a surplus for the purchase of books, rare relics, etc.

Appended hereto I hand you a more itemized account of the following branches of the work under my care: Library, museum, gallery, newspaper division and contributions.

Respectfully,

FERD J. GOODFELLOW,
Curator.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY LIBRARY

The library of the State Historical Society has been built up practically within the last year. In June, 1903, the executive committee, upon the advice of Secretary Robinson, purchased a set of the Rebellion Records, which they had been offered at a reasonable figure. This set consisted of 128 volumes, and it is safe to say that at the beginning of the fiscal year there were not to exceed 200 books in the library. During the past year the work of collecting books of historical interest has been pushed to the utmost, new cases have been purchased so far as our funds would permit, and we now have a very nice library to show for our labors.

Lack of funds has prevented us from securing, when opportunity offered, rare and most valuable volumes of history which we have been offered from time to time. Enough books are now piled on the floor of the library to fill more than a dozen sectional bookcases, but we must wait for the new year before we can purchase them. The number of our books is daily increasing. We are securing many volumes, through exchange, that are valuable and very rare, and it is to be hoped that the state will provide a safe place in which to preserve the same.

HISTORICAL MUSEUM

This department is becoming the most interesting, though we have no fire-proof room in which we would feel that the relics gathered were safe. It is difficult to persuade people to contribute their cherished relics of early days to this Society, when they know that they are liable to loss by fire. There are hundreds of valuable historic antiquities scattered over the state which we have made no effort to collect in this museum, because we feel that they are far safer in the hands of many than exposed to a common danger in these rooms. The museum now contains one hundred and eighty-five relics, many of which are very valuable and intensely interesting. Outside of what we now have the Indians of the Cheyenne River reservation, headed by Hump, have made many valuable contributions to this department. They have made us one of the old-fashioned hide tepees, and have donated no less than seventy-two various relics, many being of great historic and commercial value. By this they have set a good example to their white brothers. We will at once collect these and many other relics into our museum.

GALLERY OF PORTRAITURE

Our gallery of portraiture now contains one hundred and eleven photographs of prominent men and early settlers, one hundred and two pitcures of historic and other interesting scenes of South Dakota, and twenty-seven beautifully framed portraits, which decorate the walls of the office. Among the framed portraits are those of Hon. Moses K. Armstrong, pioneer congressman; Hon. John A. Burbank, territorial governor from 1869 to 1874; Hon. Frank Crane, superintendent of public instruction from 1895 to 1899, and now clerk of the supreme court; Hon. Robert J. Gamble, United States senator; Hon. John R. Gamble, member of congress in 1891; Hon. Charles N. Herreid, governor from 1901 to 1905; Hon. Eben W. Martin, member of congress, 1899-1905; Hon. Otto Peemiller, United States marshal, 1893-1897; Hon. Richard F. Pettigrew, territorial member of congress, 1881-1883, and United States Senator, 1889-1901. One of the most interesting portraits in the gallery is an enlarged photograph, neatly framed, of the first sitting of the supreme court of Dakota Territory. We hope to be able to enlarge the portrait which we now have of the first sitting of the supreme court of the state of South Dakota, that we may place it beside that of the territorial court photograph. Many portraits have been promised the Society, but it takes time to secure suitable ones, and they are slow in coming.

BOUND NEWSPAPERS IN THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

	Vols.
(The) Blunt Advocate, weekly. July 21 1883—July 11, 1885	1
Brookings County Press, weekly. Volume X, 1888	1
Brookings Daily Press. June—September, 1886	1
Daily Yankton Press and Dakotan-Gazette. 1875—1902	47
(The) Estelline Bell, weekly. August, 1883—August, 1886	2
Faulk County Times, weekly. 1882—1894	11
Fort Pierre Signal, weekly. Scattering from June, 1880—May, 1883	1
Iapi Oaye (The Word Carrier), monthly. 1871—1900	2
(The) Inter-State, weekly. August, 1894—August, 1896	1
Lead Evening Call. August, 1894—June 1901	18
State Register, weekly. Volumes 2 and 3, 1900 and 1901	2
Sturgis Advertiser, weekly. July, 1887—October, 1891	2
(The) Weekly Huronite. June 2, 1881 (first issue)—May, 1901	19
Weekly Yankton Press and Dakotan-Gazette. 1873—1902	21
Total number of bound newspapers in the library	129
(The) Missionary Herald, a monthly magazine, 1822 to 1903, inclusive, is on file in this library, unbound	82
Grand total	211

SOUTH DAKOTA NEWSPAPERS RECEIVED REGULARLY BY THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Aberdeen—
- Aberdeen Daily News
- The Aberdeen Democrat*
- The Aberdeen Weekly News
- The Dakota Farmer (semi-monthly)

Alcester—
- The Alcester Union

Alexandria—
- The Alexandria Herald
- The Alexandria Journal

Alpena—
The Alpena Journal
Arlington—
The Arlington Sun
Armour—
The Armour Chronicle-Tribune
The Armour Herald
Artesian—
The Commonwealth
The Sanborn County Advocate (semi-weekly)
Ashton—
The Ashton Chronicle
Aurora—
The Aurora Times
Baltic—
The Minnehaha
Belle Fourche—
Belle Fourche Bee
Beresford—
The Beresford News
The Beresford Republic
Big Stone—
The Big Stone Headlight
Blunt—
The Blunt Advocate
Bonesteel—
The Gregory County News
Bowdle—
Bowdle Pioneer
Bradley—
The Bradley Globe
Bridgewater—
McCook County Democrat
The Bridgewater Tribune
Bristol—
The Bristol Tribune
Britton—
Marshall County Journal
The Marshall County Sentinel
Brookings—
Brookings County Press
Brookings County School News (monthly)
Brookings Weekly Register
The Brookings Individual
The Industrial Collegian (monthly)
Bruce—
Bruce Herald
Bryant—
The Hamlin County News
Canova—
The Canova Herald
Canton—
Dakota Farmers' Leader
The Sioux Valley News
Carthage—
The Carthage News
Centerville—
The Centerville Chronicle
The Centerville Journal
Chamberlain—
Chamberlain Register
Chancellor—
Chancellor News
Claremont—
Claremont Tribune
Clark—
The Clark Pilot-Review
The Clark Republic-Courier
Clear Lake—
Clear Lake Courier
Colman—
The Colman Argus
Conde—
The Conde News
Custer City—
Custer Weekly Chronicle
Deadwood—
Black Hills Mining Review
The Black Hills Weekly Journal
Dell Rapids—
The Dell Rapids Times
Delmont—
The Delmont Record
DeSmet—
Kingsbury County Independent
The DeSmet News
Dirkstown—
Lyman County Record
Doland—
The Times-Record
Edgemont—
The Edgemont Express
Egan—
The Egan Express
Elk Point—
The Elk Point Leader
Union County Courier
Elkton—
The Elkton Record
Estelline—
The Estelline Tribune
Ethan—
The Ethan Enterprise
Eureka—
Eureka Post (English)
Eureka Post (German)
The Northwest-Blade
Evarts—
The State Journal
Fairfax—
The Fairfax Sun-Review
Faulkton—
Republican-Record
The Faulkton Advocate

Flandreau—
The Enterprise
The Flandreau Herald
Forest City—
Forest City Press
Fort Pierre—
The Fairplay
The Sioux Stock Journal
Frankfort—
The News-Messenger
Frederick—
Frederick Free Press
Freeman—
The Courier
Gann Valley—
The Dakota Chief
Garretson—
South Dakota Weekly Vindicator
The Garretson News
Gary—
The Inter-State
Geddes—
Charles Mix County News
The Geddes Record
Gettysburg—
Potter County News
Groton—
The Groton Independent
Harrisburg—
The Harrisburg News
Harrison—
The Harrison Globe
Hartford—
The Hartford Herald
Hazel—
The Hazel New Era
Hecla—
Hecla Standard
Henry—
The Henry Independent
Hetland—
Hetland New Era
Highmore—
Hyde County Bulletin
The Highmore Herald
Hitchcock—
Hitchcock News
Hot Springs—
The Hot Springs Weekly Star
The Times-Herald
Howard—
Howard Advance
The Miner County Democrat
The Spirit of Dakota
Hudson—
The Hudsonite
Hurley—
Turner County Herald
Huron—
Climate and Crop Service Report for South Dakota (monthly)
Huron Herald-Democrat
Purple and Gold (monthly)
The Journal-World
Iona—
The Pioneer
Ipswich—
South Dakota Tribune
Iroquois—
The Iroquois Chief
Java—
Java Herald
Keystone—
The Keystone Recorder
Kimball—
The Kimball Graphic
The Kimball Index
Lake Preston—
Lake Preston Times
Lebanon—
Lebanon Independent
Leola—
McPherson County Herald
Lyman—
The Prairie Sun
Madison—
Madison Weekly Sentinel
South Dakota State Journal of Education (semi-monthly)
The Madison Daily Leader
The Madison Daily Sentinel
The Madison Outlook
The South Dakota Knight (monthly)
Marion—
The Marion Record
Mellette—
The Mellette Tribune
Menno—
Hutchinson Herald
Milbank—
The Grant County Review
The Herald-Advance
Miller—
The Miller Gazette
The Miller Sun
The Pioneer Press
Mitchell—
Mitchell Daily Republican
South Dakota Educator (monthly)
The Mitchell Capital
The Mitchell Clarion
The South Dakotan (monthly)
Montrose—
The Montrose Herald
Moore—
The Coyote
Northville—
Northville Journal

Oacoma—
Oacoma Gazette-Leader
Okobojo—
The Okobojo Times
Oldham—
The Oldham Register
Olivet—
The Olivet Leader
Onida—
The Onida Watchman
Orient—
Orient Argus
Parker—
The New Era
The Parker Press-Leader
Parkston—
Parkston Advance
Pierpont—
The Pierpont Signal
Pierre—
Pierre Daily Dakotan
Pierre Weekly Dakotan
Pierre Weekly Free Press
The Daily Capital-Journal
The Pierre Rustler (monthly)
Weekly Capital-Journal
Plankinton—
Reform School Item (semi-monthly)
The South Dakota Mail
Platte—
The Platte Epitome
Presho—
Lyman County Republican
Rapid City—
The Aurum (monthly)
The Rapid City Daily Journal
White Ribbon Journal (monthly)
Redfield—
The Redfield Journal-Observer
The Redfield Press
Revillo—
The Weekly Item
Salem—
Pioneer-Register
The Salem Special
Scotland—
The Citizen-Republican
The Scotland Journal
Selby—
The Walworth County Record
Seneca—
Seneca Journal
Sioux Falls—
A. O. U. W. Bulletin (monthly)
Cataract
Fremad
Lutheran Normal School Mirror (monthly)
Odd Fellows World (monthly)
Sioux Falls Daily Press
South Dakota Farmer
South Dakota State Forum
The Commercial News (monthly)
The Daily Argus-Leader
The Nachrichten-Herald
The Semi-Weekly Argus-Leader
The Sioux Falls Journal
The Soo Critic
Sisseton—
The Courant
Roberts County Banner
South Shore—
South Shore Republican
Spearfish—
The Queen City Mail
Terry—
The News-Record
Toronto—
The Toronto Herald
Tripp—
The Tripp Ledger
Tyndall—
The Tyndall Register
The Tyndall Tribune
Veblin—
The Advance
Vermillion—
Plain Talk
The Dakota Republican
The Volante
Viborg—
The Viborg Enterprise
Volga—
The Volga Tribune
Wakonda—
Wakonda Monitor
Watertown—
Public Opinion
The Daily Public Opinion
The Watertown Herald
The Watertown Times
Waubay—
Waubay Clipper
Webster—
Reporter and Farmer
The Webster World
Wentworth—
Wentworth Enterprise
Wessington Springs—
The Dakota Sieve
The True Republican
The Wessingtonian (monthly)
Westover—
The Westover Wave
Wheeler—
The Wheeler Courier
White Lake—
Aurora County Standard

White Lake Wave
White Rock—
The White Rock Journal
Willow Lakes—
Willow Lakes News
Wilmot—
Roberts County Republican
Wilmot Reporter
Wolsey—
Beadle County Herald
Woonsocket—
The Sanborn County Herald
Worthing—
Worthing Enterprise
Yankton—
Daily Press and Dakotan-Gazette
Dakota Freie Presse
Press and Dakotan-Gazette (semi-weekly)
The Dakota Herald (semi-weekly)
The Yankton Student (monthly)

*All papers are weekly unless otherwise specified.

FROM OUTSIDE SOUTH DAKOTA

Chicago—
Sports Afield (monthly)
New York City—
New York Public Library Bulletin (monthly)
Sioux City, Iowa—
The Sioux City Tribune (daily)
Washington, D. C.—
Catalogue of Public Documents (monthly)
Experiment Station Record (monthly)
Official Gazette of the U. S. Patent Office (weekly)

The Society also receives ten different state historical quarterly magazines from various states of the Union.

CONTRIBUTIONS SINCE JULY 1, 1902

The following contributions, made since July 1, 1902, are gratefully acknowledged:

From Joe LaFrambois drinking cup and wrench, which were the property of his father, who was the first white settler at Fort Pierre.

Hon. Moses K. Armstrong, life-size portrait of himself for the portrait gallery.

Hon. S. B. Sheldon, sketch of the life of Francis Murphy, the great reformer.

Colonel John Holman, French field glasses captured from Filipino officer.

Major H. A. Humphrey, files of the Faulk County Times from the first issue to October 11, 1894, being nearly twelve complete volumes.

I. R. Crow, files of the Sturgis Advertiser from the first issue to October 13, 1891, being nearly five complete volumes.

I. R. Crow, files of The (Lead) Evening Call from the first issue to April 30, 1891, being nearly seven complete volumes.

Professor S. E. Cooper, Wessington Springs Academy, partial files of the Academy catalogues and The Wessingtonian.

Hon. Robert J. Gamble, flag used to decorate hall in which first Republican state convention was held in South Dakota, Huron, August, 1889.

Rev. A. J. Finch, catalogue of the Sioux Falls College.

Hon. Henry S. Volkmar, photograph of Governor Louis K. Church and his cabinet.

Mrs. Frank Crane, hat rack made from buffalo and antelope horns by an Indian of the Two Kettle tribe. Loaned.

Hon. Homer D. Walrath, first bank bill issued in Dakota Territory. Loaned.

Hon. W. H. H. Beadle, many pamphlets and articles of historic interest, including catalogues of the Madison Normal, territorial reports, and photographs of teachers attending institute in Faulk county in the early '80s.

Professor S. A. Jordahl, Lutheran Normal, complete files of the college catalogues and also of the Lutheran Normal School Mirror.

Harvey J. Rice, Grand Secretary I. O. O. F., complete file of the Grand Lodge I. O. O. F. of Dakota, and also of the Grand Encampment, I. O. O. F. of Dakota.

Professor C. H. French, partial file of the Huron College catalogues and Purple and Gold, the college paper.

Brown & Saenger, table on which the state constitutions of 1883, 1885 and 1889 were written.

Rett Dean, petrified vertebra found on the banks of the Teton River.

Hon. Franklin Taylor, numerous books, pamphlets, reports, letters and photographs of historic value.

Robert L. Slagle, Ph. D., School of Mines, partial files of the college catalogues and also of the Aurum.

Mrs. G. C. Thorp, photograph of G. C. Thorp.

Dr. Jennie E. Himes, photograph and biographical sketch.

Hon. Robert E. McDowell, A Historical and Legal Digest of all the Contested Election Cases in the House of Representatives of the U. S.

Hon. William H. Stanley, nearly complete files of the reports of the board of railroad commissioners of Dakota and South Dakota.

Rev. Peter Rosen, Pa-ha:sap-pa, The Black Hills of South Dakota.

Hon. E. E. Hemingway, partial files of the report of the public examiner of South Dakota.

President Garrett Droppers, University of South Dakota, partial files of the university catalogues and also of The Volante.

Rev. W. H. Thrall, photograph and biographical sketch. Also minutes of the General Association of the Congregationalist Church for the last ten years.

Thomas A. Shepherd, G. A. R. invitation and program, five numbers of the Daily Republican for 1883, files of the Cavour Press for six months and files of the Miner Sentinel for one year and three months.

Publishers of the Yankton Press and Dakotan-Gazette, complete files of their weekly edition from 1873 to date, bound; also complete files of their daily edition from 1875 to date, bound. Loaned.

Hans Demuth, The Natrichten-Herold for the past two years.

S. W. Glenn, complete file of the Climate and Crop Reports for South Dakota.

H. G. Smith, lithograph, issued by P. F. McClure as immigration commissioner, showing Columbia in the act of exhibiting to Uncle Sam the resources of Dakota Territory for 1888.

Mrs. Carrie Turner Jensen, notes upon the life of Enos Stutsman.

Hon. John A. Burbank, life-size portrait of himself for the gallery.

Dr. J. E. Todd, two pamphlets on concretions and artesian wells, respectively.

J. H. Hubbard, early copy of the Iroquois Herald.

S. H. Goodfellow, partial files of the White Chief for several years.

H. L. Loucks, The Government Ownership of Railroads and Telegraphs and The Monetary System.

Lieutenant Arthur L. Fuller, by Judge Howard G. Fuller, plank from Block House No. 4, at Manila, P. I.

Professor A. H. Seymour, Mormon bank bill signed by Joe Smith and Sidney Rigdon.

Hon. I. D. Aldrich, numerous college papers, catalogues and circulars, which have aided us greatly in completing files which we had started.

President Redfield College, scattering number of The Sioux.

Mrs. May Abbott Thompson, two Indian provision sacks.

Hon. Eben W. Martin, life-size portrait of himself for the gallery.

Mrs. Frank Crane, life-size likeness of Mr. Crane for the gallery.

Hon. A. C. True, Director of the U. S. Experiment Station, files of the Record.

Mrs. R. F. Pettigrew, life-size portrait of Mr. Pettigrew for the gallery.

Board of Indian Commissioners, Washington, D. C., partial set of their annual reports.

Dakota Farmer, complete file for 1903.

Hon. P. J. McCumber, twenty-one copies of Dakota Militia in the War of 1862.

Reform School Item, Plankinton, broken files from the first issue to date.

Hon. Dick Haney, speech of Whirling Thunder, delivered in 1846, and license to trade with the Indians issued to John Haney in 1845.

Mrs. Abbie Gardner Sharp, photograph of John Other Day.

With the permission of the Secretary of State, ex-officio state librarian, I have gone through the state library and selected such books as were of particular historical interest, and they have now come into the custody of this Society. Over 1,500 books and pamphlets were thus added to our library.

Special acknowledgment is due Mr. Robert E. McDowell for his untiring and most successful efforts in securing old reports and records from the libraries of Washington, which have proven of inestimable value as references and rich in interesting historic accounts of the early days of our country.

Ezra Lawrence, trumpeter swan killed in Sully county.

Hon. Otto Peemiller, life-size portrait for gallery.

Hon. Robert J. Gamble, life-size portrait for gallery.

Mrs. John R. Gamble, portrait, life-size, of Mr. Gamble for gallery.

Thomas Brown, barrel of gun carried by his great grandfather in the Revolutionary war on the English side.

Governor Charles N. Herreid, deer head and buffalo pictures.

Charles L. Hyde, files of the Pierre Rustler since date of first issue, January, 1892.

Charles H. Seeley, photograph of the county commissioners of Brown county who commenced the erection of the court house in 1902, and the photograph of the commissioners who completed the construction of the same in 1904.

John Longstaff, bound files of the Huronite from date of foundation.

John E. Hipple, bound files of volumes two and three of the State Register.

Thomas Sweeney, bull yoke used on Deadwood trail.

Charles Fales, millstone from native granite made at Fort Pierre.

W. H. Bonham, trapper's ax found on bed rock in Deadwood gulch, 1876.

Thomas M. Goddard, two eggs of the golden eagle.

Hon. Frank Crane, autograph letter of Marcus A. Hanna and Theodore Roosevelt, pen with which Senator A. B. Kittredge's commissions were signed, keys to room in the old Cataract Hotel, Sioux Falls, and the door of a safe which was blown open by dynamite in Marshall county, 1898.

S. G. Dewell, Johnson's General Family Atlas of the United States, a map made by the General Land office in 1867, and a map of South Dakota showing Pierre as a capital candidate in 1885.

John Hayes, trapper's hatchet found on site of old Fort Pierre.

William M. Thomas, approved uniform hat worn by his grandfather, Captain Thomas of the New Hampshire Volunteers, in the Continental army.

W. L. Shunk, golden eagle, mounted.

Burton A. Cummins, root of the soapweed, "Big Medicine" of the Sioux Indians.

Dr. D. W. Robinson, over fifty pairs of buffalo horns, many relics from sites of Forts Pierre and Sully, and also from the old Ree villages about Pierre, and many interesting specimens from the Bad Lands.

C. Louis Allen, a piece of the rope with which Allen Walking Shield, a Sioux murderer, was hung at Sioux Falls, 1902.

Lieutenant F. L. Burdick, three guns which he captured in the Philippines.

Hon. Charles E. DeLand, axle of old-fashioned linch-pin wagon dug up at the site of old Fort George.

Judge J. J. Jarvis, life-size likeness of Governor Charles N. Herreid.

E. W. Eakin, late first sergeant Company D, 125th Illinois Volunteer Infantry, star torn from the battleflag of the 125th by rebel bullets at Kennesaw Mountain, Georgia.

Special acknowledgement is due the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Congregational House, Boston, Massachusetts, for the file of The Missionary Herald, which they have presented to this Society. The file covers a period of eighty-two years, being from January, 1822, to December, 1903, inclusive.

Hon. Frank Crane, leather bound copy of the annual message of Governor Charles H. Sheldon, to the legislature of 1895, with the paragraph commending W. W. Taylor, state treasurer, blocked out.

Mr. and Mrs. L. L. Lostutter, ashes from Mount Pelee and broken crockery from city of St. Pierre.

George A. Perley, proceedings of the Citizens' Constitutional Association, held at Canton, June 21, 1882; the primary meeting for statehood. Loaned.

J. T. Headley, molten type from remains of Hutchinson County Herald office.

Mr. Clough, specimens of fossils from the Bad Lands.

EXCERPTS FROM CORRESPONDENCE

[Replies to inquiries which develop new matter or matter of general interest. Only the material portion of the replies of this Society are printed.]

Dr. Robinson, Pierre: "In the fall we were discussing the significance of the word 'Cheyenne' in connection with the statement in my history that it signified 'enemy,' being of Siouan origin. I find in confirmation of my idea in the testimony of Little Fish, headman of the Fort Totten Dakotas, this statement. He is telling of the death of Standing Buffalo: Cross question—'Old Standing Buffalo was killed up in the British possessions, north of Poplar River, by a party of Crows, was he not?' Answer—'I have understood it was a party of Cheyennes that killed him. All enemies are called Cheyennes, which means the persons who cannot talk the Sioux language, and what I mean is that he was killed by the enemies of the Sioux.'

"At page 298 of volume one of the Minnesota Historical Collections, Dr. Thomas S. Williamson says that Cheyenne is derived from the word Sha-i-e-na of the Yankton dialect and Sha-i-api of the Santees, and means people who speak a different language from the Dakotas. This, written more than fifty years ago, seems to settle the derivation and meaning of the word."

Colonel S. W. Glenn, Huron: "In a general way the soil east of the Missouri River is glacial clay varying from a foot to one hundred or more feet in depth, covered with a coat of vegetable mold. West of the river the soil is in the main mountain erosion, borne down from the Black Hills and the mountains beyond, by the primeval ocean. In a general way, too, the surface of the state slopes from the west down to the James River and from the James River up to the eastern line, the Sioux and the Missouri being eroded out of the eastern and western slopes respectively. Dr. J. E. Todd of Vermillion has a very elaborate illustrated monograph upon the moraines of South Dakota. I think you have Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson's 'Dakota for the Healthseeker and the Homeseeker.' That is a discussion in line with your inquiry."

Mrs. Viola B. Bentley, Evarts: "Colonel Robert Dickson was in the Indian trade at Macinac as early as 1790. About 1800 he engaged in trade with the Dakotas. Before 1805 he married a sister of Red Thunder, a Yanktonais chief of the Cut Head band who lived on the Elm River in Brown county. Thereafter he made his home at Lake Traverse, though of course his business kept him all over the country. He was

living at Lake Traverse in 1805 when General Pike came up the Mississippi River to take possession of the country for the Americans. Dickson went over from his home to visit Pike at St. Cloud on the Mississippi. When the war of 1812 came on the English made Colonel Dickson manager of the department of Indian affairs, and upon him devolved the duty of raising Indian troops. He prevailed upon his brother-in-law, Red Thunder, to go east with a party of Dakotas, among whom was Waneta, son of Red Thunder, then but 17 years old, who became the most distinguished chief of the Sioux nation. Waneta was a cousin of your grandmother's. Colonel Dickson was called the Red Headed by all of the Indians. The war of 1812 destroyed his business, and he began again in a small way at Lake Traverse. The Americans got it into their heads that he was conspiring with Lord Selkirk to turn the country over to the British and in 1820 he was expelled from the country. He left his family at Lake Traverse and had to go to Washington to get permission to return home. Your grandmother was at Macinac for a time in school, but never lived in the east. Two of Colonel Dickson's granddaughters, Mrs. Braziar and Mrs. Collins, live at Greenwood, South Dakota. William Dickson, the brother of your grandmother, was very active seventy years ago in the South Dakota trade, but met with reverses, and becoming despondent killed himself at Fort Vermillion. You have one-eighth Dakota blood."

Professor Henry Walters, Philadelphia: The following is the list of Red Cloud's children:

Tawapahawin (Mrs. Long Soldier), Porcupine, South Dakota.
Sunskaotawin (Mrs. Slow Bear), Pine Ridge, South Dakota.
Tokahewin (Mrs. Goodtalker), Rosebud, South Dakota.
Anatanpiwin (Mrs. Kills Above), Pine Ridge, South Dakota.
Okayakapiwin (Mrs. Big Road), Manderson, Nebraska.
Wokeya Cola (Jack Redcloud), Kyle, South Dakota.

Rev. M. Falk Gjertsen, Minneapolis: "For the speeches of Red Jacket, Tecumseh, The Prophet, Big Elk and many other Indians, see The History and Biography of the North American Indians, by Samuel G. Drake, Boston, 1837. The speeches there reported bear strong evidence of having been edited. A skillful interpreter can readily convert a very commonplace talk into an eloquent oration. I enclose herewith some talks made by Little Crow and Wapasha during the war of 1812 in councils with the English officers at Drummonds Island. For the famous speech of Little Paul demanding the return of the captives from Little Crow in 1862, see Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, Vol. I, page 742. This is one of the best, perfectly authenticated modern specimens of Indian oratory. For some of the best speeches of Red Cloud see the report of the board of Indian commissioners for 1870, also the report of the commission for the relinquishment of the Black Hills in appendix to report of commissioner of Indian affairs, 1876. Many speeches by leading western Dakotas may be found in the minutes of the council held at Fort Pierre by General Harney in March, 1856."

M. E. Abbott, Sioux Falls: "Charles Mix county was named for Hon. Charles Mix, commissioner of Indian affairs during the Buchanan administration. Pukwana is a Chippewa word signifying the smoke of the peace pipe. You will find it in Hiawatha. Belle Fourche is the French for beautiful flowers and was applied to the valley of the north branch of the Cheyenne by reason of the great variety and beauty of the wild flowers growing there."

Dr. C. M. Young, Vermillion: "I was mistaken in my published statement about the evidences of prehistoric occupation of Vermillion. Judge Copeland called my attention several years ago to what he supposed was a prehistoric fort on the brow of the hill near the foot of the street which I believe is the one leading down from the university. Subsequent investigation developed the fact that it was at that point that the settlers attempted to fortify in 1862."

A. A. Twichell, Tower City, North Dakota: "Hidatsa is an Algonkin word and was the tribal name of the Gros Ventres Indians of North Dakota. It probably signifies 'The people.' Most tribal names bear that interpretation."

Sports Afield, Chicago: "All of the famous Indians who engaged in the battle of the Little Big Horn were South Dakotans and most of the fighting men also. Gall was a greater man than Sitting Bull, both from the Indian and the white point of view, because he was a man of noble character, tactful, courageous, honest and truthful. Sitting Bull, on the other hand, was a man of low propensities, a coward and a liar. He was a disturber, an agitator, a malcontent and a bulldozer. He possessed great forensic power and his sneer was dreaded by many of his tribesmen. He was a self-styled medicine man, but never a soldier."

Henry Gannett, Department of the Interior, Washington: "Jackson, Pratt, Presho and Sterling counties no longer exist, having been legislated out of existence in 1897. McPherson county was named for General James B. McPherson, who was killed in the battle of Atlanta. Walworth county was named by Mr. Winfield S. Bowen, in honor of Walworth county, Wisconsin. Fall River county is named for Fall River, which flows through it. Lugenbeel was named for Major Lugenbeel of the regular army. I have been unable to learn anything definite about Boreman and Schanasse. The counties of Armstrong, Boreman, Dewey, Lugenbeel, Meyer, Schanasse, Shannon, Tripp, Washabaugh and Washington are merely nominal creations, having no actual existence, being embraced within Indian reservations."

Franklin Taylor, Vermillion: "I have in my notebook two suggestions relating to the origin of the name of Vermillion. The first is from Colonel John L. Jolley's history of the Dakota Republican, printed in an anniversary number of that paper in 1898. He says it was derived from the fact that the old post at Burbank was painted red and so was

called Vermillion post by the French. I think the suggestion is not good. The stream was called Vermillion before the post was built, and besides I have the testimony of Father Ravoux, who visited the post in 1845, and of Joseph LaFrambois, who visited it in 1851, that the post was built of logs with earth roof and was not painted at all. The other suggestion is that the early traders mistook it for the stream which led up to the pipestone quarry, and hence called it the Redstone River, converted by the French into Vermillion. I think this is the probable origin of it. In confirmation of this view I find that Lewis and Clark called it the Redstone in their journal for September 3, 1806, when returning from the west: 'At eleven o'clock we passed the Redstone.'"

Mrs. H. J. Fahnestock, Watertown: "As a general rule the so-called Indian traditions are mere inventions. Let an Indian know the kind of a tradition you are looking for and he will spin out one to suit in short order. They are very fertile in this sort of thing. However, they have some good genuine ones, as for instance the tradition of Punished Woman's Lake. That is all right, and they have erected a memorial to preserve it. On the other hand the tradition of Lake Kampeska is a cheap invention. I enclose Dr. T. L. Riggs' discussion of Dakota memorials (see Dr. Riggs' address in this volume), also Hon. A. L. Van Osdel's story of the Lake Kampeska myth. Every tribe has a number of traditions of its origin, but they, too, are as a rule inventions fully as ingenious and probable as our own rib story. Every tribe claims that they were the original people from whom the population of the earth sprang. Their origin is invariably miraculous. "A clap of thunder hatched the first man from a boulder" is a favorite theory. The Yanktons say they formerly inhabited the interior of the earth, but finding a hole in the crust ventured to the surface, and liking the country, concluded to stay above ground. The Missouri River Indians in 1832 told Catlin that the Great Spirit moulded the first man from a piece of pipestone at the quarry, and setting up the slab it grew fast in an upright position, but a big snake came along and ate it off near the ground, thus releasing it, and from that pioneer all of the people sprang. In this instance they quite neglected to provide an Eve."

John A. Stewart, New York City: "The Scandinavians and Germans preponderate in our foreign population and are the only foreigners here in sufficient numbers to particularly modify social conditions. The Scandinavians, whether Norwegians, Danes or Swedes, are moral, industrious, religious and progressive. They usually belong to the Lutheran church and are active in its support. They are zealous advocates of education and are maintaining two colleges in the state. They also support two orphanages. They assimilate American notions very rapidly and the second generation is to all intents Yankee. They have been a wonderful influence for good in all the lines of our development. So large an element has no doubt modified the American view to a considerable extent, but if so it has not been to our disadvantage. As a rule they are Republicans or Prohibitionists in politics.

"The Germans are of two classes—Prussians and Russians—the latter predominating. They, too, are a moral, religious people, generally Protestant—Lutheran and Methodists—but a respectable number are Catholics. They are slower to adopt American methods than the Scandinavians, but are splendid citizens, and have been and are a great power in our community. They are conservative, and are sufficiently numerous so that their conservatism is reflected in our legislation. The Protestant Germans are as a rule Republicans and the Catholics are Democrats."

Mrs. John A. Pickler, Faulkton: "On December 19, 1868, Enos Stutsman, member of the territorial house of representatives from Yankton county, introduced a bill in the legislature 'To confer upon women the elective franchise and eligibility to office.' The bill was at once referred to the committee upon elections. On December 21st that committee reported:

" 'Mr. Speaker: Your committee upon elections have had under consideration House File No. 28, entitled A bill for an act to confer upon women the elective franchise and eligibility to office. While your committee favor the bill, they believe that a measure so far in advance of old fogy notions should be submitted to general discussion and careful consideration. Your committee have therefore instructed me to report the bill with the recommendation that it be made the special order in the committee of the whole house on Wednesday next at 11 o'clock a. m.

" '—Enos Stutsman, Chairman.'

"On motion of John L. Jolley of Vermillion the report was adopted.

"On Wednesday, the 23rd, the bill was considered in committee of the whole and favorably reported to the house and the report adopted without division, and the bill was at once placed upon final passage and passed by a vote 14 to 9.

"The bill was messaged to the council on the 24th and at once read first and second times, and upon motion of Mr. Brookings made a special order for the 29th at 11 o'clock, when it came up, and Mr. Charles Rossteucher of Yankton offered the following resolution:

" 'Whereas, a deep interest is manifested by the members of this council in the women's rights question, and

" 'Whereas, the eminent advocates of these rights, viz: Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone and others, are too far distant from Dakota Territory to personally defend their cause before this honorable body, and

" 'Whereas, there are women in our midst equally as sincere advocates of those rights. Therefore be it

" 'Resolved, that these women be granted the privilege of this floor that they may be heard upon a question of so great importance to the welfare of this nation.'

"The whole matter went over until the next day, when an attempt to table the bill failed. Rossteucher's resolution also failed of passage and the bill coming up on final passage the vote stood five to eight and the bill was lost.

"The next day, upon motion of Mr. Rossteucher, the vote was reconsidered and the reinstated bill was referred to a committee of five. On January 11th this committee reported a substitute bill, which was passed by a vote of 9 to 4. It was messaged to the house on the 12th and was taken up the next day and lost upon final passage by a vote of 8 to 16, Stutsman and all the friends of the original bill voting in the negative, which predicates the belief that the substitute bill was a burlesque. On the same day the action of the house was messaged to the council, and on the 14th Mr. Brookings called the matter up and moved that the council insist upon its substitute. Mr. Horace J. Austien of Vermillion moved as a substitute that the council 'Cecede,' but the motion to 'insist' prevailed, and insistance was the end of the bill so far as the record reveals. I do not find any contemporary newspaper comment, but from the general character of the men, particularly of Mr. Rossteucher, I am of the opinion that the entire action of the council was prompted by a spirit of mischief."

Argus-Leader, Sioux Falls: "Joe Godfrey is a half-negro son of a Canadian Frenchman and was a native of Minnesota, and grew up in close relations with the Indians. At 22 years of age he married a daughter of Wakpadoota's and when the massacre came on they were living on a farm eight miles above New Ulm. When the Indians came down that way they debated whether to kill Joe or to make him take part in the massacre. They made him remove his citizen's clothing, dressed him in a breechcloth and in every way terrorized him. The Indians discovering his terror, took huge enjoyment in forcing him to do atrocious things, but it was demonstrated to the perfect satisfaction of the military court by the admissions of the Indians themselves that Joe did nothing except under duress, and in mortal fear of his own life. It was in a large measure upon his testimony that the Indian butchers were convicted. He did not take part in the Spirit Lake massacre. He is now in his sixty-eighth year and resides at the Santee Agency, Nebraska.

Argus-Leader, Sioux Falls: The federal census for 1900 indicates the relative production per capita of the state of South Dakota, as compared with the average production per capita of the principal products of the United States, as follows:

	Bushels					
	Barley	Corn	Oats	Rye	Wheat	Potatoes
United States	1.57	12.4	6.5	.3	8.7	3.6
South Dakota	17.5	80.7	48.3	1.2	104.3	7.2

	Number				Doz.
	Cattle	Swine	Sheep	Poultry	Eggs
United States	.69	.83	.52	3.29	17
South Dakota	2.96	2.05	1.26	8.20	43

Governor Charles N. Herreid, Pierre: "In the spring of 1890, when South Dakota was suffering from the bad crops of the previous year and every prospect was blue and depressing, Governor Arthur C. Mellette visited Chicago. He was called upon by his friend Moses P. Handy of the Inter-Ocean, who asked him how South Dakota was coming along. 'Oh, South Dakota is a swinged cat,' replied the governor, 'a good deal better than she looks.' The next morning the Inter-Ocean stated that Governor Mellette, of the swinged cat state, was in the city, and ever after Moses P. Handy spoke of our state as the swinged cat. Swinged, it should be noted, is an old English colloquialism, now obsolete. Governor Mellette always took great pleasure in using those peculiar forms of expression."

Jesse J. Tracy, Bonesteel: "Todd and Gregory counties were created by act of the first legislature in 1862. Todd county was named for General John Blair Smith Todd, who was our first delegate in congress, and who while serving in congress was also doing effective service as a brigadier general of volunteers. The county extended as far south as the Niobrara, which was then the dividing line between Nebraska and Dakota. Gregory county was named for Captain J. Shaw Gregory, a pioneer and member of the first legislature. Both counties were attached to Charles Mix for all civil purposes. The adjustment of the state line at the date of the admission of the state of Nebraska cut Todd county to a mere fraction, and it continued to so stand on the map until the legislature of 1897 fixed the boundaries of Gregory county and provided that 'Todd county, now within said boundaries, shall be a part of Gregory county.' Fort Randall, named for Colonel Daniel Randall, once paymaster general of the army, was established by General W. S. Harney June 30, 1858, and was abandoned July 29, 1884. The act of congress for the opening of the reservation for settlement passed in 1893, but the survey was not completed and the land finally opened until 1896."

Director of the Mint, Washington, D. C.: "My attention has been called to an Associated Press dispatch dated January 3, 1904, purporting to give an abstract of your annual statement of the production of gold and silver, and relating to South Dakota it says: 'South Dakota produced $2,889,137 of gold and $179,965 of silver. The gold decrease in South Dakoto was $4,076,000.' This statement does a very great injustice to one of the important industries of South Dakota. The actual gold production for the year ending November 1, 1903, from the mines of South Dakota, was $6,342,227. The great Homesake mine alone produced double the amount for which you give the state credit. I trust that you can officially correct a grave error which has gone to the country through the statement attributed to your office. I have called the attention of our congressional delegation to the matter and have sent them copies of this letter."

Nels A. Cleven, Wist: "The parade grounds at Fort Sisseton, including the buildings, were granted to the state of South Dakota by act

of congress of October 1, 1890, and confirmed absolutely in the state by act of congress of June 10, 1902. The patent under the first act was issued February 5, 1895. The second act was simply certified, the title being directly vested in the state by the act."

Moses Folsom, St. Paul: "Among the men most prominent and active in the development of South Dakota since first settlement are Newton Edmunds, second governor; Walter A. Burleigh, second delegate to congress; Arthur C. Mellette, last territorial governor and first state governor; Charles N. Herreid, present governor; Senators Pettigrew, Moody, Kittredge and Gamble, Bartlett Tripp, W. H. H. Beadle, Joseph Ward."

A. M. English, Yankton: "I have received information from the Sissetons that the Indians you chased out of the James River bottom in August, 1862, were a party of young men belonging to White Lodge's band and that they were of the same party who killed Judge Amidon and son at Sioux Falls."

John Hyde, Chief Bureau of Statistics, Washington: "Lugenbeel county, named for Colonel Pinckney Lugenbeel of the regular army, was created by chapter 39 of the laws of Dakota Territory for 1875 and approved on January 11th of that year. It was an original county, carved out of territory not before subdivided."

FIRST ANNUAL REVIEW OF THE PROGRESS OF SOUTH DAKOTA FOR 1901

It is my purpose to carefully set down in this the closing number of this magazine for the year 1901, a record of the more important facts and conditions which have existed and prevailed in South Dakota during the season, to the end that there may be an authoritative resume of the year to which future generations may look with assurance of the truth. In the writer's efforts to gather and preserve the history of the state he has constantly found it difficult to secure reliable information of the financial and economic condition and of the prosperity or depression of the people. This lack in the past has induced me to inaugurate the plan of a carefully made annual review, which it is hoped will become a permanent feature of the work of the Historical Society.

Official Record—The opening, noteworthy event of the year was the convening of the state legislature and the induction into office of Governor Charles N. Herreid and the other state officers chosen at the election of November, 1900. These were: George W. Snow, lieutenant governor; O. C. Berg, secretary of state; James D. Reeves, auditor; John Schamber, treasurer; David Eastman, land commissioner; E. E. Collins, superintendent of public instruction; Frank LeCocq, railway commissioner. The house of representatives in the legislature elected A. G. Somers speaker. The legislature contained 117 Republicans and 17 Fusionists, and on the 23d of January Hon. Robert J. Gamble of Yankton was chosen United States senator, over Hon. R. F. Pettigrew, by a strict party vote.

Legislative Action—The legislature continued in session for the full period of sixty days and passed 188 laws and 21 joint resolutions. Many of these were merely perfunctory amendments to existing statutes. The more important enactments are enumerated below.

Dairy Commission—The law creating a food and dairy commissioner is probably of first interest in the development of one of the state's most valuable resources. The business of dairying has expanded with most gratifying results in recent years and now ranks among the most productive and safest of the industries of South Dakota, demanding the protection of the state from the deceptions and frauds with which the business is beset. Governor Herreid promptly appointed Carter P.

Sherwood of DeSmet, commissioner, under the provisions of the bill, and he has already accomplished much for the protection and advancement of the industry.

Law Revision—The laws of the state having continued without revision or compilation since 1877, the legislature provided for a code commission and made an appropriation for its maintenance. The governor was fortunate in securing the distinguished services of Judge Bartlett Tripp, former minister to Austria, and plenipotentiary on behalf of the United States in the settlement of the Samoan difficulties, Judge Gideon C. Moody, former United States senator and judge of the federal court in the days of the territory, and of Mr. James Brown, a prominent lawyer of Eureka, to undertake the compilation, revision and annotation of the laws of the state.

Law School—The legislature also provided for the establishment of the law department of the State University, a proposition which is indicative of the genuine advancement of South Dakota in the line of higher development. The regents of education have elected Hon. Thomas Sterling, a distinguished lawyer of Redfield, dean of the law school, and he is devoting himself to the organization of the classes.

Department of History—The department of history was created by the legislature and its administration placed in the hands of the State Historical Society. This work, previously neglected, is now being energetically followed and much of vital interest in the state's history has already been rescued and preserved.

Circulating Libraries—An important act in the educational development of the state provides for the building up of a system of public circulating libraries in the country school districts. The people interested in these libraries are putting the law in force with much enthusiasm.

Scavenger Tax Bill—An important law of the session is known as the scavenger tax bill and is intended to dispose of the real estate upon which owners have defaulted in the payment of taxes and which has been bought in at the tax sales by the counties. This real estate consists chiefly of town lots platted in the old boom days of the '80s and upon which the accumulation of taxes is considerable. The law provides for the entry of judgment in rem in all of these cases and the sale of the property by the courts. The act has already resulted in bringing a large amount of money into the public treasury and returning to the tax lists much property which for years has not contributed to the revenues of the state.

Revenues—The appropriations made by the legislature for all of the demands of the state for the biennial period ending with June 30, 1903, aggregate $1,396,791.32, or $698,395.66 per year. These appropriations include provision for new educational and charitable buildings

to the extent of $237,320, and provide for the maintenance of the state government and the educational and charitable and reformatory institutions. It is interesting and highly commendable to South Dakota to compare these figures to those of other states, as Nebraska, where two and a half million are annually spent for the same general purposes, while in Iowa, Minnesota and Wisconsin the annual budget devoted to these objects is about five million in each state. In North Dakota the annual appropriations of the legislature approximate one million one hundred thousand dollars.

No More Deficiencies—The legislature effectively provided against future deficiencies in the state funds by making it criminal for any person to contract a debt on account of the state except in direct pursuance of law.

The provisions of the constitution of South Dakota relating to the appropriation of money by the legislature, the limitations of state debts and of taxation for state purposes are most salutary and guarantee the continuation of the policy of economy in public expenditure which have from the first characterized the state government and kept the state's credit at so superbly high a standard.

Assessed Valuation—The total assessed valuation of real and personal property in the state for the closing year is $173,206,733. This indicates an increase of only one million over the previous year, but in fact the increase is much greater, the apparent result being due to the adoption of a lower rate of assessment than in 1900.

For convenience in reference the distribution of wealth by counties as revealed by the assessment this year is appended:

Aurora	$2,086,075	Hutchinson	$6,707,945
Beadle	4,656,720	Hyde	1,009,254
Bon Homme	5,321,926	Jerauld	1,235,377
Brookings	6,545,978	Kingsbury	4,565,718
Brown	7,352,593	Lake	4,429,564
Brule	2,381,776	Lawrence	6,248,282
Buffalo	374,915	Lincoln	6,423,602
Butte	2,091,083	Lyman	1,081,686
Campbell	1,136,505	McCook	4,072,024
Charles Mix	2,259,722	McPherson	1,635,304
Clark	3,160,306	Marshall	2,035,668
Clay	4,463,203	Meade	8,548,903
Codington	4,431,184	Miner	2,317,326
Custer	1,227,555	Minnehaha	9,625,500
Davison	2,770,265	Moody	4,346,793
Day	4,224,141	Pennington	2,450,986
Deuel	3,991,810	Potter	1,216,335
Douglas	1,748,618	Roberts	2,946,139
Edmunds	1,943,695	Sanborn	2,287,283
Fall River	1,557,282	Spink	5,501,148
Faulk	1,912,264	Stanley	1,453,942
Grant	3,887,343	Sully	1,332,445
Gregory	398,926	Turner	6,228,079
Hamlin	3,107,614	Union	4,315,261

Hand	2,843,212	Walworth	1,135,041
Hanson	2,816,772	Yankton	5,835,688
Hughes	2,035,951		

The Population—The result of the federal census as of June 1, 1900, was not made known until February of this year, and accorded to South Dakota 401,570 people, distributed by counties as follows:

The state	401,570	Hyde	1,492
		Jerauld	2,798
Armstrong	8	Kingsbury	9,137
Aurora	4,011	Lawrence	17,897
Beadle	8,081	Lincoln	12,161
Bon Homme	10,379	Lyman	2,632
Brookings	12,561	McCook	8,689
Brown	15,286	McPherson	6,327
Brule	5,401	Marshall	5,942
Buffalo	1,790	Meade	4,907
Butte	2,907	Meyer	26
Campbell	4,527	Miner	5,864
Charles Mix	8,498	Minnehaha	23,926
Clark	6,942	Moody	8,326
Clay	9,316	Pennington	5,610
Codington	8,770	Potter	2,988
Custer	2,728	Roberts	12,216
Davison	7,483	Sanborn	4,464
Day	12,254	Spink	9,487
Deuel	6,656	Stanley	1,341
Douglas	5,012	Sully	1,715
Edmunds	4,916	Turner	13,175
Fall River	3,541	Union	11,153
Faulk	3,547	Walworth	3,839
Grant	9,103	Yankton	12,649
Gregory	2,211	Cheyenne River Indian reservation.	2,357
Hamlin	5,945	Pine Ridge Indian reservation	6,827
Hand	4,525	Rosebud Indian reservation	5,201
Hanson	4,947	Standing Rock Indian reservation (part of)	1,658
Hughes	3,684		
Hutchinson	11,897		

This indicates an increase of but 72,762 during the previous ten years, but it must be borne in mind that South Dakota suffered especially during the period of universal depression beginning in 1892, as in addition to the common inactivity she was at the same time in the period of reaction from the boom of the late '80s, and that the population at this time was actually reduced by the migration of the speculators and adventurers who quite overwhelmed the community in the earlier days of settlement, leaving only the sturdy homesteaders and home builders to occupy the field; and that the new period of natural immigration did not begin until the summer of 1898, so that the actual increase was the growth of less than two years. The immigration of the years 1900 and 1901 has vastly exceeded that of 1898 and 1899, so that it is a conservative estimate, amply borne out by the growth of school population, the registered vote and every other legitimate method of ascertaining population, to assert that South Dakota has already reached the half million mark.

The New Arrivals—The new immigrants of the present year are generally distributed over the state, especially in the Sioux and James valleys, no one section being particularly favored. The new settlers come largely from Minnesota, Iowa, Wisconsin and Illinois. They are in the main Americans or north of Europe people and are a welcome addition to the state's citizenship.

Financial Conditions—The financial condition of South Dakota, both public and private, is satisfactory, with a general tendency to debt reduction and with rapidly increasing assets. On July 1st the total debt of the state was $863,300. Of this $250,000 were temporary revenue warrants issued in anticipation of the current tax levy, and will be retired by January 1, 1903. The sum of $613,300 is bonded, being the debt inherited from the territory of Dakota, bearing 3½ to 4½ percent. These bonds were originally issued for the construction of the public institutions, and fall due at various dates from 1902 to 1912. The funds available for debt reduction always anticipate the maturity of any portion of these bonds, and the state treasurer has during the month induced the holders of $35,000 of these bonds to accept immediate payment, although the bonds do not mature until May 1, 1902.

On July 1st last the debt was $863,300; cash in treasury on that date $764,888.46; excess of debt above cash, $98,411.54.

Condition of the Counties—The liabilities on June 30, 1901, were: Total amount borrowed from the permanent school fund, $1,474,812.87. The total amount of county warrants outstanding was $794,491.14, and the outstanding bonded indebtedness was $1,992,664.58, making the total liabilities of all the counties at that date $4,310,678.85.

The assets of the counties in the total at the same time were: School fund loans, $1,428,980.70; unpaid taxes, county funds, $1,492,950.18 (this is a reduction of $377,794.70 from the amount unpaid at the same date the year before); buildings and real estate, $1,092,402.68; seed grain notes and other assets, $201,776.02; cash in treasuries, county funds, $659,860.17; a total of $4,875,969.75.

The liabilities and assets of each county, given without cents, is as follows:

	Liabilities	Assets		Liabilities	Assets
Aurora	$ 93,693	$ 97,144	Davison	70,796	80,423
Beadle	86,363	139,030	Day	80,276	110,976
Bon Homme	83,265	105,240	Deuel	31,031	48,421
Brookings	29,461	57,628	Douglas	60,244	48,493
Brown	82,381	197,771	Edmunds	24,248	63,466
Brule	59,359	124,040	Fall River	203,110	108,467
Buffalo	8,972	5,673	Faulk	43,292	28,265
Butte	64,150	49,623	Grant	116,878	76,495
Campbell	110,099	91,515	Gregory	21,874	17,547
Charles Mix	36,311	51,622	Hamlin	12,764	16,688
Clark	43,564	87,921	Hand	14,967	44,184
Clay	22,300	52,928	Hanson	24,638	49,839
Codington	66,149	80,110	Hughes	190,598	255,898
Custer	180,444	90,289	Hutchinson	32,290	93,022

Hyde	40,095	39,629	Moody	11,055	44,691
Jerauld	32,290	51,322	Pennington	216,118	277,397
Kingsbury	58,278	106,392	Potter	93,900	87,980
Lake	37,477	54,722	Roberts	80,013	38,891
Lawrence	551,855	322,122	Sanborn	81,103	74,976
Lincoln	21,000	109,895	Spink	90,303	137,162
Lyman	44,537	33,008	Stanley	72,244	33,005
McCook	48,337	51,508	Sully	11,996	35,551
McPherson	23,246	43,873	Turner	32,558	113,113
Marshall	78,145	47,179	Union	32,317	122,435
Meade	290,471	182,050	Walworth	51,202	55,214
Miner	40,609	82,507	Yankton	297,936	97,917
Minnehaha	110,162	360,710			

Private Financial Affairs—While the evidences are manifold that the people of the state are in a healthy financial condition, there is no means of ascertaining the movement of the debt balances. Extensive real estate sales have undoubtedly increased the real estate mortgages for purchase money, while old loans are being paid as rapidly as they mature. Private credit has become so well established that chattel mortgage securities are much less resorted to than formerly.

The best and most tangible evidence of the financial condition of the people is found in the bank deposits.

From the report of General George A. Silsby, national bank examiner, we find that on July 1, 1900, the total deposits in all of the banks of the state aggregated.....$12,745,036.26

On October, 1, 1901, there was deposited in the

national banks of South Dakota.....$ 8,118,277.35

In state and private banks..... 11,313,528.35

———————— 19,431,805.70

Gain.....$ 6,686,769.44

This increase of bank deposits of more than one-half in fifteen months is eloquent of existing conditions.

Wholesaling—The commercial interests of the state have been accelerated this year by the establishment of many new wholesaling enterprises in the principal cities. These wholesale machinery, hardware, drugs, furniture and lumber, and each of the principal towns have secured one or more such institutions. In this Sioux Falls naturally leads, having added five extensive plants to her wholesaling community.

Building—There has been a marked renewal of building, both on the farms and in the towns of the state, during the year. In fact nothing to compare with this year's operations has occurred since the period of settlement and town building in the early '80s, and like the new immigration, has been fairly distributed. The erection of spacious farm homes and barns has been a notable feature.

Scarcely a town but what is dotted with new roofs, many of them covering pretentious edifices, some of which are noteworthy as being of more than local interest.

Each of the institutions for higher education receive a substantial

addition to its housing. The State University, a science hall, costing $40,000. The Agricultural College, a mechanical laboratory at $40,000 and a botanical laboratory at $10,000. The Madison Normal completes its second and elaborate dormitory. The Springfield Normal a new building at $17,000. A new normal has been established at Aberdeen and equipped with a $30,000 building. The School of Mines and Spearfish Normal each get a new and elegant structure.

The Catholics have built and equipped academies at Elkton, Sturgis and Marion.

The Methodist Dakota University at Mitchell has in progress of erection a "New Century" building. The Lutheran College at Canton is building a new plant throughout. The Yankton and Redfield colleges each secure a new gymnasium.

The legislature provided for new buildings at the Yankton insane asylum, at the school for deaf mutes at Sioux Falls and for the blind at Gary, and for the completion of the institution for the feeble minded at Redfield.

The charitable people of the state have erected a commodious building for the Children's Home at Sioux Falls.

The federal government has erected an asylum for insane Indians at Canton, and has made important additions to the Flandreau Indian school.

Several notable church edifices have been completed and dedicated, the most elaborate of which is the Presbyterian church at Brookings. Mr. Andrew Carnegie has presented Sioux Falls and Aberdeen with free library buildings, and both structures are in course of erection. The Masonic bodies under the auspices of the Consistory are building a splendid temple at Yankton, and the order of Elks have built a club house at Sioux Falls. Other structures of more than local interest are the Cataract hotel and the extensive malting works at Sioux Falls, flouring mills at Watertown, Volga, Vienna and DeSmet, and hotels of more than ordinary interest at Lead and Geddes, and one under construction at Canton.

The replacing of primitive wooden business places with substantial blocks of brick and stone has been quite general in all of the towns.

An improvement which has added very much to the appearance and stability of very many towns this year has been the construction of uniform cement sidewalks, crossings and gutters. This has not been confined to the larger places, though much has been done in the cities of the first class like Sioux Falls, Aberdeen, Watertown and Mitchell, but the villages have done much more, as in Elkton, Volga, Egan, Lake Preston and Parkston, where the entire business portion has been thus cemented.

Comprehensive systems of waterworks have been built this season at Brookings, Centerville, Elk Point and Sisseton, and Watertown has put in a sewerage system.

High school buildings have been built at Summit, Selby, Geddes and Platte.

However, and despite the extensive public and business building enterprises noted, the most noticeable and valuable work has been done in the building of private homes. This has distinctively been a year of home building. The cities, villages and farms have vied in the erection of comfortable, tasteful and enduring residences. I have been unable to secure trustworthy figures relating to the value of the buildings this year erected, and cannot even attempt an approximation. Most of the building has been done from the surplus means of the builders and relatively little of it from borrowed capital. The influx of population has made an active demand for buildings for rent, and the low rates of interest have turned many to this class of investment.

Public Health—Notwithstanding the prevalence of smallpox in exceedingly mild form in the spring months, the health of the people has been excellent and the death rate very low, only 7½ per thousand.

Among the notable deaths of the year was that of Rev. James H. Kyle, United States senator, who died at his home in Aberdeen on July 1st. Mr. Kyle was serving his second term in the senate at the time of his death.

On July 8th Governor Herreid appointed Hon. Alfred B. Kittredge of Sioux Falls to finish the unexpired term of Senator Kyle, which ends March 4, 1903.

The Weather—The year has been free from any storms of exceptional severity. The winter months were mild and open, with little snow, permitting stock to range throughout the year and to come out in excellent condition. The lowest temperature noted was 25° below at Pine Ridge on February 18th, while at Academy on January 28th it was 63° above. The mean temperature for January, in the state at large, was 21° above, and for February 16° above. The normal mean temperature for these months is about 13° above. The average normal precipitation in South Dakota is about 20 inches. The figures are of course not yet available for the entire year, but up to the present the rainfall exceeds the normal slightly. The growing months were quite normal. April, May, June and July, the wheat growing months, gave 11.85, and August, which matures the corn crop, brought the total up to 14.6 inches.

The one phenomenal feature of the year's weather was a prolonged period of unusual heat in the month of July. The mean was 78.2°, or 6° above normal. The period extended from the 6th to the 24th. Temperature of 100° was recorded on sixteen successive days. It should be noted that this was not peculiar to Dakota alone, but we were specially favored, the mean here being 3.2° lower than at DesMoines.

It is a marvel that crops should have withstood the effects of this terrific and prolonged heat, but South Dakota was well fortified against it by copious June rains, and again the latter portion of the month and August brought weather exceedingly favorable to crop making, and we came out of the experience, if not unharmed, at least much less injured than any other of the states in the upper Mississippi valley.

The last frost in the spring fell on May 14th; the first in the autumn on the 16th of September.

The Crops—Except as to corn and potatoes, the yield of which are far below normal, this has been an average crop year in the state. Wheat on July 5th promised a yield surpassing all records, but the extreme heat of the next twenty days, which wrought such injury to the crops of the Mississippi valley states, though less severe here than farther east, reduced both the quality and quantity of the yield. The acreage aggregated 3,383,000 acres, and the yield averages 11½ bushels per acre, or approximately thirty-nine million bushels. Owing to local conditions the yield is variable, some sections running as high as thirty bushels. It is difficult to determine the exact average price paid at the elevators of the state for the wheat of this crop, owing to the range in quality and other qualifying circumstances, but extensive inquiry justifies the statement that 51 cents per bushel is a fair average, making the crop worth on the home market $20,000,000.

In the Corn Belt—Corn is the next important cereal cultivated in South Dakota, and this year 1,309,000 acres were devoted to this crop. The hot weather was particularly severe upon corn, coming, as it did, when the blossom was forming and affecting the fertilization of the ears. Nevertheless a fair crop of good quality has been harvested. Experienced farmers have found it unusually difficult to estimate the yield in the field and at the date of this writing (November 15th) much remains unhusked. However, enough is in the crib to justify the statement that the yield in the state at large is 25 bushels, while the southern counties will turn out 35 bushels. The yield is therefore 32,725,000 bushels, which at an average of 45 cents has brought to the producers $14,426,250. The corn crop for the entire United States is reported at 16.8.

The crop of oats is of far greater importance and magnitude than is usually comprehended. This year South Dakota has devoted 579,000 acres to this cereal and has produced 17,670,000 bushels, having a cash value of $5,831,100.

Barley has been the most perfect crop of the year. Every condition seemed right for it and the product is large and of fine quality, especially adapted for malting. Yields as high as 53 bushels per acre have come under the personal observation of the writer, and placing the average as low as 33 bushels per acre appears unduly conservative. The yield from the 104,000 acres on that basis is 3,432,000 bushels, worth $1,544,400 in the local market.

Rye, though a safe crop and a good producer in South Dakota, has not been a favorite crop with our farmers. Three thousand acres only this year has yielded 90,000 bushels, worth $40,000.

By reason of the excellent market flax has proved profitable to the producer, though the yield has fallen below the average. The acreage too, has fallen off from previous years. Four hundred thousand acres have been given over to its culture, yielding 2,860,000 bushels, worth $3,861,000.

Potatoes, which in other years have weathered every hardship, have this year approximated a failure, although some sections, particularly the upper James valley, has had a fair crop. The 56,000 acres, however, devoted to potato growing, have produced 2,200,000 bushels, worth at home $1,650,000.

The hay and fodder crop is first class in quality and yield, and the unusual demand has induced exceptional quantities to be harvested and preserved. Of all the productions of the state, no other one is so hard to estimate as the fodder crop, and in the judgment of this writer it has always been undervalued. In my review of the state's productions one year ago I relied upon approximates made by the department of agriculture, and placed the value at $8,000,000. I felt then and still feel that this was much too little. I have made extensive inquiry since then among farmers, stock growers and others having special knowledge upon the subject, and conclude that the whole state considered, the fodder crop is not less valuable than the corn crop, but in view of the inability to exactly determine it, place it this year at $12,500,000, which certainly is within safe bounds.

Live Stock—The live stock industry has continued to flourish throughout the year, although the proceeds from that source will be somewhat less, owing to the fall in the market for stock cattle. Much of the range stock has come from the grass finished and has commanded the top price in Chicago. There has been a fair increase in the herds in all lines.

The high price of coarse grains has militated against feeding on the farms to a certain extent, and the advantage has been with the range men, where "A dollar a year will keep a steer." At the best the value of the live stock converted into money and the increase in the value of the herds from growth and the natural increase can only be approximated. From all the evidence I could procure I concluded a year ago that the live stock added $27,000,000 to the wealth of the state in 1900. I have made diligent inquiry upon this topic this year, and from all the evidence and in view of the fall in the price of stocker cattle, conclude that the returns this year will not be materially different from one year ago, and I approximate the total at $25,500,000.

Winter Pasture—Possibly no one element contributes so much to the value of the wide spread range district of South Dakota as the fairly safe dependence upon winter pasture. Where stock must be stabled and fed grain and hay the grower of stock will find himself handicapped however succulent may be his summer feed. The winter pasture of the last winter upon the South Dakota range was excellent, and we are entering upon another winter with the ranges in magnificent condition.

Dairy and Creamery—The making of butter and cheese has attracted increased interest and intelligent co-operation among the people during the year now closing and is now firmly established among the state's great and permanent industries. There are 150 creameries and

cheese factories in South Dakota, but they represent only a fraction of the capital invested in and the returns derived from the industry. The dairy and food commissioner hopes by the end of next year to be able to obtain full and comprehensive information of the dairy and creamery business, but for the present only fragmentary figures are obtainable. Seventy-two creameries only reported to the dairy and food commissioner for the month of August, showing 6,087 patrons, to whom were paid, net, $115,018.16. Owing to the heat, flies, and the prevalence of winter dairying, August is scarcely an average month in the dairying business in South Dakota, but upon the basis of the returns for that month reported to the commissioner, these seventy-two creameries alone paid not less than $1,380,016.92 to their patrons during the year. Last year, after extended inquiry, but without any official figures as a basis for computation, I approximated the value of dairy products and eggs produced in the state in 1900 at $5,000,000. From the information I thus possessed I felt the figure was exceedingly conservative, and so noted in my review. With fuller information than I had one year ago and in view of the official figures furnished the dairy commissioner from seventy-two creameries only in the month of August, I am convinced that the "cows and hens" have returned to the people of South Dakota not less than $8,500,000 this year.

Fruit Growing—Although the unusual heat of July injured the fruit both in yield and in quality, it was not altogether disastrous and a fair crop was produced in most lines. The small fruits which ripen early produced abundantly both for home consumption and shipment. Cherries were better than fair, but ripened too rapidly. Apples were badly injured by the July heat. We produced enough to supply the local demand for the early varieties in the southern counties. Plums were abundant and of excellent quality, supplying the demand throughout the state, and were also shipped abroad in large quantities. No official figures are available as to the value of fruit crops and gardens. I approximate the value of this year's produce at $5,000,000, one million less than the average crop of 1900.

Mineral Wealth—The year has been an especially active and remunerative one in the mining sections of the state. The developed mines have continued productive and many new propositions have been developed and have added their product to the already very satisfactory aggregate, and these successes have led in turn to renewed and scientific prospecting. The year's mineral output is approximated at $12,500,000.

Summary of the Year's Productions—To summarize, then, the foregoing conclusions upon the year's productions, we have the following results:

Wheat, 39,000,000 bushels	$ 20,000,000
Corn, 32,725,000 bushels	14,726,250
Oats, 17,670,000 bushels	5,831,100
Barley, 3,432,000 bushels	1,544,400

Rye, 90,000 bushels	40,000
Flax, 2,680,000 bushels	3,861,000
Potatoes, 2,200,000 bushels	1,650,000
Hay and fodder	12,500,000
Live stock	25,500,000
Dairying and creamery and eggs	8,500,000
Orchards and gardens	5,000,000
Wool and hides	2,500,000
Minerals	12,500,000
	$113,652,750
Same items 1900 (my approximation)	106,500,000
Increase	$ 7,152,750

It will be observed that the foregoing does not take into account the output of the manufactories of the state, returned by the federal census for 1900 at $12,231,239, for the reason that these manufactured products do not represent new wealth in the sense that agricultural and mineral products do.

Assuming that our population is now one-half million, the per capita production this year, exclusive of manufactures, is $229.30 per capita, as against $265.43 in 1900, and, although the figures for other states are not yet available, South Dakota is unquestionably, for the fourth successive year, in the first place for the per capita production of new wealth.

Artesian Wells—There has during this year been almost a revolution in the artesian well proposition in the wide area in which wells are available. Previously wells have been bored from four to eight inches in diameter by a slow and expensive process. Recently, however, new processes have been devised by which small wells, one and a half inches in diameter and affording an abundance of water for all ordinary farm or ranch purposes, are bored rapidly and at small expense. These remarkable and unfailing water supplies cost from $250 to $800, according to depth, which ranges from 500 feet in Yankton county to 1,100 feet in northern Brown county in the James valley and 2,000 feet on the Missouri coteau, and are constructed complete in from four to twenty days. These wells contribute incalculably to the profit, convenience and comfort of farming operations, stock growing and home building, aiding in the growth of groves, lawns and gardens, and supplying fish ponds cheaply and conveniently. I have not yet secured an enumeration of the new wells of the present season, but manifestly fully one hundred have been added to the large number of larger wells which have previously been bored.

Natural Gas Belt—Two new wells have defined wider boundaries for the natural gas which was originally perforated at Pierre ten years ago. These were in Sully county and at Selby in Walworth county. The gas area has now been defined from a point west of the Missouri

River twenty-five miles south of Pierre, up that valley a distance of eighty miles to the Cheyenne River Agency, and north from Pierre 100 miles to Selby. Similar wells have been found at and near Edgerly in North Dakota, which may be within the same field. In any event, the developments already made demonstrate the South Dakota gas field to be one of the largest yet discovered, and ten years of continuous and undiminished flow demonstrates its permanence.

Tree Planting—A new impulse has been given to tree planting during this season and many new groves have been started, and many others are in contemplation for the coming spring. Tree growing for present or future profit is little considered, most land owners feeling that the soil can be devoted to crops or pasturing with better returns, but home groves for ornament and protection are becoming more common and more and more conspicuous. Intelligent and painstaking planters have learned the secret of success in tree growing, and their less careful neighbors are profiting from their experience and experiments. The favorable weather conditions for several successive seasons have contributed much encouragement to the new movement.

Improving Native Fruits—The fact is becoming generally recognized that the fruits native to a mild, moist coast climate are not adapted to the interior of great continents. Each region must, in fact, develop its own pomology. Disregard of this principle by nurserymen and fruit growers has proven expensive to thousands of planters. The native fruits of South Dakota are eminently worthy of cultivation and improvement. At the South Dakota Agricultural College and Experiment Station, at Brookings, this work is receiving special attention. Professor N. E. Hansen has raised over 27,000 seedlings of native fruits the past two years, and the number raised this year is much larger. Some 500 sand cherries, of the second generation under cultivation, bore for the first time from seed planted in spring of 1899, and the fruit of several of these measured over three-fourths of an inch in diameter and of quality good enough for table use. Strawberries and raspberries, of half wild and half tame ancestry, also fruited for the first time and show considerable promise. The many other wild fruits are receiving attention.

Politics—This has been an off year in politics in South Dakota, only judges of the circuit court being chosen. The Republicans placed in nomination the following gentlemen for the judgeships:

First circuit—Ellison P. Smith.
Second circuit—Joseph W. Jones.
Third circuit—Charles X. Seward.
Fourth circuit—Frank E. Smith.
Fifth circuit—James H. McCoy.
Sixth circuit—Loren E. Gaffey.
Seventh circuit—Frank Washabaugh.
Eighth circuit—Edward Brown.

The fusion of the Democrats and Populists nominated:
First circuit—Jared Runyan.
Second circuit—P. W. Scanlan.
Third circuit—Julian Bennett.
Fourth circuit—A. E. Chamberlain.
Fifth circuit—Thos. H. Null.
Sixth circuit—No nominee.
Seventh circuit—Joseph B. Moore.
Eighth circuit—Levi Magee.

The Republican candidates were elected in the First, Second, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and Seventh circuits. Messrs. Bennett and Magee upon the fusion ticket were elected in the Third and Eighth circuits respectively.

Literary Output—Five new books by South Dakota writers have come to the attention of the writer during the year. These are a text book upon the Structural Style of Prose Composition, by Professor John D. Logan of the State University, a novel by Miss Stella Gilman and books of verse by Professor Charles E. Holmes, James Davies and Will Chamberlain. South Dakota writers have been well and ably represented in the popular and scientific magazines, among those contributing being Professors Todd and Logan, Dr. W. O. Lillibridge, Helene George, Edna Carter Gates, Will Dillman and Joseph Mills Hanson. Each have done highly creditable work in their respective lines, winning distinction for themselves and for the state.

The Common Schools—The common schools continue to be the pride of the people and their first concern in civic life. During the year 1900, $1,750,000 was paid from state revenues for the support of the common schools and state educational institutions in South Dakota. It is probable that this sum will be increased this year. On a school population of 121,000, this means about $15 per capita for education. The state appropriated $144,000 for the maintenance of the various state educational institutions, while the department of school and public lands added $11,368 to this sum. In addition to this the general government assisted in the maintenance of the state agricultural college to the amount of $40,000. While the total expense of education in this state will increase with the increase of population and the development of the educational system, the percapita cost will probably not be so large in the future, as the school and public lands department is increasing its payments every year, and will in time be bearing the heaviest share of the expense of the schools. The new school code adopted by the last legislature strengthens the educational system of the state and gives the parts better articulation than formerly, so that there is a complete course from the primary grades through the grammar and high schools to the State University. The grading of the country schools has been accomplished through an eight years' course, and scholars completing the required work are given a diploma.

The School Lands—The school lands have shared in the general advance in real estate and afford an adequate measure of what the

normal advance was up to the time of the sales in April last. The annexed figures, compiled by Land Commissioner Eastman, briefly but comprehensively exhibit the movement in the school lands and the condition of the permanent school and endowment funds:

The permanent school fund July 1, 1901, was	$3,945,109.36
July 1, 1900	3,372,926.16
Increase	$ 572,183.20
Normal School permanent, July 1, 1901	3,532.24
Normal School permanent, July 1, 1900	3,543.24
Agricultural College permanent, July 1, 1901	1,116.32
Agricultural College permanent, July 1, 1900	556.82
Amount of interest and income fund apportioned for fiscal year ending July 1, 1901	295,222.15
Per capita, $2.45.	
Amount apportioned for fiscal year ending July 1, 1900	245,336.03
Increase past year over previous year	$ 49,886.12

Maximum price per acre paid, 1901 sales, $41 in Lake county.
Average all sales, 1901, $18.
Average sales all prior years, $14.
Number of acres common school land sold, 269,525.
Yet to sell, 1,880,875.
Number of acres endowment land sold, 718.
Yet to sell, 697,362.

Railroads—There has been but little railroad building within the state during the present year. Some short extensions of the Northwestern system in the Black Hills, and a loop some thirty miles in length into Campbell county upon an extension of the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Sault Ste. Marie to the Missouri River near the north line of the state, comprises the new construction, except, if it may properly be so included, the change in the line of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul at Redfield which makes that line more accessible to that city by about one mile.

New Towns—Two towns have sprung up on the "Soo" line on its extension in Campbell county and are already assuming important proportions. These are Artas and Herreid, the latter named in honor of the governor. They are eligibly located in a fertile section hitherto distant from railroads.

Projected Lines—The Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul have completed preliminary surveys for an extension of its line from Evarts on the Missouri River, to Butte, Montana, with a branch into the Black Hills. This line will penetrate the extensive coal measures on the Grand River.

The St. Paul, Minneapolis & Sault Ste. Marie has completed arrangements to iron the grade made ten years ago from Aberdeen to

Bismarck, in North Dakota. A portion of this work is already completed, leaving only a stretch from Aberdeen to Ashley, near the state line, to complete the system in the spring.

The Indians—The year finds South Dakota without a single "blanket" Indian remaining within her borders, and all of the tribes—which are chiefly located upon reservations west of the Missouri River—making satisfactory progress in civilization and Christianity. All of them now wear citizens' dress, and chiefly they live in comfortable houses, and most families have greater or less interest in stock growing and agriculture. The children, almost without exception, are attending the schools supplied them by the government or the churches.

IN CONCLUSION

To sum up, then, in a paragraph, the conclusions of the foregoing, it may be said that 1901 has in most things been an average year in South Dakota. That in a few lines it has surpassed the average and in a few fallen below the normal condition. That is, crops and climate—except for the unusual heat of July—have been normal. Immigration and building enterprises have been above the average. The close of the year finds the general condition highly satisfactory, with all the people in the enjoyment of excellent health, prosperity, and exceedingly hopeful for the future.

It is now forty-three years since the agricultural population came to the state, and time enough has elapsed to thoroughly determine the capacity and resources of the soil, the salubrity of the climate. The experimental days have gone by. South Dakota has been through the crucial test and has not been found wanting.

DOANE ROBINSON, Secretary.

Aberdeen, November 15, 1901.

SECOND ANNUAL REVIEW OF THE PROGRESS OF SOUTH DAKOTA FOR 1902

Pursuant to the plan adopted at the organization of the State Historical Society, the secretary herewith presents his review of the progress of the state of South Dakota for the year 1902. The wisdom of the proposition was sufficiently demonstrated by the reception of the first formal review made by this Society one year ago. Of that review twenty thousand copies were circulated by the secretary and more than one hundred thousand copies were reprinted and circulated by other publishers. As the general conditions revealed by it were excellent, the review became a most potent factor in promoting immigration to the state, though it was not prepared with that end in view, but purely from the historical motive; that is, to set down a record of the general conditions, whether good or bad, that in the future we may have an authority to which we may turn with confidence, to learn of the events and conditions of the year.

The Phenomenal Land Movement—The most striking feature of the closing year has been the phenomenal demand for real estate, which has advanced the selling price of land fully 50 per cent throughout the eastern portion of the state. Land buyers from eastern localities have thronged the state and have eagerly purchased lands in every county, basing their faith in the soil upon the experience of the settlers in crop production during the long period of occupation, and the relative cheapness of land here, compared with neighboring states to the east.

From careful approximations made from several representative counties, the writer estimates the total land transfers of the year to aggregate 3,700,000 acres, involving $30,000,000. In Brown county alone 3,610 quarter sections changed hands during the year, involving $4,500,000. This is more than one-half the total area of the county. However, it should be noted that some tracts have been transferred several times each, and each transfer is counted in the total of sales.

Population—The growth of population has not kept pace with the movement in real estate. Very many of the older settlers have sold their lands at satisfactory prices and have gone to other localities, while the purchasers have in many instances bought for speculation and not for immediate occupancy. The first effect of the new movement has

been to leave the population little increased by immigration, and in the state at large the increase has been only normal. The cities have shown an excellent growth and there is a fair sprinkling of new homes in the country, though not so extensively as might be surmised from the land sales. One year ago I approximated the population at 500,000, but from extensive inquiry I now think that figure was somewhat too high, 480,000 being more nearly correct, and at this date I am induced to think from many evidences that the state's population has reached the half million mark.

The counties east of the James River have all made some gain in their farm population, and there has been a marked influx of homesteaders upon the reservation lands west of the Missouri, a movement which is destined to work a revolution in the range cattle business, a topic which will receive further attention in its proper connection.

Twenty-nine hundred twenty homesteads for the section west of the river were filed at the United States land offices at Chamberlain and Pierre for the period from January 1st to November 26th last.

Analysis of the Census—The population returns of the last census, in detail, have only recently become available, and no analysis of them relating to South Dakota has been printed. On June 1, 1901, South Dakota had 401,570 people, of whom 313,062 were born in the United States and 88,502 were born in foreign countries. One hundred and sixty thousand of the people were born in South Dakota. There were 147,165 persons of school age. The males of voting age numbered 107,053. There were 14,832 illiterate persons.

The Foreign Born—The foreign born citizens came from the following countries in the numbers indicated:

Norway	19,788
Germany	17,873
Russia	12,365
Sweden	8,647
Canada (English 5,906, French 1,138)	7,044
Denmark	5,038
England	3,862
Ireland	3,298
Bohemia	2,320
Holland	1,566
Scotland	1,153
Finland	1,175
Austria	926
Switzerland	585
Wales	549
Poland	472
Hungary	421
Italy	360
Scattering from 22 other countries	1,034

Building—Next to the real estate movement, the characteristic feature of the year has been the prevalence of new building in every section. Everywhere have the people shown their faith in the land by the erection of substantial structures for homes, business and public uses. Some of the more notable buildings of the year have been the Northern Normal and Industrial School at Aberdeen; court houses at Parker, Alexandria, Elk Point and Sisseton; opera houses at Aberdeen, Andover, Yankton and Letcher; splendid Masonic temples at Yankton and Chamberlain; public libraries at Aberdeen and Sioux Falls; public schools at Beresford, Hurley, Scotland, Lake Preston, Andover and fifty-nine other points, and numerous churches and massive business blocks. New homes have been built in very great numbers, many of them such as would ornament the most fastidious streets of the larger cities. Everywhere the amount of building contemplated has been limited by inability to procure workmen and material. In addition to the buildings above enumerated all of the buildings for the various institutions authorized by the last legislature have been completed, relieving a congestion in most of the institutions and schools which was seriously impairing the work. The new gymnasium at Yankton College and the main building for Augustana College at Canton have been completed and occupied, or are ready for occupancy, while good progress is being made on the "New Century" building at Mitchell University. Many additional public and private buildings are under construction or provided for in the immediate future. Brown county's new court house is completed to the second story, and ground has been broken for a magnificent federal building at Aberdeen, for the completion of which congress has appropriated $175,000. An appropriation for a similar building has been made for Deadwood, and sites for public buildings provided for at Pierre and Yankton. Mr. Carnegie has made appropriations for public libraries at Redfield, Mitchell and Yankton, and each is now under construction. Splendid hotels have been built at Canton, Vermillion and Deadwood, and large flouring mills at White Lake, Revillo and Tabor. The construction of cement pavements has been extended in all of the towns of the state, giving a finish to the streets which cannot be obtained at so little expense in any other way; while public waterworks and sewerage systems have been provided in several towns.

Home Building—As was the case last year, so it is this season, that the building of homes has surpassed all other forms of building in South Dakota. I have no means of ascertaining the number nor the amount of money invested, but everywhere, in city and village, as well as on the farms, new residences have sprung up, ranging from the modest little cottage to the palatial mansion. Some of these structures are noteworthy, and while it is difficult, and possibly unwise, to specify any particular one from among the many, it may be noted that the elegant home of Mr. Hiram A. Park of Watertown is the most attractive and the most expensive private residence built this year.

Manufacturing—No great progress in manufacturing has been made. At Sioux Falls extensive malting works and pressed brick works have been built and are in operation, and there has been some addition to the flour milling capacity of the state. All of the manufacturing plants of the state have been operated to their full capacity, and the output has been materially increased since the census of 1900, which placed the state's manufactured products at $12,231,239. Woolen mills are projected to utilize the natural gas power at Pierre and water power at Spearfish.

Wholesaling—There has been a decided expansion of wholesaling business in the state, both through the old established concerns and through the establishment of new enterprises. Among the latter are new wholesale grocery houses at Aberdeen and Huron; wholesale drug houses at Sioux Falls and Aberdeen, and wholesale hardware at Sioux Falls. Yankton has secured an extensive wholesale lumber establishment.

Congressional Action—The federal congress has been kind to South Dakota during the year. Several enactments were for the single benefit of this state, among them being an act vesting in the state absolute title to the Fort Sisseton military reservation. Previously the state held title conditional upon using the reservation for military purposes.

Granting relief to settlers upon the Black Hills forest reserve.

An act establishing a national sanitarium at Hot Springs, carrying $170,000.

Providing for a public building at Deadwood, $200,000.

An act authorizing use of $168,000 funds of Crow Creek Indians for purchase of stock and construction of reservoirs, etc.

An act extending time for construction of railroad bridge over Missouri River at Yankton.

An act extending time for construction of railroad bridge at Oacoma.

An act appropriating money to certain Lower Brule Indians on account of removal from Rosebud reservation.

The following items were added to the Indian appropriation bill:

Fifteen thousand dollars for enlargement of Hope Indian school, Springfield.

Twenty-five thousand dollars for maintenance and improvement of asylum for insane Indians, Canton.

For enlargement of industrial school for Indians at Rapid City, $20,000.

For enlargement of industrial school for Indians at Chamberlain, $20,000.

For survey of Indian allotments on Pine Ridge and Standing Rock reservations, $22,000.

For the restoration of the agent for the Sisseton Indians.

Seven thousand dollars for purchase of site for public building at Yankton.

Five thousand dollars for purchase of site for public building at Pierre.

Seventy-five thousand dollars additional for public building at Aberdeen.

One hundred thousand dollars for permanent buildings at Fort Meade.

Providing that jurors in the United States court in South Dakota shall be drawn from the state at large, and not exclusively from the district in which court is held.

The state also participates in the benefits of the new irrigation law, from which it is hoped to speedily bring into cultivation large areas near the Black Hills. Also in the act allowing settlers, in certain cases, to make a second homestead entry.

Artesian Wells—On January 1st last Professor J. E. Todd, the state geologist, reported 1,800 artesian wells flowing in South Dakota. Since that date no fewer than 300 additional wells have been sunk. The new wells are chiefly of small bore, one and one-half to two inches, affording plenty of water for all ordinary farm purposes, domestic use and for irrigating gardens, lawns and trees. They are also extensively used in driving light machinery.

The artesian territory has also been extended, that is, wells have been procured in sections formerly supposed to be underlaid with granite, which would preclude the possibility of reaching the water strata. This is the case at Carthage and Esmond, where splendid wells have been secured this season. At Egan, in the Sioux valley, at the depth of ninety feet, wells have been secured which afford an abundant flow. There has been much speculation as to the volume of water brought to the surface annually by these wells, and a careful computation made by the writer indicates that the wells of the state have an aggregate capacity of more than one hundred billion gallons annually. However, very few, if any of them, are permitted to flow to their full power, and it is of course unknown whether or not the fountain would stand, without exhaustion, so heavy a draft. It can only be said that with 2,100 wells drawing upon it for all the demands of the owners and with millions of gallons wasted, there is no evidence of a weakening of the supply, and it is the judgment of experts that the fountain is at least as inexhaustible as the Missouri River.

In the sections where the wells are most in evidence the water courses are filled, and many of the draws are now permanent running streams of limpid water.

The effect, if any, of the vast amount of water thrown up by these wells upon the climatic conditions is a subject of a good deal of debate, and the weight of opinion is that the evaporation from the many shallow ponds filled by the wells has produced a softness and humidity of the atmosphere not observable in the early days before the wells were sunk.

Natural Gas—There has been some further development of the natural gas field this year, and it has been more extensively used. At Pierre

a new and larger well than before drilled has been put down. This well is fully six inches at the bottom, is 1,315 feet deep, and is furnishing, by a very imperfect system of separation, 75,000 feet of pure gas per day. Probably as much more is wasted. A second well four and one-half inches at the bottom has just been completed and was sunk to a depth of 1,500 feet. This latter well penetrated the artesian and gas strata at the usual depth, but the prospect was continued for 200 feet further for the purpose simply of ascertaining what might be developed by it. At 1,400 feet a vein of cannel coal of pure and excellent quality and ten feet in thickness was penetrated, and below the coal for the remainder of the distance prospected the drill passed through a carbonaceous shale. Whether or not this coal can be mined, located as it is below the fierce artesian waters, is a question for the engineers, but its presence there clearly accounts for the natural gas and quite verifies Professor Todd's view, promulgated in his last bulletin of the geological survey of the state, that the natural gas is clearly of carboniferous origin, and not marsh gas, as formerly supposed.

The Pierre wells are now supplying fuel for engines developing more than 160 horse power and heat and light for a great many homes in the city. The permanency of the supply is demonstrated by eight years' flow, and when the wide extent of the territory is taken into consideration —it has now been exploited over an area forty miles wide and 150 miles long—it may be safely regarded as one of the state's great natural resources.

Tree Culture—Much intelligent attention has been given to this subject during the past season, which has resulted in the successful planting of thousands of trees and groves. The weather for several consecutive seasons has been very favorable to the growth of trees, and yearly the work has been done more successfully, more extensively and over a wider territory. The forest reserve in the Black Hills, under the management of Captain Seth Bullock, is receiving the care and attention to which it is entitled from the great importance of the undertaking, and the miners, who earlier antagonized the action of the government in setting the reservation apart, have come to accept the situation and even to recognize the wisdom of it. The ravages of the insect which for several years wrought havoc to the forests of the Black Hills have been checked, fires are less frequent, and in every respect the outlook is hopeful.

Progress in Taming Wild Fruits—The native fruits of South Dakota and the northwest are being improved by selection and crossing at the Agricultural College at Brookings. Considerably over 100,000 seedlings of various fruits are now under treatment upon the college grounds. Professor Hansen made an extended trip west of Pierre in the sand cherry season and secured a large quantity of the fruit among the Teton Sioux. About seventy-five varieties are now under propagation. A few will be sent out, all under Indian names. Many of them have lost the wild and bitter taste and are a very palatable table fruit. The

new plant breeding building has materially aided in the development of this work, which bids fair in a few years to produce an entirely new and native pomology for South Dakota.

The Railroads—There has been but little new railroad building the present year in the state. A branch of the Fremont, Elkhorn & Missouri Valley, a Northwestern line, has been extended into Gregory county, terminating at Bonesteel, and affording access to the reservation lands, which are attracting wide attention at this time.

The Milwaukee has extended its line from Eureka north across the state line to connect with the Northern Pacific at Linton, in North Dakota; and some short extensions in the Black Hills, by which the standard roads obtain access to Lead City, comprises the sum of this year's construction.

The State's Wealth—The assessment for the year does not do justice to the state nor in any way indicate the growth of values. For the two previous years a particular effort had been made to secure a compliance with the statute which requires property to be listed at its true value, and though no substantial compliance was secured, still the agitation resulted in a higher standard, but this year there was no agitation and the assessors dropped back to the old method of listing at about one-third of the true value. However, a gain of 27 per cent is shown. From the figures given it may be safely assumed that the aggregate value of the state's wealth is $560,000,000.

Herewith we give the assessment by counties:

Aurora	$ 2,275,782	Kingsbury	4,971,704
Beadle	4,772,022	Lake	4,607,249
Bon Homme	5,703,218	Lawrence	6,693,275
Brookings	6,869,415	Lincoln	6,423,300
Brown	7,859,655	Lyman	1,258,297
Brule	2,480,668	McCook	4,339,482
Buffalo	427,168	McPherson	1,925,012
Butte	2,237,515	Marshall	2,253,956
Campbell	1,376,862	Meade	1,724,685
Charles Mix	2,727,585	Miner	2,525,912
Clark	3,625,060	Minnehaha	10,205,138
Clay	4,535,198	Moody	4,501,390
Codington	4,773,413	Pennington	2,665,179
Custer	1,310,431	Potter	1,517,480
Davison	3,421,545	Roberts	3,435,931
Day	4,728,219	Sanborn	2,405,130
Deuel	4,133,564	Spink	6,546,971
Douglas	2,108,167	Stanley	1,492,481
Edmunds	2,259,325	Sully	1,489,107
Fall River	1,543,994	Turner	6,455,244
Faulk	2,164,174	Union	4,897,482
Grant	4,352,191	Walworth	1,333,995
Gregory	644,074	Yankton	6,038,686
Hamlin	3,613,230		
Hand	3,441,714	Total 1902	$187,531,381
Hanson	2,700,511	Total 1901	173,206,733
Hughes	2,159,904		
Hutchinson	6,965,200	Increase	$ 14,324,648
Hyde	1,227,194		
Jerauld	1,386,096	Increase per cent	8.27

Financial Conditions—The business of the people continues upon a safe and prosperous basis, and throughout the state all classes have lived well and usually saved something to the good. If the bank deposits may be taken as an index of popular conditions, the showing is superb. The last call made by the comptroller of the treasury for a statement of the condition of the national banks was as of September 15th, and by the public examiner for a statement of the condition of the state and private banks was as of October 6th. These calls revealed deposits in South Dakota banks as follows:

National banks, September 15, 1902	$10,899,177.00	
State and private banks October 7, 1902	19,517,165.11	
		$30,416,341.11
National banks, October, 1901	$ 8,118,277.35	
State and private banks, October, 1901	11,313,528.35	
		19,431,805.70
Increase for year		$10,984,535.41

At the days of these calls the banks had combined resources aggregating $40,601,110.61.

It should be noted that, while South Dakotans have shown commendable conservatism in business, they have not wholly escaped the speculative fever which has swept over the country at large, and it is probable that the volume of private indebtedness in the state has remained through the year with little change. Old loans have been paid in large sums, while new debts have been contracted in nearly equal amount, to enable borrowers to make investments, chiefly in safe business lines, or to buy lands.

The Weather—The year 1902 will go into history as exceptional in its weather conditions. At the close of a mild and open winter a severe storm fell on the 13th and 14th of March, accompanied, in the northern portion of the state, by a heavy fall of rain and snow, and everywhere by high winds and extreme cold. Herds suffered extremely, although the actual loss of stock was insignificant. The storm filled the soil with moisture, fitting it splendidly for the crop. The spring months continued cold and well adapted to wheat, but fatal to corn and gardens. Corn was not planted until late and was making fair progress when, upon the 21st of June, severe frost fell, in many sections cutting the tender plants to the ground, and everywhere chilling and retarding the growth. On the 26th of June a wind storm passed over the southern part of the state, doing much damage to crops and buildings and causing four deaths. Several important church buildings were wrecked, including the splendid structure of the Catholics at Beresford. This was the most severe and widespread summer storm in the history of the state. July and early August proved propitious and throughout the season conditions favorable to wheat prevailed, and the corn was rapidly regaining normal conditions when, on August 11th, a frost again came to destroy the corn in some sections, and to retard its development through-

out the state, and finally, on the 13th of September, came a killing frost which was general and found scarcely any corn wholly ripe.

In the forty-five years of agricultural settlement of South Dakota such conditions have not prevailed in any other season. It can only be accepted as one of the erratic manifestations, unaccountable in its origin and not likely to recur.

The rainfall of the year has been normal and well distributed.

Wheat—Wheat has been a fair crop in the state at large, while in some sections it has been above the average. General weather conditions were very favorable. I conclude from an extensive examination of the subject that the average yield is about thirteen bushels per acre, and I accept the department of agriculture's estimate of the acreage—3,604,347—as about correct. On that basis the crop of the year aggregates 46,856,000 bushels. Crop estimates, at the best, can be but well informed guesses, and until the fact is demonstrated one man's guess is about as good as another's. I can only claim for the accuracy of my own that I have carefully gone over the whole field and availed myself of every convenient means of learning the truth, and have aimed in every case to keep below rather than above the limit.

Last year I estimated the wheat crop of South Dakota at 39,000,000 bushels. Mr. Herschel V. Jones, the well known crop expert of Minneapolis, however, at the harvest time, fixed our yield at only 30,000,000, while the department of agriculture at Washington in its final and corrected tables put it at the great figure of 51,662,307 bushels. For my own satisfaction I have sought diligently to learn beyond possibility of serious error what that crop really was. To this end I have requested all of the railroads operating in the state to tell me exactly the number of bushels of wheat shipped from South Dakota stations by their respective lines, for the crop year of 1901. Each of the roads have complied with my request, and the result of the investigation follows:

	Bushels
Wheat and flour shipped out of state	35,901,698
Flour consumed in state 4½ bushels per capita	2,250,000
Seed for 3,604,347 acres	3,604,347
Total crop 1901	41,759,047

In June last Mr. Jones amended his earlier estimate to 35,000,000 bushels. On the basis of the figures above given the government's estimate upon the wheat crop of South Dakota for 1901 was 24 per cent too high, while Mr. Jones' first approximation was 28 per cent too small and his amended estimate was 16 per cent too small, and my own guess was 6 per cent below the real crop. I mention this to show that too much reliance may not be placed upon crop estimates, however carefully they may be made, either by individuals or officially.

The crop of the present year is of only medium quality. The fabric is good, but there is much smut, which in the judgment of most farmers

resulted from the unseasonable frosts. The average price in the local market has been 56 cents, and upon that figure the crop is worth $26,239,000.

A considerable quantity of macaroni wheat has been grown this year. It appears to be well adapted to the region of the James valley and westward, and has returned a yield fully 50 per cent larger than the common wheat. It grades about equivalent to the ordinary No. 2 northern wheat, and a ready market is found for all that can be secured. There was probably about half a million bushels of this grain grown in the state this year.

Corn—No one of the estimates made by this office in the review for last year was so seriously attacked as that for the corn crop, which I placed at 32,725,000 bushels. Some intelligent citizens who had given some attention to the subject placed the yield as high as 80,000,000 bushels. A very careful re-examination of the subject, in which I took a vast deal of testimony, only confirms my belief in the integrity of my first estimate. The department of agriculture placed the yield lower than my figure—29,842,659 bushels. The attack upon my last year's estimate has led me to examine the corn proposition with unusual care this year, and I have taken great pains to arrive at both the acreage and yield.

The department of agriculture places the acreage for the present year at 1,577,398. I think this is too little, when the whole area planted is considered. My method of determining the area planted to corn, as well as other crops, has been to visit each county and learn from farmers and others the actual acreage upon a large number of quarter sections of land scattered throughout the county, and from this information find an average for the entire county. By this method I conclude that about 1,900,000 acres were planted to corn last spring. One-half of this amount was planted south of the line dividing Minnehaha and Lincoln counties, projected west to the Missouri. This section has a yield of thirty-three bushels per acre, or in the aggregate 31,350,000 bushels, having a feeding value of sixteen million bushels of sound corn, worth on the farm $7,200,000. The remainder of the area planted will yield fifteen bushels per acre, or 14,270,000 bushels in all, having a feeding value of 6,000,000 bushels of sound corn, worth $2,700,000, and making the entire corn crop of the state for the year worth to the producer $9,900,000. Scarcely any of the crop is of a merchantable grade, owing to the phenomenal frosts of this season, which are more fully discussed in this review under the head of weather conditions for the year.

Continued success in corn growing for a long series of years had induced farmers in every portion of the state to conclude that corn is one of the safest and most profitable crops for the state, and acting upon this conclusion an exceptionally large area was planted last spring. The unfavorable weather conditions for that crop this year has not discouraged farmers who, basing their judgment upon the past twenty years, regard this year's frosts as phenomenal and not likely to recur again

for many years, and even an increased acreage of corn may be expected next season.

Oats—About 700,000 acres have been devoted to the oats crop this year, and a fair yield of an excellent quality has resulted. About thirty-five bushels per acre is the average story of the threshing machine, making a crop of 24,500,000 bushels, worth on the farm $9,000,000.

Barley—Barley has continued a popular and profitable crop. Three hundred thousand acres were sown and brought a generally fair return, though the grade was not so good as for the previous year, owing to harvest rains, which injured the color. Nine million bushels were harvested, worth $3,600,000.

Rye—Rye, though a safe crop, valuable both for pasture and for grain, has never been popular with Dakota farmers. Only about 37,000 acres were sown, giving a fair yield of good quality. The result is about one million bushels, worth $400,000.

Flax—About 350,000 acres of flax was sown last spring, at least 10 per cent of which was ruined by the early frosts, and the yield and quality of the remainder were injured by the same causes. About two million bushels were produced, worth, in round figures, two million dollars.

Speltz—Speltz is a new coarse grain crop somewhat resembling barley, but possessing great drought-resisting power, which has been introduced into the state by the Russian immigrants and is being grown with great success. Horses, cattle and hogs eat it with avidity and thrive upon it. I have not been able to secure figures indicating the extent of its cultivation, but it has been quite extensively grown and seems destined to occupy an important position in our agriculture.

Hay—The hay and forage crop, especially the grasses, has been abundant and of excellent quality. I approximate the value of this crop at $11,000,000, but it is not stated with any great degree of confidence in its accuracy, though I am convinced that it is worth more rather than less.

Fruit and Gardens—The same causes which militated against the corn crop this year also cut the yield of fruit and gardens. In addition a great storm passed over the fruit growing districts on the 26th of June, which destroyed much of the green fruit. This is particularly true of the apple crop. The census figures upon the value of fruit and gardens are confessedly incomplete and so far as South Dakota is concerned are absolutely worthless. Only twelve thousand farms attempted to report upon these products. It is not easy to arrive at an estimate that is in any way reliable. I am convinced that the estimate of five millions made in former years is much too high. There are about 90,000 homes in the state, and a majority of them do something in the way of cultivating vegetables, while in some sections gardening is an im-

portant industry. In some sections, too, much fruit is grown for the general market. Some inquiry, though I confess I have not gone into this proposition as fully as the matter demands, leads me to the conclusion that for vegetables and potatoes produced at home, including fruit in the sections where it is grown, about $36 per year is a fair average to the family, making a normal crop, worth $4,250,000. The crop of this year is below the normal so far as fruit and vegetables are concerned, but very good as to potatoes, and I approximate the value of this branch of production at $3,600,000.

Dairy and Creamery—Dairying continues to increase in importance and is destined to become the leading industry of South Dakota. The assessment for the present year accounts for 541,734 cows, but this figure is manifestly too small. The assessment of 1900 gave us 420,766 cows, but the federal census taken at the same time gave us 550,986, or 31 per cent more cows than were returned to the assessor. Applying the same ratio and adding the 31 per cent to the assessment of this year, makes the total number of cows in the state 709,691. Of the cows reported to the last census in South Dakota, 51 per cent were in the dairy and 49 per cent were dry or on the range, and upon that basis we have at this time 361,932 productive dairy cows in the state. The census of 1900 placed the value of the dairy product per cow at $15.54 per annum. The average price of dairy products for the present year is 17 per cent more than for 1900, or an average of $18.18 per cow, making the total value of the dairy product of the state for the present year $6,579,923.76. This does not take into account the value of the separated milk for family use and for stock food; neither does it consider the calves, which will be included in the estimates for live stock.

In my judgment the unit, $18.18 per productive cow, indicated by the census, is absurdly low. I know many South Dakota herds which have yielded to their owners $35 per cow per year for the past three years. Mr. S. J. Wright of Aberdeen has secured hundreds of written testimonials from his farmer customers as to the yield per cow per year in their herds, and not one but got $28 or more. However, I shall not quarrel with the census, but accept its pronunciamento as the base of my estimate.

I have not attempted to discriminate between the dairy and creamery product for the present year, for the data is too indefinite to arrive at separate conclusions. Only about one-half of the creameries reported to the dairy commissioner—88 out of 153. These 88 report the payment to their patrons net $1,294,503.30.

There has been a marked change in methods during the past two years. The farm separator has come into general use, and there has been a material increase of home dairying in consequence, while the shipment of separated cream to distant manufacturers has become a very important feature of dairying.

Poultry and Eggs—The census of 1900 placed the value of the poultry and eggs produced in South Dakota for the year 1899 at $3,102,-

302. The average price of poultry and eggs this year is 21 per cent higher than in 1899, and I approximate the increase of production at 12 per cent, which would make the value of the product of poultry and eggs for the present year $4,204,239.67. This figure is confirmed by the testimony of very many farmers and dealers.

In my review last year I placed the value of dairy, creamery, poultry and eggs in one item approximated at $8,500,000. The census was not then available as a basis of calculation, and as I have endeavored in all of my estimates to be upon the safe side, I was unduly conservative. Calculating from the census, last year's product was probably worth more than a million dollars in excess of my figures.

Live Stock—Notwithstanding the high price of grain for feeding, the year has been a favorable one to the live stock industry, for prevailing prices have made the feeding profitable and the ranges have been rich in pastures which have sent millions of dollars' worth of finished beef directly to the block. The winter of 1901-2 was generally mild, and the winter pasture was abundant and nutritious, although some damage was wrought by an unseasonable storm on the 13th day of March. The exceptionally cool summer was particularly adapted to the growth of grass and to the comfort of stock, and the percentage of cattle which came down off the ranges finished for market was correspondingly high. The volume, too, of cattle, was vastly increased over previous years. Notwithstanding the large production of the ranges, it must be understood, however, that the larger production of live stock comes from the small farms of the sections east of the Missouri, from which comes a constant stream of fat cattle, hogs, sheep and horses for the general market.

On the ranges a new condition is growing up which is rapidly revolutionizing the cattle business in this state. Homesteaders by the hundred have settled upon the range, appropriating the best water privileges and thus commanding the adjacent feeding grounds, and neighboring homesteaders are fencing their claims into common pastures. The leasing and fencing of the Indian lands are contributing to the driving out of the big outfits, which have hitherto allowed their cattle to drift over the range, and the incoming of the small stockman, who fences his pasture or keeps his stock within control. The result will be to greatly increase the feeding capacity of the range as well as to add materially to the population.

Hogs—Hogs have been free from cholera, and despite the short corn crop herds have increased in number. In some sections much barley and some wheat have been fed, but as a rule corn has been the chief food. The figures for hogs in the state are worthless as a basis of computation. The assessors for the present year found only 311,980, while the census for 1900 gives us 823,120. This year we have shipped to market about twice the number reported to the assessor.

Sheep—Sheep for mutton have been particularly profitable this season, and the wool market has been somewhat better. The assessors evi-

dently had the "wool pulled over their eyes," for they found but 590,000, while the census man dug up 858,000.

Horses—There has been a marked revival of the horse raising industry, both on the farm and range, and it has proven very advantageous this year. The assessors found 400,000.

Live stock continues to be by far the most valuable industry of the state. The census of 1900 placed the value of live stock in South Dakota at $64,000,000. On the basis of the assessment the increase since that time has been 26 per cent, and the average price this year is 11 per cent higher than in 1900. I therefore place the investment in the industry at this time at $88,510,000 and the product this year, from growth, increased price and sales is $31,209,000.

The year has been one of activity, development and profit in the mining sections of the state; the old mines have continued to yield steadily and abundantly, while many new propositions have become productive. New reduction processes have rendered much ground formerly impracticable profitable territory, and prospecting in a systematic and scientific way has been greatly stimulated. The production of gold has been $8,811,000 and of other minerals, stone and cement, approximately $1,600,000.

SUMMARY PRODUCTIONS 1902

Wheat, 46,858,000 bushels	$ 26,239,000
Corn, 45,620,000 bushels (frosted)	9,900,000
Oats, 24,500,000 bushels	9,000,000
Barley, 9,000,000 bushels	3,600,000
Flax, 2,000,000 bushels	2,000,000
Rye, 1,000,000 bushels	400,000
Live stock	31,209,000
Dairy and creamery	6,579,000
Eggs and poultry	4,205,000
Hay	11,000,000
Wool and hides	1,800,000
Gardens, potatoes, fruit	3,600,000
Minerals, stone, cement	10,417,000
Total production of new wealth, 1902	$119,949,000
Total for 1901 (my estimate, corrected)	113,457,750
Net gain	$ 6,492,250
Per cent of gain	6.9
Per capita new wealth, 1902	$242.56
Per capita new wealth, 1901	236.30
Gain	$ 6.26

In the foregoing summary I have followed the usual custom of fixing the value of all the productions of the state and counting it as

new wealth produced within the year, but it is apparent that a portion of it is counted twice, first in the production of coarse grain and forage, and again in the value of the live stock production of the year. To arrive at the net production of new wealth that portion of the grain and stover for live stock must be deducted. Absolute accuracy in arriving at this figure is of course impossible, but much investigation leads me to the conclusion that the excess of the year's productions above one hundred million dollars is not far amiss, and I feel justified in the assertion that the net cash value of the state's productions for the year exceeds one hundred million dollars, and upon that basis still gives us upwards of $200 per capita of new, net wealth, a figure which no other state can approximate. The summary above given does not include manufactured products, which according to the census of 1900 were $12,231,000. The value of manufactures this year is much greater.

Education—The cause of education has made excellent progress during the year and is, as ever, the first concern of the people. South Dakota has more than 150,000 school children and 3,544 schools. She paid her men teachers, during this year, an average of $36.07 per month, and to her women teachers $32.31. The school system cost the people a total of $1,791,153.55, of which sum $1,430,550.94 was paid for maintenance proper, $218,636.95 for new school houses and fixtures, and $141,956.66 for the reduction of the debt of the several districts.

The rural schools make a particularly good financial showing. The average tax levy for the maintenance of the rural schools was but 6.1 mills, and out of the proceeds the debt of the rural schools was reduced $153,000, leaving but $114,185 to pay to clear the last dollar. The levy already made for the coming year will practically wipe out all of this debt, which was incurred by the earlier settlers for the building of school houses and for which district bonds were issued.

The proceeds of the school fund continues to grow, and in a very few years the schools of the state will be almost if not quite sustained without a special tax.

The institutions of higher education are all prosperous. The number has been increased by adding the Northern Normal and Industrial School at Aberdeen, which opened September 9th. It was my intention to give in this review the registration of these institutions, but the failure of the managers of many of them to supply the necessary information, in compliance with my request for it, leaves me with only fragmentary returns. However, from unofficial information from all of the colleges and official figures from several of them, I am able to state that more than 2,750 students are now pursuing courses of study in the universities and colleges of South Dakota.

School Fund and School Lands—On June 30th last the permanent school fund of the state amounted to $4,084,566.69, and 1,873,995 acres of the school lands remained unsold. Owing to the difficulty experienced in keeping the school fund invested, but 7,080 acres were offered for sale this

year, and this was sold at an average of $19.52 per acre. At the date named $538,511.06 of the permanent school fund was lying in the treasury uninvested and uncalled for. In consequence of this condition the commissioner of school lands has recommended that not more than one-half of the school land in any county be hereafter sold, and the remainder be held as a permanent investment for rental.

Church Progress—The year in church work has been profitable and a good growth is noted in all of the denominations from which figures could be procured. Many new buildings were erected and a good number of churches formerly supported in part by the missionary societies became self-supporting. It was my purpose to give a summary of a census of the churches of the state for the year in this connection, but more than half of the denominations have failed to respond with information in reply to my repeated requests for the same. The Catholic diocese of Sioux Falls was divided and the diocese of Lead erected, over which Bishop John Stariha was installed on November 24th.

Public Health—The general health of the community has been good throughout the year. No epidemic sickness has visited the commonwealth. From the latest available mortality statistics the death rate is 8.22 per thousand, and this is larger than it would be if the whites alone were included, the great mortality among the Indian population affecting the rate perceptibly. This condition among the Indians appears to be due to the transition period in the change from the wild life to civilization and has been observed among all peoples whose customs were abruptly altered. On the whole it may in this connection be observed that the Indians are making satisfactory progress in civilized ways. Practically all of the younger people are in school, and it is rare to find a young Indian who is illiterate. They are acquiring habits of industry and many of the young men command good wages. They live in better homes than formerly and most families have surrounded themselves with more or less live stock, chiefly horses and cattle.

Public Morals—Despite the fact that there have been several serious bank robberies in the state during the year, it may be asserted that the public morals are in a healthy state. The crimes mentioned have been committed by eastern professionals, attracted here by the exceptionally prosperous years which the state has enjoyed and the consequent large deposits of cash in the banks. There have been two executions for capital crimes, both Indians, and the crimes were committed upon the reservation and range west of the Missouri. The prompt justice meted out by the courts in both cases met with the hearty approval of the Indian people, who rendered the officers every assistance in bringing the criminals to justice.

Political—Although a general election for state officers occurred, the year has been one of general apathy in politics. The Republicans held their state convention at Sioux Falls early in June and placed in nomination the following ticket:

Representatives in Congress—Chas. H. Burke, Pierre; Eben W. Martin, Deadwood.

Governor—Charles N. Herreid.

Lieutenant Governor—George W. Snow, Springfield.

Secretary of State—O. C. Berg, Redfield.

State Auditor—J. F. Halladay, Iroquois.

State Treasurer—C. B. Collins, Groton.

Attorney General—Philo Hall, Brookings.

Superintendent of Public Instruction—George W. Nash, Canton.

Commissioner of School and Public Lands—C. J. Bach, Hurley.

Railroad Commissioner—D. H. Smith, Miller.

The Republican convention unanimously endorsed Alfred B. Kittredge for United States senator.

The Democratic party met in convention at Huron on June 27th and named their ticket as follows:

Representatives in Congress—John R. Wilson, Deadwood; F. C. Robinson, Groton.

Governor—John W. Martin, Watertown.

Lieutenant Governor—Everett Smith, Mitchell.

Secretary of State—Edward S. Ashley, Clark.

State Auditor—Thomas W. Taubman, Plankinton.

State Treasurer—Louis Chladek, Tyndall.

Attorney General—Wm. A. Lynch, Huron.

Superintendent of Public Instruction—N. P. Small, Gettysburg.

Commissioner of School and Public Lands—W. H. Minahan, Charles Mix.

Railroad Commissioner—Hiram B. Rose, Hayti.

The Socialists met in Aberdeen September 18th and named a ticket as given herewith:

Representatives in Congress—Freeman Knowles, Deadwood; Walter Price, Medford.

Governor—John C. Crawford, DeSmet.

Lieutenant Governor—Erik Shakstad, Sioux Falls.

Secretary of State—Clarence Brothers, Aberdeen.

State Auditor—G. Frank Walker, Onida.

State Treasurer—A. E. Clark, Hecla.

Attorney General—S. H. Cranmer, Aberdeen.

Superintendent of Public Instruction—David McClellan.

Commissioner of School and Public Lands—Weber T. Pierce.

Railroad Commissioner—E. B. Case, Madison.

The Socialists also endorsed Robert W. Haire of Aberdeen as a candidate for United States senator.

The Prohibitionists placed in nomination the following:

Representatives in Congress—J. W. Kelley, W. W. Smith.

Governor—H. H. Curtis, Castlewood.

Lieutenant Governor—W. J. Edgar.

Secretary of State—G. H. Brown.

State Auditor—A. H. Tasker.

State Treasurer—Knute Lewis, Lake Preston.
Commissioner of School and Public Lands—D. W. Noble.
Railroad Commissioner—H. W. Reinecke.

The election occurred on the 4th of November and resulted in the election of the entire Republican ticket by a majority, not yet officially declared, but from unofficial returns approximating 25,000. The legislature elected at the same time contains 120 Republicans and 12 Democrats.

The notable feature of the year, politically, was the increased Republican strength and the disappearance of the Populist party after a career of twelve years, during which period it had exercised wide influence in state affairs, having controlled two legislatures and elected one United States senator and held the gubernatorial office for four years.

IN CONCLUSION

The language of the concluding paragraph of the review of one year ago is applicable to the present season. I then said: "To sum up, then, in a paragraph the conclusions drawn from the foregoing, it may be said that 1901 has in most things been an average year in South Dakota. That in a few lines the average has surpassed the normal and in a few fallen below the normal condition."

The statement for 1902 could not be made in better form, and to that was then added and may be repeated now: "The close of the year finds the general condition highly satisfactory, with all the people in the enjoyment of excellent health, prosperity and exceedingly hopeful for the future."

The year 1902 is the sixth in which South Dakota has surpassed all of the other states in the per capita production of new wealth. It is a proud boast, unquestionably supported by the actual productions, and is a conclusive indication of the opportunities open to enterprising men here. South Dakota has large productive capacity, not yet one-half developed, while she has but a small population to share in the product, hence our exceptional advantages.

DOANE ROBINSON, Secretary.

THIRD ANNUAL REVIEW OF THE PROGRESS OF SOUTH DAKOTA FOR 1903

In conformity with the established custom of this Society, the secretary herewith presents the annual review of the progress of the state for the year just closing. It is the purpose of the compiler to make this review an authority upon existing conditions. That purpose has actuated the compilation of each of the former reviews, and it is pleasant to note that the public has accepted them as the last analysis of the situation. Experience has, however, developed better methods for ascertaining facts, and the liberality of the legislature in providing a salary and for the payment of the expenses of the secretary has made it possible to devote more time to the gathering of the necessary data.

A feature of the previous reviews has been the wide circulation of them as immigration documents. This was no part of the original intention of the compilation, but since the conditions revealed for several years past have been most excellent, the bare, authoritative statement of those conditions has been the most convincing argument which could be presented to homeseekers. On the other hand every bad condition will be revealed with the same fidelity to truth, and when, if at any time they do, bad conditions prevail, the reviews will probably not be sought for the same purpose.

The Official Record—The year opened with the biennial assembly of the legislature and the second inauguration of Governor Charles N. Herreid. The new state officers installed were Charles B. Collins of Groton, state treasurer; J. F. Halladay of Iroquois, auditor; C. J. Bach of Hurley, commissioner of school lands; George W. Nash of Canton, superintendent of public instruction; D. H. Smith of Miller, railroad commissioner.

The legislature was almost unanimously Republican, being 120 Republicans to 12 Democrats. Hon. Alfred B. Kittredge of Sioux Falls was the unanimous choice of his party for United States senator, the Democratic vote being given to Hon. John Bowler of Groton.

The more noteworthy features of the legislation are the greatly enlarged appropriations, the total approximating nineteen hundred thousand dollars for the biennial period, or a little short of one million dollars per year for the expenses of the state and institutions. There is no charge of extravagance in these appropriations, a very large proportion of

which goes to the support of the growing educational and benevolent institutions. The State University, the Agricultural College, the Normal schools at Aberdeen, Madison, Spearfish and Springfield, the insane asylum at Yankton, the school for feeble minded at Redfield, the deaf mute school at Sioux Falls and the blind school at Gary each were given additional buildings, which were essential to the prosecution of the work of the several institutions, each of which was crowded to the utmost capacity.

The revision of the laws made by Messrs. Bartlett Tripp, Gideon C. Moody and James M. Brown, under the authorization of the previous legislature, was adopted and published as the revised codes of 1903.

The State Historical Society was given a sufficient appropriation to enable it to carry forward its work systematically, and several important amendments were made to the school law, the most noteworthy being the provision conferring upon the state superintendent the power to issue uniform certificates to all teachers, good in all of the counties of the state.

The recently adopted amendment to the constitution permitting the school funds to be loaned at a minimum interest of 5 per cent was made effective by the proper legislation, with the result that the more than half a million dollars of school funds which had accumulated in the treasury has been loaned upon first class security. Every dollar of the school funds of the state is now drawing interest.

The boards of regents of education and of charities and corrections, which hitherto have administered the affairs of the state institutions, involving the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars annually, without compensation, were placed upon a salaried basis.

Aside from the appropriations the great interest of the session centered about reform in fire insurance methods, resulting in the passage of laws providing that the companies doing business in the state should in case of loss pay to the insured the full amount of the loss as designated in the policy, that is the so-called valued policy act, and also providing that no two companies doing business in the state should enter into any compact fixing rates.

At the opening of the session great interest was manifested in the matter of submitting an amendment to the constitution changing the permanent seat of government from Pierre to Mitchell, but before the organization was perfected it was determined that such submission should be made, and the excitement incident to so important an undertaking at once abated. The question will be voted upon at the next general election, which occurs in November, 1904.

To enable the state militia to take advantage of the new federal law placing the state militia directly under the control of the president, an appropriation of $70,000 was made.

The permanent camp of the state militia was located upon Lake Kampeska, near Watertown, and the state fair at Huron.

Land Movement—There has this year been a marked abatement of the land movement which was so prominent a feature of 1902. Not

that the sales of real estate to eastern investors and homeseekers have not been large this season, but the furore of last year has been absent, and the proposition has been upon a more conservative and business-like basis. Prices have remained at the high figure reached last year, and in some cases there has been a positive advance.

Population—The growth of population has been something more than normal. This review last year placed the total at a half million. Much inquiry and computation confirms the accuracy of that figure and justifies the statement that the present population is 525,000. The first effect of last year's phenomenal land movement was a positive loss of people to the state by the emigration of those who sold their lands to speculators. That loss has much more than been made good by the immigration of this year, and in both farm and village the result of growth is apparent.

There has been a large influx of homeseekers, who have taken homesteads on the government land west of the Missouri river.

Building—This has been another year of large building operations, despite the almost prohibitory prices of labor and material. For the last stated reason the towns have done more than the farms in the way of new improvements. As a rule the conservative farmer already comfortably housed could wait for better prices before building, but in the towns it has been as a rule a matter of securing a home at any price. Consequently building operations have only been limited by the ability to secure material and workmen.

In no former year has public building been so extensive. This includes schools, court houses, libraries, waterworks and sewer systems, and cement sidewalk building, which has become almost universal in the towns. Among the more important of the public buildings in addition to those provided for by the legislature are splendid court houses at Webster and Aberdeen, federal building at Aberdeen, libraries at Yankton, Redfield and Pierre, school houses in many places, Masonic temple at Yankton, hotels at Mitchell and Deadwood.

Congress has also made appropriations for public buildings at Pierre, Yankton and Deadwood. Huron has secured a new opera house.

The building of homes, however, as is usually the case, has surpassed every other building interest, and every locality has participated in this advantage upon almost equal terms. A few have been exceptionally costly and elaborate, but in the main the structures have been substantial and tasty homes at medium cost.

Civic pride has everywhere shown more prominently than before and has found its manifestation in better streets, better lawns, tasty fences, well kept trees and the universal brightening of homes with paint. The construction of cement walks with curb and grass plot has added immensely to the beauty of many streets in all of the towns. Woonsocket has taken a step in advance of all of the other cities by providing a beautiful, centrally located lake of artesian water. The railway company has encouraged this enterprise by carrying from the Dell Rapids

quarries, free of charge, granite spalls to line the banks of the lake, rendering it cleanly and picturesque. This body of water provides fine boating in the open season and superb skating in the winter. It is convenient, safe and in every way attractive, and within the means of every town where artesian wells can be procured. That is, a large majority of the towns of the state could have such a pleasure place.

Artesian Wells—A very large number of artesian wells have been sunk during the year, and the total now approximates 2,400. There is no perceptible loss of pressure, though occasionally from some local reason a well loses its flow. In almost every case this loss can be traced to a clogging of the pipe or to a broken pipe. Dr. Todd, however, who has given the matter closer study than any other person, believes that the pressure will diminish in proportion to the increase of the number of wells. Owners of wells are using the water more conservatively than formerly, few wells being allowed to run at full head, and there is no reason to believe that the supply will not permanently afford all the water needed for every purpose for which it may be required, including the irrigation of gardens and small fields.

Natural Gas—The supply of natural gas in the older wells continues undiminished, and the boundaries of the field have been extended during the year by the sinking of two wells on the large ranch of Mr. H. F. Hunter in western Campbell county on the Missouri River. Both of these wells, which, by the way, are among the deepest which have been sunk, afford a strong flow of gas. At Pierre a third well is being sunk to supply the growing demand for gas for domestic and power producing fuel.

Assessed Valuation—The total assessed valuation of the property of the state is given in the subjoined table by counties. This shows an increase of $23,503,381 over last year:

Aurora	$ 2,580,781	Grant	4,728,954
Beadle	5,572,009	Gregory	716,416
Bon Homme	6,082,676	Hamlin	3,804,851
Brookings	7,288,224	Hand	4,090,940
Brown	8,879,709	Hanson	3,014,409
Brule	2,495,156	Hughes	2,488,693
Buffalo	473,508	Hutchinson	7,728,153
Butte	3,043,793	Hyde	1,740,932
Campbell	1,514,747	Jerauld	1,929,447
Charles Mix	3,074,845	Kingsbury	5,248,102
Clark	3,952,440	Lake	4,934,992
Clay	4,969,574	Lawrence	10,723,160
Codington	5,103,710	Lincoln	6,865,667
Custer	1,533,747	Lyman	1,549,187
Davison	3,639,576	McCook	4,579,149
Day	5,077,419	McPherson	1,987,571
Deuel	4,340,270	Marshall	2,618,104
Douglas	2,726,177	Meade	2,161,556
Edmunds	2,383,325	Miner	2,719,220
Fall River	1,673,292	Minnehaha	11,255,052
Faulk	2,502,324	Moody	4,720,434

Pennington	3,013,954	Meyer	115,255
Potter	1,702,140	Presho	19,089
Roberts	4,201,497	Tripp	23,522
Sanborn	3,154,577		
Spink	6,994,018	Total 1903	$211,035,192
Stanley	1,674,278	Total 1902	187,531,381
Sully	1,672,408		
Turner	6,840,463	Increase	$ 23,503,811
Union	5,183,966		
Walworth	1,650,810	Increase per cent	12.53
Yankton	6,276,924		

This assessment does not in any sense represent the value of the property of the state. Governor Herreid has given much attention to this subject, and taking into consideration the low price at which the property assessed is listed and the vast amount of property which is not assessed at all, he has arrived at the conclusion that the real selling value of all of the property in the state is fully five times as great as is shown by the assessment; in other words, South Dakota has more than one billion dollars' worth of property.

Financial Condition of the State—State finances are in a very satisfactory condition. The total bonded indebtedness on July 1st last was $289,000. This falls due at various dates from 1905 to 1909, and chiefly bears interest at 4½ per cent, none of it bearing a higher rate. It is the purpose of the treasurer to call in these bonds as fast as owners can be prevailed upon to give them up, and it is hoped that this may be accomplished during the year 1904. In addition to the bonded debt above mentioned there is outstanding $215,000 of revenue warrants due within the fiscal year, to offset which there is due the state $371,000 of delinquent taxes. It is the purpose of the state administration to place the state at once in the column of very few states which are wholly free from debt.

Private Finances—Private finances continue to be in a most hopeful condition. Farmers are as a rule free from debt and many have a comfortable balance in bank. Almost the only exceptions are those who have purchased adjoining lands, and they are making excellent progress in clearing off debts contracted for this purpose. To the general rule there are of course the familiar exceptions of the thriftless and unfortunate, but it is a fair proposition that the industrious and thrifty farmer is in very comfortable circumstances in every portion of the state.

The prosperity of the farms has reflected itself in the towns, but there the same easy, money ahead condition does not exist, for the reason that almost every denizen of the towns has gone to the limit in improving his property. New homes, additions to older ones, lawns, cement walks, sewers and plumbing, gas, curbs and boulevards cost money, and the South Dakotan is prone to provide himself with all of the modern comforts. It cannot be said that there has been extravagance in this direction, but the extent to which it has been carried has left the urban communities with less ready money than even in some former less pros-

perous years. Nevertheless the general condition is healthy and hopeful, although bankers are conservative about encouraging new enterprises. At the last report of the bank examiners there were $31,000,000 upon deposit in the national, state and private banks of South Dakota, a figure scracely different from that made in the review of one year ago. A good deal of investigation among bankers confirms the view that about 65 per cent of the whole is the surplus of farmers and ranchmen.

Manufacturing—There has been but little addition to the manufacturing industry during the present year. South Dakota is not yet a manufacturing state, although there is a steady increase in the manufactured output of her mills and factories. The only new industry undertaken this year is the manufacture of clothing, a considerable plant for that purpose having been established at Aberdeen. The census placed the manufactured products of 1900 at $12,231,000, and the increase since that date is estimated at 15 per cent.

Wholesaling—There is a marked increase in the wholesaling and jobbing business and it is becoming a large factor in the development of the larger towns. Jewett Bros., the pioneer wholesalers of northern South Dakota, have erected a magnificent building for their business at Aberdeen, as has Andrew Kuehn & Co. at Sioux Falls, during the present year.

Weather—The weather for the present year has in most respects been normal. The winter provided a moderate amount of snow and excellent sleighing for several months, a condition not usual. On the range the snow was too deep for successful grazing and cattle left to rustle without shelter or feed suffered a good deal and the loss was considerable. The more thrifty ranchmen, however, were provided with hay against such an emergency and brought their stock through in good shape. In the southern portion of the state excessive rains came in the spring months, delaying seeding and rendering the cultivation of the corn crop very difficult in the low lands. In the north central portion a drouth in June reduced the yield of small grain, though the damage was in a great measure repaired by more than the usual rainfall in July and August. The average temperature for the summer season was normal, while the rainfall for the state at large was a little more than the average. There was no frost during the three summer months. The first killing frost fell on September 13th, and caught a very little of the late corn on the wet low grounds, but as a rule the crop was well matured before the frost came.

A heavy streak of hail fell along the east side of the Sioux valley about August 1st, ruining crops in the line of its movement. The region from Kranzburg to Brookings in a strip a mile or more wide received the greatest injury.

Crops—Crops in general are very satisfactory and have brought a good return in cash to the husbandman. Almost every variety planted brought an average yield.

Wheat is the most universally grown crop and all of the conditions, in the average, were favorable to its growth and maturity. Some streaks of hail, of course, were fatal to it, and two spots of drouth caused a shortage in the small regions affected. If my methods are trustworthy sources of information the acreage for the state this year is 3,482,000, and the average yield is thirteen bushels per acre, making a total yield of 45,266,000 bushels, which at the average price in the local markets has a cash value of $29,422,900.

In my discussion of the wheat yield in the review for 1902, I made some comparisons with the estimates made by Mr. Herschel V. Jones, the Minneapolis market expert, and with the government estimate relating to the wheat crop of South Dakota for 1901, to which Mr. Jones and Mr. Hyde, the government statistician, each took serious exceptions. No reflection upon these authorities was intended, other than to show that in the very nature of things the most carefully prepared estimate may be greatly at fault. I am therefore very happy at this time to be able to commend the estimates of these gentlemen upon the crop of 1902, although my own work suffers by the comparison. In my review for last year I placed the wheat crop of South Dakota for 1902 at 46,858,000 bushels. Mr. Jones' revised figures upon that crop published August 11th of this year places the crop of South Dakota for 1902 at 41,600,000 bushels, and Mr. Hyde's department of agriculture estimate is 43,973,000.

Each of the railways operating in South Dakota has reported to me the exact number of bushels of wheat of the crop of 1902 which they carried out of the state, and the aggregate is 36,877,678, to which I add four and one-half bushels per capita of the population for the flour consumed at home, 2,362,000 bushels, and one bushel per acre for each acre seeded to wheat, 3,482,000 bushels, making a total crop produced in 1902, 42,721,678 bushels, or 1,121,678 more than Mr. Jones' estimate and 1,251,355 bushels less than Mr. Hyde's estimate, and 3,937,678 less than my own figure.

I have not attempted to distinguish between common and macaroni wheat in gathering my crop figures. Mr. Jones, however, in his estimate for the present year has not taken macaroni into account, and he places the crop for the present year at only 39,600,000 bushels. Counting the macaroni his total would probably be about forty million. I cannot agree with him, feeling sure that notwithstanding a slightly reduced acreage, we have more bushels of wheat in South Dakota this year than last.

Corn—No other crop is the subject of so much difference of opinion as the corn yield in every year, and it is probable that no other crop varies so greatly from year to year. The first difficulty is to determine the acreage. With that known the rest is comparatively easy. I have been over this matter with unusual care this year, have applied the methods described last year for ascertaining the acreage, but carrying it further. By this method of computation I place the corn acreage this year at 2,108,000 acres. The yield is variable. There are large sections

where the yield averages more than forty bushels. There are localities where it is as much as sixty-five bushels. There are vast areas of thirty bushel corn, and less than twenty bushels is very rare. I believe that twenty-four bushels is a conservative figure for the entire state, and upon that basis the yield is 52,320,000 bushels, worth at the crib $15,819,200.

The corn is generally of a good quality, though a little of the latest was caught by the 13th of September frost and is soft, but fair early feed. The great bulk of the crop is merchantable. The loss of last year's crop did not discourage the farmers, who this year devoted a large additional acreage to this cereal.

As above stated, this is a crop upon which the doctors seriously disagree. Mr. Hyde, the department of agriculture expert, thinks South Dakota had thirty million bushels of merchantable corn last year, worth $12,223,257. I think we raised forty-five million bushels of stuff, scarcely any of it merchantable, and worth but $9,900,000 for consumption on the farm.

Oats—I find about 745,000 acres of oats, producing 26,000,000 bushels, and worth to the farmer $7,280,000.

Barley—Barley is fast growing into one of the staple crops of the state. Time has proved that no other one is more reliable. The census of 1900 placed the crop of the preceding year at 7,891,000 bushels, and there has been a steady increase since that date. I placed last year's crop at 9,000,000 bushels, and Mr. Hyde substantially agrees with that figure in his final report. I think there was about 365,000 acres sown last spring, which yielded 30.5 bushels per acre, making the total crop for 1903 11,132,500 bushels, worth at the elevator $4,000,000.

Rye—South Dakota is not nor has it been at any time much of a rye state, notwithstanding the fact that it is a good safe crop in this climate. This year there is a little less than 40,000 acres, turning out 700,000 bushels, worth $290,000.

Flax—The department of agriculture last year gave us credit for producing 3,206,000 bushels of flax, worth $3,655,000. After a careful search I was unable to find any such an amount. I placed the total at two million bushels of poor stuff, and I have found no reason to change my opinion. This has been a more favorable flax year, and I think we have three and a half million bushels, worth $2,800,000.

Potatoes, Gardens and Fruit—I make no pretension to more than an intelligent guess as to the value of these items. The department of agriculture gives us credit for producing 2,353,000 bushels of potatoes last year. The yield this season is certainly much larger, and I approximate it at 3,000,000 bushels. Gardens have yielded bountifully and fruit has been exceptionally good, and at a hazard I place the value of this class at $3,750,000.

Hay and Fodder—According to the census of 1900 South Dakota made the year before (1899) 2,383,774 tons of hay, worth $9,534,000. Ac-

cepting the census as a basis, and every intelligent observer will grant that it is low enough, we can arrive at a fair estimate of this year's made hay product. Since 1899 the live stock of the state has incerased about 25 per cent in numbers, but the hay production has increased in a greater ratio from the fact that land has become more valuable, free range east of the Missouri does not longer exist, and every owner has found it incumbent to supply feed for his own stock. The corn binding harvesters have also induced a much larger saving of corn fodder for barn forage. Reckoning from all these sources, I think the production of made hay and fodder has increased fully 40 per cent, making the yield for this year 3,353,000 tons, worth $13,840,000. Data gathered as to the actual production of made hay fully confirms this estimate as conservative, indeed, figuring from actual tons reported, the total would exceed the figures given.

Dairy and Creamery—This important branch of industry has not made the progress during the year which its value to state and to the producers warrants. It is possible that there was a slight reduction in the output. This state of affairs is due to several causes. The most important cause of the checking of the buttermaking industry is the almost impossibility of securing reliable farm help. Very few trustworthy men are to be found in Dakota who are content to work for a farm hand's wages, and fewer still will consent to stay in a position where they are required to milk cows. The farmer is wholly at the mercy of his hired man. It has therefore come about that the farmer who engages in dairying must not expect to do more in that line than can be accomplished by the members of his own family, albeit on pleasant days the hired man might be persuaded to drive the milk to the creamery. Again, cows did not come out of the last winter in as good form as in former years, though why this is so is not explained. The failure of the Minneapolis Cold Storage Company, to whom many farmers were selling their cream and to whom the company owed large balances, has had the effect of discouraging some, so that upon the whole the industry is in a less flourishing condition than is justified by the high price at which the product sells.

I estimate 362,500 productive cows in the state and the value of the product of the year at $6,590,000 .

Poultry and Eggs—The South Dakota hen is holding her own and is as industrious as ever. The egg product is enormous and is constantly increasing. Prices have held to a high level throughout the the year. Approximating from the basis of the census figures, I place the product of poultry and eggs marketed this year at $4,521,000.

Live Stock—The unaccountable break in prices has resulted in cutting the figures expressing the value of the sales and growth of live stock, both for the loss in price and the fact that many stockmen have refused to sell at all at the going price and are holding their stock upon the range.

Each railway doing business in South Dakota has reported to me the actual amount of live stock carried to market from South Dakota upon their respective roads for the year ending August 30th last. Very little of this fall's shipments, therefore, came into these reports, and the stock reported received the benefit of last fall and winter's better prices. The figures aggregated are stupendous: Cattle, 468,327,846 pounds; hogs, 161,574,322 pounds; sheep, 30,018,000 pounds; horses, 620 cars; live stock (not defined as to character), 3,700,000 pounds.

The foregoing does not include the horses shipped out by the Northwestern line. At the fair average price at which it actually sold in the market this shipped live stock brought to the producers $30,484,355.

I approximate the horses shipped out over the Northwestern at 200 cars, worth $200,000; animals slaughtered for home consumption, $1,000,000; growth of herds as shown by assessment, 14 per cent, or $4,265,809; making the total value of the live stock production for the year, $35,950,164.

Minerals—The gold production has slightly fallen off this year, owing to the shutting down early in the season of the Golden Reward mine, due to a strike, the total amount produced being $7,159,400, as against $7,342,227 last year. The production of other minerals, cement and building stone, however, has increased this year, bringing the total up to about the same figure as one year ago.

Summary of productions for the year 1903:

Wheat, 45,266,000 bushels	$ 29,422,900
Corn, 52,320,000 bushels	15,819,200
Oats, 26,000,000 bushels	7,280,000
Barley, 11,132,500 bushels	4,000,000
Rye, 700,000 bushels	290,000
Flax, 3,500,000 bushels	2,800,000
Potatoes, gardens and fruit, etc	3,750,000
Hay and fodder	13,840,000
Dairy and creamery	6,590,000
Poultry and eggs	4,521,000
Live stock	35,950,164
Wool and hides	1,800,000
Minerals, stone and cement	10,000,000
Total production for 1903	$136,063,264
Total production for 1902 (my estimate)	121,124,000
Net gain	$ 14,939,264
Per capita new wealth	253.77

The limitation upon the above figures to which attention was called in my last annual review still obtains. A portion of the production is counted twice, first as grain and fodder produced and then in the live stock to which it is fed. In this matter I have followed the custom

prevailing in the agricultural department and in other states, and I do not see any simple way of discriminating so as to avoid this duplication. Manufactures are, according to custom, omitted from above approximation.

The per capita production of new wealth shows a gratifying increase. Last year it figured out $242.56, which leaves us a net gain of $11.21, and again placing us unquestionably at the head of all the states in new wealth per individual.

Education—The cause of education has gone forward this year with mighty strides, in a large measure due to the splendid activity of Hon. Geo. W. Nash, the state superintendent, who has inaugurated and energetically promoted many important reforms in the administration of his department. His plan of personal conference with the district school officers of each county, who annually meet him in convention, has done much to arouse an enthusiastic co-operation among these captains of education not before known, while through the institutes he has communicated to the teaching force of the state a good degree of his own vast, earnest devotion.

The finances of the schools continue to improve, by the continual reduction of the debt charges against the funds, the country districts being now practically debt free. Owing to the building of new and elegant structures in many towns, the debt of the urban schools stands at about the same figure as one year ago.

The school fund continually grows and, as elsewhere stated, now is all out at interest. The people all over the state have awakened to the importance of giving their patronage to the school fund, other things being equal, and Commissioner Bach has carried forward an active campaign of education upon this line.

All of the institutions of higher education are prosperous and show increased attendance. This is true of both the state and sectarian colleges. New buildings provided by the legislature have added much to the facilities of the state schools, and the sectarian colleges have as well provided new buildings and equipment. During the year the Methodists at the Mitchell University have dedicated their New Century building and the Lutherans at Augustana College at Canton dedicated their new main building. Huron College, Presbyterian, has begun the erection of a complete system of buildings.

Church Progress—The year has been one of progress among the churches, the annual reports showing a steady gain in membership in each of the denominations reporting. The state Sunday School Association is actively pushing Sabbath school work into every section and under its auspices a religious census of all the larger cities is now in progress, but the results are not yet ready for publication. Several new church edifices have been erected during the year and an increased number have become self-sustaining without the aid of the missionary societies.

Public Health—The general health of the people has been excellent. There have been no epidemics, plagues or great disasters, and while no official figures are available it is apparent that the death rate has not materially departed from the unit of the last census, 8.22 per thousand. In the natural course of events there have been a number of deaths during the period since the last review, particularly among the pioneers. Judge Jervis W. Carter of Sioux Falls, territorial prosecuting attorney 1882, died December 10, 1902. Ole Olson, Sr., a pioneer of 1859, died at his home at Meckling, December 16th. Rev. James Johnson McIntyre, territorial superintendent of schools 1874, died December 19th. Hon. John Armstrong of DeSmet, president of the state board of agriculture, died December 22d. Dr. Henry Von Ostrand of Yankton died December 22d. John F. Pitsor, former auditor of Day county, died in December. Hon. Charles E. Judd, president of the First National Bank of Canton, died in January. Colonel Leander D. Lyon of Watertown died in January. Roscoe Conkling Herreid, son of Governor Herreid, died February 5th. Hon. Hugh G. Boyland, senator from Walworth county, died on March 7th. Rev. George Vetter of Aberdeen died March 15th. Mrs. Charles H. Stilwell of Tyndall died March 8th. Hon. Martin E. Rudolph of Canton, a state senator, died March 27th. Roland Rosseau, a pioneer of the fur trading epoch, died at Pierre on March 27th. Hon. George H. Morehouse, a territorial regent of education, died at his home in Brookings in November. Mrs. Harry L. Bras of Mitchell died November 24th. Dr. Rhoden of Elk Point died in October.

The Indians—South Dakota's Indian population is making fair progress in the ways of civilization. Not that they have done all that could be hoped, but when we reflect that ten years ago many of them were as wild as were the native tribes in the days of Columbus, we can understand that the advance has been satisfactory. The old time village life is almost broken up. Each family has a substantial home of its own, built of logs or lumber, and is surrounded with outbuildings, stables, etc. All Indians now wear civilized dress, and all youngsters are receiving more or less education. More and more they come to comprehend the value of money and very many young men now seek employment and render satisfactory service. The reformation is necessarily slow, but the improvement is certain. It is not, however, a question of a few months or years. It will require generations before the traditions of the wild life are forgotten. One hopeful feature of the Indian question is the general regard for law held by the race. As a rule law is held in high respect and is cheerfully obeyed.

During November an unfortunate circumstance occurred involving several South Dakota Indians. A party of Oglalas, under permission of the agent at Pine Ridge, were off the reservation, hunting in Wyoming. A sheriff's posse attempted to arrest them for the alleged violation of the game laws. The actual occurrences at the time are somewhat obscured, but in the collision a white man was killed. The Indians were

delivered up to the Wyoming authorities, but an investigation made by the Indian bureau quite exonerates the Indians from blame.

Literature—The booked literary output of South Dakotans for the year consists of four volumes, to-wit: Black Hills Ballads, a volume of verse, by Robert V. Carr; History and Geography of the Philippines, by O. W. Coursey; Hager, a dramatic poem, by Rollin J. Wells, and By the Way, a book of travel in Europe, by Agness Greene Foster. South Dakota writers have won good positions as contributors to the standard magazines during the year.

No Politics—This has been the first year in the history of South Dakota in which no election for a state officer has occurred. Consequently nothing of a political nature has diverted the attention of the people from the prosecution of business since the adjournment of the legislature in March last.

Railroads—The Milwaukee railway has been extended from Woonsocket to Wessington Springs during the year, a distance of sixteen miles. This is the sum of new track for the year.

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing the reader will obtain a fair understanding of conditions in South Dakota for the year 1903. It has presented little out of the ordinary, if seven successive seasons may be considered as determining ordinary conditions. It leaves the people of the state healthful, prosperous and extremely hopeful for the future. Contentment abounds in the homes, abundance fills the bins and loyal hearts "from Traverse Lake to Harney's lambent peak" give grateful acknowledgement to God for the manifold blessings he has showered upon the good South State with each returning year.

DOANE ROBINSON, Secretary.

A CATALOGUE OF THE BOUND BOOKS PRODUCED BY SOUTH DAKOTA AUTHORS

Collected for exhibition, as part of the educational exhibit for the World's Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis, by the State Historical Society of South Dakota.

EDUCATION

Chalmers, Rev. James, Ph. D., LL. D., Fellow of the University of St. Andrews, Scotland, and president of the South Dakota Agricultural College, Brookings, South Dakota.

The Students' Series of English Classics. Comprising Macauley's Essays on Milton and Addison, with preface, index and editorial notes by Dr. Chalmers. pp. 207. Sibley & Co., Boston and Chicago.

Irving's Sketch Book. With preface, index and editorial notes by Dr. Chalmers. pp. 283. Silver, Burdett & Co., New York.

Scott's Lady of the Lake. With extensive editorial notes by Dr. Chalmers and an extended introduction. pp. 181. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

Tennyson's "The Princess." With introduction and editorial notes by Dr. Chalmers. pp. 157. Silver, Burdett & Co., New York.

Shepard, James H., Ph. D., Director and Chemist of the United States Experiment Station of South Dakota.

A Briefer Course in the Elements of Chemistry, Descriptive and Qualitative. pp. 240. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

Elements of Inorganic Chemistry, Descriptive and Qualitative. pp. 377. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

Smith, George M., professor of languages in the South Dakota State University at Vermillion.

The Elements of Pedagogy, for the use of teachers, by Professor Smith and Professor Clark M. Young. pp. 54. The Educator School Supply Co., Mitchell, South Dakota.

Young, Clark M., Ph. D., professor of history and politcal science at the University of South Dakota.

Moral and Religious Teaching in the Public Schools. An essay. pp. 8.

Psychology and Education. An address before the South Dakota Educational Association, at Redfield, 1898. pp. 17.

Outlines of American History. A text book. pp. 21.

FICTION

Marquis, George H., an attorney at law residing at Clear Lake, South Dakota.

Fairview's Mystery. A Dakota story. pp. 84. The Abbey Press, New York.

HISTORY

Armstrong, Moses K., a pioneer congressman.

The Early Empire Builders of the Great West. Being the reprint of Mr. Armstrong's History of Dakota, 1866, together with newspaper clippings

from Yankton Dakotan and Sioux City Register, 1862 to 1872. pp. 446. E. W. Porter, St. Paul, Minn.

Historical Society of the State of South Dakota.

Historical Collections, Volume I. Illustrated with maps and engravings, and containing the report of the Society for 1902; organic act; membership roll and doings; biographical and analytical sketch of William Maxwell Blackburn, D. D., LL. D., by Thomas Lawrence Riggs; history of North and South Dakota, by Dr. William Maxwell Blackburn, with copious editorial notes by Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson; Radisson and Grosillier's travels in the west, with comment and notes by Professor Robert F. Kerr; official correspondence of the Leavenworth expedition into South Dakota for the conquest of the Ree Indians in 1823, with extensive editorial notes by Doane Robinson; Old Fort Pierre and Its Neighbors, by Major Wilson of the United States army, with illuminating and critical notes by Hon. Charles E. DeLand; official correspondence relating to Fort Pierre, and an appendix containing treaties with Indians opening Dakota soil to settlement. pp. 483. Published by the state.

Hickman, George, superintendent of schools for Marshall county, South Dakota.

History of Marshall County, Dakota. Its topography and natural history, and sketches of pioneer settlers, with the names of actual settlers, where they are from and where they live; and a sketch of the military and Sisseton reservations, 1886. pp. 50.

McDowell, Robert E., secretary of the United States senate committee on public buildings.

A Sketch of General Alfred Sully's Company of Yankton Sioux Indian Scouts in the war of 1862-66. pp. 9. Published as Senate Document No. 298 of the first session of the Fifty-seventh congress.

Myers, Frank, a private in Company B, Sixth Iowa Cavalry.

Soldiering in Dakota Among the Indians in 1863-4-5. pp. 60.

Riggs, Stephen Return, D. D., LL. D., missionary to the Dakotas, and author of Dakota Grammar and Dictionary, Gospel Among the Dakotas, etc.

Mary and I. Forty Years with the Sioux, by Dr. Riggs, with an introduction by Rev. S. C. Bartlett, D. D., president of Dartmouth College. pp. 437. Congregational House, Boston.

Robinson Doane, secretary of the State Historical Society.

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Abbott, Louisa J. and Charles L.
The Shinkle Genealogy, comprising the descendants of Philipp Carl Schenckel, 1717-1897. pp. 348. Curts & Jennings, Cincinnati.

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SOUTH DAKOTA STATE PUBLICATIONS

List compiled by Ferd J. Goodfellow, Curator of the State Historical Society, Pierre.

South Dakota was visited by Peter Esprit Radisson (?), 1659. Formally claimed by France, 1689. By treaty of Versailles, France ceded South Dakota to Spain, 1763. As a portion of Louisiana, ceded by Spain to France, 1801; by France to the United States, 1803. Missouri River region explored by Lewis and Clarke, 1804. Originally a part of the Louisiana Purchase, South Dakota later formed a part of the District of Louisiana, 1803 to 1805, and parts of the Territories of Louisiana, 1805 to 1812; Missouri, 1812 to 1834. After 1834 the portion east of the Missouri River formed parts of the Territories of Michigan, 1834 to 1836; Wisconsin, 1836 to 1838; Iowa, 1838 to 1849; Minnesota, 1849 to 1858; and was without legal name or existence, and subject only to the general laws of congress, 1858 to 1861. The portion west of the Missouri River remained a part of Missouri Territory until 1854, and formed part of Nebraska Territory from 1854 to 1861. The Territory of Dakota, including all of Montana and the eastern part of Idaho, was organized in 1861. Idaho Territory was organized in 1863 and Montana Territory in 1864. South Dakota was admitted as a state in 1889.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Journal of the Convention. 1889. 1 v.

Note—The convention was held at Sioux Falls, from July 4th to August 5th, 1889.

Constitution of the State of South Dakota. Published in the Legislative Manual and in all editions of the Statutes.

EXECUTIVE AND STAFF

GOVERNOR—Message, 1890, and biennial, 1891-1903. 8 v. Contents: By Arthur C. Mellette, January 8, 1890; by Arthur C. Mellette, January 6, 1891; by Arthur C. Mellette, January 3, 1893; by Charles H. Sheldon, January 8, 1895; by Charles H. Sheldon, January 8, 1897; by Andrew E. Lee, January 6, 1899; by Andrew E. Lee, January 8, 1901; by Charles N. Herreid, January 6, 1903.

Inaugural Address, 1893, 1897 and 1901. 3 v. Contents: By Charles H. Sheldon, January 3, 1893; by Andrew E. Lee, January 7, 1897; by Charles N. Herreid, January 8, 1901.

ADJUTANT GENERAL—Report, 1892, 1898 and 1902. 3 v.

ATTORNEY GENERAL—Report, biennial, 1890-1902. 7 v.

AUDITOR OF STATE—Report, biennial, 1890-1894; supplemental report, 1894; annual, 1895-1902. 12 v.

Note—Include the proceedings of the state board of assessment and equalization. Both biennial reports and annual reports for 1895 and 1896 contain the report of the insurance department, which was a part of the auditor's department from 1889 to 1897.

SECRETARY OF STATE—Report, biennial, 1892-1902. 6 v.

Note—Include the Official Directory.

TREASURER OF STATE—Report, biennial, 1892-1894; annual, 1895-1902. 10 v.

INSPECTION AND REGULATION

Board of Assessment and Equalization—Proceedings, see Auditor of State report.
Board of Charities and Corrections—Report, biennial, 1890-1902, 7 v.
Include reports made to the Board by state institutions, as follows:
Blind asylum, Gary, report of superintendent, biennial, 1900-1902. 2 v.
Hospital for the insane, Yankton; report of superintendent, biennial, 1890-1902. 7 v.
Northern hospital for the insane, Redfield; report of superintendent, biennial, first, 1902. 1 v.
Penitentiary of the state, Sioux Falls; report of warden, biennial, 1890-1902. 7 v.
Reform school, Plankinton; report of superintendent, biennial, 1890-1902. 7 v.
School for deaf mutes, Sioux Falls; report of superintendent, biennial, 1890-1902. 7 v.
Board of Dental Examiners—Report, annual, 1889-1902. 14 v.
Board of Embalmers—Report, annual, first, 1902. 1 v.
Board of Health—Report, biennial, 1892-1902. 6 v.
Board of Pharmacy—Report, annual, 1891-1902. 12 v.
Commissioner of Immigration—Report, biennial, 1890. 1 v.
Note—The office was abolished in 1891.
Commissioner of Insurance—Report, annual, 1897-1902. 6 v.
Annotated Compilation of South Dakota Insurance Laws, 1903. 1 v.
Note—For reports from 1889 to 1896, inclusive, see Auditor of State report.
Commissioner of Labor Statistics—Report, biennial, 1892-1894. 2 v.
Note—The office was abolished in 1895.
Commissioner of School and Public Lands—Report, biennial, 1890-1902. 7 v.
Commissioners of South Dakota Soldiers' Home—Report, biennial, 1892-1902. 6 v.
Engineer of Irrigation—Report, annual, 1891-1897. 7 v.
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Food and Dairy Commissioner—Report, annual, first, 1902. 1 v.
Railroad Commissioners—Report, annual, 1890-1902. 13 v.
Regents of Education—Report, biennial, 1890-1902. 7 v.
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Madison Normal School, Madison; report of president, biennial, 1890-1902. 7 v.
Northern Normal and Industrial School, Aberdeen; report of president, biennial, first, 1902. 1 v.
School of Mines, Rapid City; report of president, biennial, 1890-1902. 7 v.
South Dakota Agricultural College, Brookings; report of president, biennial, 1890-1902. 7 v.
South Dakota Geological Survey; report of state geologist, biennial, 1894-1902. 5 v.
Spearfish Normal School, Spearfish; report of president, biennial, 1890-1902. 7 v.
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University of South Dakota, Vermillion; report of president, 1890-1902. 7 v.
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Industrial Collegian, monthly, 1892-1903.

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LEGISLATURE

Journal of the Senate. 1890 and biennial, 1891-1903. 8 v.

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OUTLINE OF SOUTH DAKOTA'S HISTORY

Compiled at the request of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission.

The earliest ascertained facts about South Dakota relate to the geological and topographical formations, for nowhere else upon the globe is this portion of the book of nature so easily read as here, a fact which annually brings to our exposed formations the students of geology from every section. In the briefest statement, the topography of the state has been modified by two agencies; the section east of the River Missouri by the great continental glacier; that portion west of the river by volcanic action and mountain erosion. The soil, of course, in the two sections is determined by the same agencies.

We have traditions, illy supported by historical record, that the Spanish adventurers from Mexico visited South Dakota immediately after the discovery of America. It is possible that Radisson and Groselliers visited this region between 1654 and 1660, and certain that LeSeuer had communication with South Dakota Indians through his voyageurs before 1700, and it is highly probable that he visited the territory himself in the latter year. Verandrye, upon his return from his visit to the Big Horn mountains in 1742, drifted down to the interior of South Dakota a few miles away from Pierre, where he claimed the country for the king of France, buried a leaden plate inscribed with the arms of France and erected a monument of stones, thence turned north to the Mandan villages. Thereafter the territory was frequently visited by traders, who left little record until the beginning of the last century.

So far as now known the primitive inhabitants of South Dakota were the Arickara Indians, an offshoot of the Pawnees, a people of the Caddoan stock, who built permanent homes of poles and earth and subsisted by the chase and cultivating the

soil. They called themselves "Tanish," but were known to the Sioux as "Corn Planters." They occupied the Missouri valley from the mouth of the Niobrara to the Mandans. For a long period their principal seat was at the neighborhood of Pierre, but a little over a hundred years ago they were driven off by the Sioux. They then made a stand at Grand River, in the north part of the state, but were again dislodged in 1823 and left the state, going further north.

When the first white explorers reached the Dakota country the Sioux Indians proper had not yet occupied the soil, but the Omahas, a Siouan tribe, lived on the Sioux, with their principal villages at Sioux Falls and Flandreau. The Sisseton Sioux were probably even at that early date domiciled about Big Stone Lake. Early in the eighteenth century the Dakotas (Sioux), then chiefly living in Minnesota, found their domain too restricted and began to press into the South Dakota region, driving their relatives, the Omahas, south of the Missouri. By 1750 they had come in contact with the Arickaras (Rees) on the Missouri, and a relentless warfare was kept up for forty years, until about 1790 the Rees were compelled to abandon their homes, protected, as they were, with strong fortresses. The Rees were consummate engineers and their fortifications, remains of which are in many localities along the Missouri, challenge the admiration of the skilled modern fort builders. From that time the Sioux pioneers, the Tetons of the west, then took up their homes in the heart of the Buffalo range west of the Missouri. There was a potent reason why these pioneers crossed over the fertile Sioux and James valleys to make their homes west of the Missouri. The buffalo grass and open, almost snowless winters assured them an almost certain supply of meat the winter through, while in the section east of the river deep winter snows were likely to deprive the buffalo of pasture and to consequently drive them west of the river into the yet famous range country. The Yanktons appear to have been domiciled on the lower Missouri, but after a long and wearing war with the Ottoes they abandoned the old hunting grounds and immigrated to South Dakota, and with the permission of the Tetons, who considered the James and Missouri valleys as conquered territory, permitted them to locate at the mouth of the James River. This was the general situation at the beginning of the

nineteenth century: The Sissetons occupied the portion of South Dakota adjacent to Big Stone Lake, hunting west to the James River. The Yanktonais the territory centering on James River north of a line running from Pierre to Watertown. The Yanktons, the James valley south of that line, and the country west of the Missouri by the Tetons, divided into seven bands: the Oglalas, who lived on the Niobrara; the Minneconjous, living between the Black Hills and the Platte; the Brules, living on White River; the Two Kettles, on Bad River; the Sans Arcs, the Blackfeet and the Uncpapas living on Grand River, the last three bands closely allied.

Immediately after the settlement of St. Louis in 1764 the enterprising men of that town began to trade up the Missouri. They left no record of the date when their operations first reached South Dakota, but by the beginning of the nineteenth century their operations with the Sioux were considerable. They were thoroughly familiar with the Dakota country and had business relations with the tribes, and had at least two regular trading stations of considerable importance, one Trudeau's, near the present Greenwood postoffice in Charles Mix county, usually called the Pawnee house, was built in 1796, and Loisee's, on Cedar Island, between Fort Pierre and the Big Bend, had been established at an earlier date. Most of the streams, islands and natural landmarks had at that time been given the names they still bear.

In January, 1803, President Jefferson proposed, in a message to congress, an American expedition by way of the Missouri River to the Pacific coast. The acquisition of the territory to be traversed was not suggested, and it is probable was not dreamed of, the extension of trade and the acquisition of knowledge being the principal inducements to the undertaking. Congress encouraged the enterprise, and as a result the famous Lewis and Clark expedition was fitted out, though before it was undertaken the entire Louisiana country had been ceded to the United States, and the last act of the doughty captains before setting out into the unknown land was to assist at St. Louis in the formal transfer of Louisiana to the Americans.

The expedition, consisting of forty-three persons, set out from the mouth of the Missouri on May 14, 1804, and reached the mouth of the Sioux and Dakotaland in the morning of Au-

gust 21st, and in passing through the state visited Spirit mound, north of Vermillion, and held councils with the Yanktons at Yankton, the Tetons at Fort Pierre, and the Rees at Arickara (above the mouth of Grand River). They passed the north line of the state on October 10th, having been within South Dakota fifty-one days. Upon their return in 1806 they took home with them Big White, the famous Mandan chief, and in attempting to return him to his people in 1807 Sergeant Prior and Pierre Chouteau, Sr., encountered the hostility of the Rees, and after a fight in which three of their men were killed were compelled to turn back and abandon the trip. This was the first bloodshed in hostility between whites and Indians on Dakota soil.

Manuel Lisa, a Spanish trader of St. Louis, successfully passed through South Dakota in this year, 1807, with goods for trade with the mountain Indians, and returning to St. Louis the next spring organized the St. Louis-Missouri Fur Company, in which all of the prominent merchants of St. Louis of that day became partners, and their first engagement was to return Big White to his Mandan home, which they accomplished without opposition from the Rees, at the same time carrying up great cargoes of goods for the mountain trade. The company seems to have come into possession of Loisee's post on Cedar Island, which burned in June, 1810, together with $15,000 worth of furs which were gathered and stored there.

In 1811 the famous Astoria expedition, under the direction of Wilson Price Hunt, passed through South Dakota, going up the Missouri as far as Arickara, where they traded with the Rees for horses, and abandoning the river passed up Grand River, and crossing the northern section of the Black Hills, reached the coast at the mouth of the Columbia, where they founded Astoria. They were the first to leave a record of the exploration of the western part of the state. During this period the St. Louis men were actively engaged in trade in the South Dakota field, but the next year the war with England ruined the fur market and in consequence the South Dakota trade. Manuel Lisa seems to have been the only one to continue in it. He was appointed special agent for the Missouri River Indians and succeeded in holding their loyalty to the United States, while all of the Mississippi Sioux cast in their fortunes with England. Lisa's policy was to excite hostility between

the Sioux of the Missouri and those of the Mississippi, and so give them so much to do to attend to their own affairs that they would have little time to give to England's interests, and he succeeded so well that but little assistance was rendered England by their western allies. However, some Yanktonais from South Dakota, under Waneta, who lived on Elm River in Brown county, and also twenty-two Sissetons from Big Stone Lake, did join the English army and went east and engaged in the battle before Fort Meigs. Waneta made a great reputation in this campaign, was made an English captain and taken to England, where he was taken before the king, probably the only South Dakotan who has enjoyed that distinction.

During the war and down until 1817 the fur trade was greatly depressed and Manuel Lisa had the Dakota field to himself. He maintained one large establishment, probably at Cedar Island, where he kept a large amount of goods and live stock. He learned the Sioux women to cultivate vegetables and did much for the comfortable living of his children of the wilderness.

In the autumn of 1817 the Astor establishment at Mackinaw began to push out into the west, and that autumn sent Joseph LaFrambois with a small stock of goods from Prairie du Chien to the mouth of the Teton (Fort Pierre), where he built a small house and traded with the Tetons. This establishment was continued two years, when the Missouri River field was given over to the St. Louis traders, and LaFrambois set up first at Big Stone, and then upon the Sioux at Flandreau, where he continued for five years, and then late in the '20s left the state and settled east of the coteau on the DesMoines. When La Frambois left the Missouri the Chouteau interests from St. Louis established themselves there and soon built Fort Tecumseh, and built up an extensive trade. The location was a valuable one, the proximity of the Black Hills giving them a large Cheyenne and Crow trade in addition to the local business of the Sioux.

In 1822 the Rocky Mountain Fur Company was organized at St. Louis by General W. H. Ashley and Major Andrew Henry, and that year they took an expedition to the mountains over the river route, and in the fall Ashley returned to St. Louis, leaving Andrew Henry with a party of trappers on the Yellowstone. At St. Louis Ashley made up a party of "one hundred enterprising

young men," and with a large stock of goods set out to rejoin Henry in the spring. They reached Arickara, South Dakota, late in May, where they concluded to buy horses and send a portion of the party overland by the Grand River route, a popular short cut to the mountains. They traded amicably until the first of June, when having secured as many horses as desired, Ashley prepared to send forty men across country the next morning, while himself and the remainder would continue by the slower river route with the goods. At daybreak, however, the land party was attacked by the treacherous Rees and thirteen killed and ten others injured, and the expedition so demoralized they were compelled to retreat down river for safety. General Ashley that morning dispatched Jedediah S. Smith from the mouth of Grand River to Henry on the Yellowstone, and there before starting Smith, a young Methodist, but 18 years of age, made a prayer, the first recorded act of religious worship in Dakota. Ashley also dispatched messengers to Fort Atkinson, at Council Bluffs, the nearest military station, asking for help, and Colonel Leavenworth with 220 men of the Sixth cavalry at once, without waiting for orders from his superiors, set out to punish the Rees for their treachery. It was a most hazardous undertaking. At Yankton on July 3d one of the boats was snagged and Sergeant Samuel Stackpole and six men were lost. Between Chamberlain and the mouth of the Cheyenne the military was reinforced by forty trappers from the employ of the Missouri Fur Company and eighty men from the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, also by 700 Sioux Indians who had been gathered up by Joshua Pilcher, special agent for the Sioux and head of the Missouri Fur Company. They reached Arickara on the afternoon of August 9th, and after a couple of days of desultory fighting the Rees begged for peace, but after the treaty was signed they became alarmed and abandoned the village and could not be induced to come back. The village was treacherously burned by the Missouri Fur Company men, who, with the Sioux in their control, were an injury rather than an assistance to Leavenworth. This enterprise was a noteworthy one, fully as important in magnitude and results as the Black Hawk war, but it has been almost wholly forgotten and none of the standard histories mention it.

In 1825 the government determined to make treaties of friendship, trade and intercourse with all of the western tribes, and General Atkinson and Benjamin O'Fallon were designated to negotiate with the Missouri River tribes. With a pretentious military escort of 325 men they visited each of the tribes, who readily signed the treaties proposed. They were at Pierre on July 4th and celebrated the day there with elaborate ceremony. Colonel Leavenworth was in command of the escort. The Rees were found at their old villages at Arickara, and in a most humble state of mind signed the treaty.

A great revolution in mercantile methods dates from 1831, when Pierre Chouteau, Jr., navigated the first steamboat to Fort Pierre. Thereafter that vehicle was employed generally for conveying goods to the river fur posts.

In 1832 Fort Pierre was visited by George Catlin, the renowned painter of Indian portraits and scenes, and he has given us a view of conditions then obtaining which we could not else secure. He also visited the Mandans and other up-river tribes.

The next year Maximilian Prince of Weid visited the river and obtained the data and views for his famous work. But little of his record, however, pertains to South Dakota, Fort Union being the center of his operations.

In 1838 Dr. Nicollet, accompanied by John C. Fremont, then a very young man, visited the eastern portion of the state, engaged in the government topographical survey, and they made a topographical map of the coteau region and named most of the lakes for men then prominent. The next year they came up the river to Fort Pierre and from that point crossed to the James River at Armadale, and thence up the James to Devils Lake, and back down the coteau to Big Stone Lake, procuring the first reliable data for a map of the region.

In 1840 Dr. Stephen R. Riggs and Alexander Huggins, well known missionaries to the Sioux, located upon the upper Minnesota, passed over from Lac qui Parle to Fort Pierre, where they held the first formal religious services at the fort in South Dakota of which record has been made. In 1842 Father Ravoux, a devout Catholic priest from St. Paul, visited Fort Pierre and celebrated mass and baptized several persons, the first recorded Catholic services.

About this period scientific men began to visit South Dakota to examine the exposed geological formations and gather fossils, and the work has been almost constant from that time.

In 1851, by the treaty of Traverse de Sioux, negotiated by Governor Ramsey of Minnesota, the Indian title to the first portion of South Dakota land was extinguished. That was for the section lying east of the Sioux river. In 1855 the advancing settlements and for the protection of the California trail it was determined to establish a strong military post on the Missouri and Fort Pierre was selected for the point. The old tumble-down post was purchased by the government, a military reservation laid out and a garrison sent to occupy it. In October General William S. Harney crossed over from the Platte to take command of the post. He found it inadequate, and scattering his command of 1,200 men in cantonments where wood and grazing were accessible, set out to examine the river before making a final location. He selected Handy's Point, and the next year located and began the building of Fort Randall there. His topographical engineer, Lieutenant Gouvernor K. Warren, who afterward was distinguished as General Warren in the rebellion, made extended reconnaissances on both sides of the river, visiting the Black Hills and other important sections, and making maps and observations which were most valuable and are still considered authoritative.

In 1857 the Spirit Lake massacre occurred and its perpetrators carried four captive women into Dakota. Mrs. Thatcher was murdered by them while crossing the Sioux at Flandreau, Mrs. Marble was rescued at Madison by Greyfoot and his brother, Christian Sissetons from the Riggs mission on the Minnesota; Mrs. Noble was murdered by Roaring Cloud, a son of Inkpadutah, in eastern Spink county; and Abbie Gardner, the last of the captives, was rescued by John Otherday, Paul Mazakutemana and Ironhawk, Christian Indians, on the James between Ashton and Redfield, on May 30, 1857.

In May of this year, 1857, the first settlement was begun at Sioux Falls, by a party from Dubuque and another from St. Paul, the former led by Dr. Staples and the latter by Major Franklin DeWitt. Both parties came with the intention of getting in on the ground floor in the new territory, to seize the

water power of the falls and secure the location of the territorial capital.

The next spring the treaty with the Yankton Sioux was made, by which they relinquished all of their lands except 400,000 acres in Charles Mix county.

The settlement at Sioux Falls grew slowly. Minnesota was admitted as a state, and they assumed that the Dakota country was a new territory, and sent Alpheus G. Fuller to congress to represent them, but congress refused to recognize him. That fall they elected a legislature, and the legislature elected Henry Masters governor. The next year they elected Jefferson P. Kidder to represent them in congress, but he, too, failed of recognition. Governor Masters died, and Samuel J. Albright was elected to succeed him, but failing to qualify Wilmot W. Brookings, by common consent, became acting governor. On the second day of March congress created Dakota territory and President Lincoln soon appointed Dr. Wm. Jayne of Springfield, Illinois, governor. He arrived at Yankton in June and called an election for the first of September, at which Captain John B. S. Todd was elected delegate to congress. The legislature elected at the same time did not meet until March 17, 1862.

The civil war was then in progress and that spring of 1862 Company A of the First Dakota cavalry was organized by Captain Nelson Miner. In August of that year the great Minnesota massacre occurred and the feeble settlements in Dakota were threatened with extinction. Judge Joseph Amidon and his son were killed at Sioux Falls and the people of the territory were filled with terror. On the 30th of August Governor Jayne called every able-bodied man to arms in defense of the homes of Dakota. In addition to Company A, already in arms, 399 responded. Stockades were built at Yankton, Vermillion, Elk Point, Jefferson and on Brule Creek, and protection afforded the settlers except at Sioux Falls, which was absolutely abandoned, the settlers going to Yankton under the escort of a battalion of Company A men for protection.

At the election held just at the date of the Indian troubles Captain Todd and Governor Jayne were candidates for congress. Jayne was elected on the face of the returns, and Todd contested and secured the seat. Governor Jayne left the territory never to return when he went to congress, and the president appointed

Newton Edmunds, a resident of Yankton, governor. Mr. Edmunds was a practical business man, a fearless official, and accomplished much for the territory.

A long war followed the Indian uprising and another company of Dakota cavalry was raised and William Tripp made captain. These two companies served faithfully until 1865 and 1866 respectively, when the Indian troubles were over.

Walter A. Burleigh succeeded Captain Todd in congress and served four years. Dr. Burleigh secured the appointment of his father-in-law, Andrew J. Faulk, to succeed Governor Edmunds.

At the close of the Indian troubles a treaty was negotiated with all of the tribes by Governor Edmunds and General Sibley, at Fort Pierre, which permitted the government to build roads and forts in the unceded lands west of the Missouri. Red Cloud and other prominent men refused to sign these treaties, on the ground that the roads and forts would frighten away the buffalo and other game upon which the Indians subsist, and when the government undertook to construct such roads and forts they forcibly resisted, and in a hard fought war succeeded so well that the government was glad to negotiate a new treaty in 1868, in which it was agreed that the roads and forts should be abandoned, and the Indians were to have regular issues of rations and clothing; in consideration of which they abandoned all of their lands east of the Missouri, reserving to themselves exclusively and forever all of the lands from the Niobrara to the Cannonball and west to the mountains, including all of the Black Hills country. This treaty was faithfully observed by the Indians.

Dr. Burleigh was succeeded in congress by S. L. Spink, who served one term. John A. Burbank was appointed governor. Spink was succeeded by Moses K. Armstrong in congress for the space of four years.

In 1874 the government, in direct violation of the treaty of 1868, sent General Custer with a regiment of soldiers and a corps of scientific men to explore the Black Hills and determine if they did contain gold, as the people long had believed. Custer reported that there really was gold there, and the miners began to flock in in spite of some attempt on the part of the military to keep them out. This greatly excited the Indians, who believed their

lands were to be stolen from them. The next year the government assembled all of the Sioux tribes at Red Cloud agency and attempted to negotiate a treaty for the cession of the Hills, but failed to agree upon terms and the council adjourned without accomplishing anything. All attempt to keep the miners out was then abandoned and it is estimated that by the first of the next March there were 11,000 white men in the Black Hills, chiefly at Custer. The Indians now resolved to fight for their rights and to make a determined stand for their homes. They assembled a formidable army under such men as Black Moon and Gall of the Uncpapas, Crazy Horse of the Oglalas and Inkpadutah of the Santees. Sitting Bull was very effective in exciting the Indians to this course. The government sent three columns of soldiers against them, expecting to crush them between the three armies. The first moved up from Fort Fetterman under Crook; the second went out from Fort Abraham Lincoln under Terry, with whom Custer was associated; the third came down from Fort Ellis on the Gallatin, under Gibbon. Crazy Horse caught Crook near Fort Reno and put him out of commission so that he had to abandon the campaign. Terry sent Custer on a scout to the Big Horn, where he attacked the entire body of the Sioux and was annihilated. The Indians were poorly supplied with ammunition and exhausted their supply in the fight with Custer, or they would have easily destroyed Gibbon. In their plight the Indians were divided in their views. Some determined to stay out and die if necessary, though they clearly saw that further resistance without ammunition was simply suicide. In this plight the large majority slipped back to their reservations, Crazy Horse hid in the mountains, and Gall, Sitting Bull and a few recalcitrants made their way to Canada.

That fall a new commission, of which Governor Edmunds was the leading member, made a treaty for the cession of the Hills. During the ensuing winter Spotted Tail persuaded his nephew Crazy Horse to come in and surrender, and after two or three years Gall and Sitting Bull came down and surrendered, but Inkpadutah, whose hand was against every man and who knew that nothing but death would avenge the atrocities of which he was guilty, died in Canada.

John L. Pennington of Alabama succeeded Governor Burbank, and Judge Jefferson P. Kidder followed Armstrong in congress from 1874 to 1878. Except for the rush to the Black Hills the settlement of South Dakota was very slow until about 1878, when a great immigration set in, primarily due to the great panic of 1873, which had deprived many of their homes in the east, and they thronged upon the fertile lands of Dakota. This boom of immigration was quickly followed by a boom of railway building. The first railway was built from Sioux City to Yankton in 1872, the same year the Northwestern line reached the state line at Gary, and was completed through to Lake Kampeska the next spring.

The boom continued for six years, during which most of the counties of central Dakota were settled, the railways built and the towns and cities came into being.

Almost from the first settlement there had been more or less agitation for the division of Dakota into two territories, and in 1882 a definite and positive program was set out for division and the admission of the south half. This movement originated in its last form in Yankton and its first fruits was a delegate convention which met in Canton in 1882, and that in turn in the calling of a second convention, which met in Huron in June, 1883. Governor Pennington had been succeeded by William A. Howard, a most excellent man, who died in 1880, and he was succeeded by Nehemiah G. Ordway, a man who left an unenviable record in Dakota. The legislature of 1883 had passed an act providing for a constitutional convention for South Dakota, but Ordway had vetoed it. The great statehood convention at Huron therefore passed an ordinance calling a constitutional convention to meet at Sioux Falls in September, and members were duly elected and the convention met and adopted a constitution, which was ratified by the people in November.

The legislature of 1883 had also taken action resulting in the removal of the capital from Yankton to Bismarck, and had founded the state university at Vermillion, the agricultural college at Brookings and the normal school at Madison.

In 1878 Granville G. Bennett of Deadwood was elected to congress, and in 1880 he was followed by Richard F. Pettigrew of Sioux Falls, who in 1882 had given way to John R. Raymond

of North Dakota. In 1884 Oscar S. Gifford was elected to congress, serving four years, and in June of that year Gilbert A. Pierce became governor.

Congress refused to recognize South Dakota under the Sioux Falls constitution of 1883, and the next legislature provided for a new constitution, which was made and adopted at Sioux Falls in September, 1885, and under it an election was held for state officers and a legislature, which in turn elected United States senators. Under this constitution Arthur C. Mellette was elected governor, Gideon C. Moody and Alonzo J. Edgerton senators, and Oscar S. Gifford and Theodore D. Kanouse to congress. Huron was chosen capital and prohibition was voted into the constitution. Congress, however, refused to act for nearly four years, when the state was admitted under this constitution, modified by a new convention and with a new election for officers, capital, prohibition, equal suffrage and minority representation.

In 1887 President Cleveland appointed Louis K. Church of New York governor, the only Democrat who ever filled the position in the territory.

On the 12th of January, 1888, a disastrous storm came upon the prairies of the west, and 112 South Dakotans perished in it. On the 2d of April, 1889, another violent wind storm came, which drove prairie fires with such violence that many villages and homes were destroyed and a few lives were lost. The communities to suffer most was the then new McPherson county, the village of Leola being destroyed, and Yankton county, where the town of Volin was burned.

Statehood was accomplished by the proclamation of admission, which was made by President Benjamin Harrison on November 2, 1889, and the new state started off with Arthur C. Mellette governor, Gideon C. Moody and Richard F. Pettigrew senators, and Oscar S. Gifford and John A. Pickler congressmen. At the election in 1888 George A. Mathews had been elected to succeed Gifford as delegate in congress, but statehood came before he was seated. The new state started off in a time of great depression, resulting from reaction from the boom, accompanied by two successive seasons of crop failure from drought. Many settlers left the state and Dakota credit suffered seriously.

James H. Kyle followed Moody as senator in 1891, and John R. Gamble succeeded Gifford in congress. Mr. Gamble died before he took his seat and John L. Jolley was elected to fill the vacancy. In 1892 Charles H. Sheldon was elected governor and William V. Lucas in place of John L. Jolley. Two years of excellent crops had revived the courage of the people and restored in a good degree public confidence in South Dakota, when the great financial depression fell upon the country, and South Dakota suffered severely from this cause. From complications growing out of the panic, W. W. Taylor, state treasurer, defaulted to the state for the sum of $367,000, leaving the treasury bankrupt. Kirk G. Phillips, his successor, however, supported by the people and the banks, arose to the occasion and provided funds to bridge the emergency, and the state came through in excellent shape. At that date the debt of the state was about $1,200,000.

Robert J. Gamble was elected to congress in 1894, and two years later, through the growth of the silver movement, both of the Republican congressmen and the governor were retired, and Andrew E. Lee was chosen governor and Freeman Knowles and John E. Kelly sent to congress.

South Dakota's quota for the Spanish war was 925 men, but she furnished more than 1,300, having in the service the largest pro rata number of men of any state. The First regiment consisted of 1,008 men under Colonel Alfred Frost, served in the Philippines with distinction, taking active part in the affairs at Cavite, Malolos, Malbon, Palo and Myacanyan, Mariloa and Rocave, at Biguaon, Calumpit and San Ferando.

At Mariloa the South Dakotans bore the brunt of the fight and lost nine men, among them Adjutant Jonas Lien and Lieutenants Sidney Morrison and Frank H. Adams. The regiment lost in the campaign twenty men killed in action, one drowned, four from wounds and thirty-two from disease. Its men were credited with many acts of personal bravery, and two were promoted for conspicuous bravery.

Three hundred South Dakotans enlisted in an independent organization known as Grigsby's cowboys and were ordered to Cuba, but were relieved, because of the end of the war, before arriving at the seat of war.

In 1898 Robert J. Gamble and Charles H. Burke were elected to congress, and in 1900 Mr. Gamble retired to become senator, succeeding Mr. Pettigrew, and Eben W. Martin was chosen to congress in his stead. Senator James H. Kyle died July 2, 1901, and Governor Charles N. Herreid, who was elected the previous year, appointed Alfred B. Kittredge to the vacancy. Mr. Kittredge was elected his own successor in 1903.

Since 1895 the progress of South Dakota has been steady and uninterrupted. Crops have been uniformly good and the development of the live stock industry and dairying has been marvelous. She has enjoyed a steady growth in population of high character, and in the splendid prosperity which the state has enjoyed the people have been devoted to the cause of education and the dissemination of culture and of the humanities.

For seven successive seasons the cash value of the productions of South Dakota has been greater for each inhabitant than have the productions of any other state, a condition which has given the state an honorable distinction among her sisters. Her credit both as a state and as a people are at the highest. Her total indebtedness at the latest report of the treasurer was but $289,000, and it is the purpose of the state administration to wipe this out entirely during this year if the holders of the bonds can be prevailed upon to surrender them.

There is culture, refinement and comfort in the homes of South Dakota, her bins are filled to bursting, fat cattle throng her pastures, the dairies are flooded with cream and butter, her banks are filled with money deposited by her farmers and business men, and every condition is as encouraging as the limitations and weaknesses of human nature will permit.

DOANE ROBINSON,
Secretary.

SIOUX MEMORIALS

Biennial address by President Thomas L. Riggs. Footnotes by Ferd J. Goodfellow.

One hundred years ago this land of ours was, to most men, an unknown land—a vast wilderness without recorded history. Originally the home of the only true native American, of the buffalo, the elk, the bear and other wild animals, it was claimed for France in 1682, by right of discovery, by LaSalle.[1] In April

[1]**Rene Robert Cavelier LaSalle,** the celebrated French navigator, was born in Rouen, France, November 22, 1643. He entered the ministry and was ordained a Jesuit priest, but in 1666 renounced his profession and emigrated to Canada. In 1669 he attempted to find a northwest passage to the Pacific by way of the Great Lakes. After traversing Lake Michigan and the Illinois and Ohio rivers and sailing a considerable distance down the Mississippi, he abandoned the enterprise and returned to France in 1674. Here he was ennobled and received, on May 12, 1678, the important grant of Fort Frontenac, now Kingston, Canada. Returning to America, he built a strongly fortified fort at the present site of Kingston, which he named LaChine. (This fort was afterward called Frontenac.) With LaChine as his base of operations he established a profitable trade with the Indians and explored the Great Lakes. In 1678 LaSalle fitted out an expedition and ascended the waters of the St. Lawrence and the lakes to Macknaw, thence across Lake Michigan and down the Illinois River to Peoria. He proceeded down the Mississippi River to the Gulf of Mexico, and on April 9, 1682, claimed the entire Mississippi basin for Louis XIV. Returning to France in 1683 he secured a commission to establish a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. Sailing direct from France to the Gulf of Mexico, he failed to find the mouth of the Mississippi, and in March of 1685 landed in Matagorda Bay, and there established a fort. Hardships and suffering had greatly reduced the number of his followers, and while endeavoring to reach Canada by an overland route he was murdered by his own men on the banks of a branch of Trinity River, in Texas, March 19, 1687.

of that year "LaSalle, with Tonty,[2] Dautray and others," who had first navigated the Mississippi from its northern waters to its mouth, "standing on the bank of the most western channel * * * about three leagues from its mouth * * * took possession of the country in the name of Louis XIV," set up a column and under the Lilies of France named the land Louisiana.

After eighty years of sovereignty, by what is known as the "Secret Treaty," in 1762 France transferred title to Spain, and by another secret treaty,[3] that of October, 1800, after thirty-eight years of unprofitable ownership, Louisiana was by Spain retroceded to France. There had, however, been no actual transfer of possession when in 1803 we bought the entire region from France. Our envoys, Robert R. Livingstone[4] and James Monroe,[5] had been sent to France intrusted by President Jefferson[6]

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[2]**Henry de Tonty,** the son of Lorenzo Tonti, was born in Italy in 1650. He was an Italian explorer and soldier in the French service. Emigrating to Canada in 1678, he accompanied LaSalle on his explorations of the Great Lakes and the Illinois, Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. In 1680 he was left in command of a fort in the vicinity of Peoria, Illinois, and while there made an unsuccessful attempt to found a colony in Arkansas. He took part with the western Indians in an expedition against the Senecas in 1685 and twice descended the Mississippi, to its mouth, in search of LaSalle. After a third trip to the Gulf to meet Iberville, Tonty remained in that region until his death, in September, 1704, which occurred at Fort Louis, now Mobile, Alabama.

[3]The treaty of Ildefonso.

[4]**Robert R. Livingston,** LL. D., known as "Chancellor" Livingston, was born in New York, November 27, 1747; a son of Judge R. R. Livingston and a brother of Edward Livingston. He graduated at King's (now Columbia) College in 1765, and became a most successful lawyer. He was recorder of New York from 1773 to 1775; a member of the Continental congress from 1775 to 1777, and again from 1779 to 1781; was on the committee which reported the Declaration of Independence, but was prevented by circumstances from signing it; secretary of foreign affairs from 1781 to 1783; chancellor of New York from 1777 to 1801; and was instrumental, while United States minister to France (1801 to 1804), in effecting the purchase of Louisiana. He died February 26, 1813.

[5]**James Monroe,** the fifth president of the United States, was born in Westmoreland county, Virginia, April 28, 1758. He was a son of Spence Monroe and a descendant of a Scottish Cavalier family; received his education at William and Mary College; entered the Revolutionary army as a private in 1776, and served with distinction in the principal en-

to "procure * * * a cession to the United States of New Orleans and of west and east Florida," and absolute freedom in the navigation of the Mississippi River—a most modest desire. They were offered by Napoleon "a vast portion of America" and sovereignty "over the largest rivers of the world"—a princely offer!

The Louisiana Purchase, proper, embraces the entire states of Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, parts of the states of Minnesota, Kansas, Colorado, Montana, Wyoming, Louisiana, and all of the Indian Territory and Oklahoma. The magnitude of the cession never entered the mind of either Napoleon or Jefferson. There were many who opposed the purchase and predicted disaster and ruin as the result. Mr. Jefferson was ridiculed for his bargain and suffered bitter personal detraction. Extracts from speeches made in the

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gagements of 1777 and 1778; was wounded at Trenton and for distinguished service became lieutenant colonel. He studied law for a time under President Jefferson, but served again in the latter part of the war. Monroe was a delegate to congress in 1783-86; opposed the adoption of the constitution in 1788; was United States senator 1790-94; minister to France 1794-96; governor of Virginia 1799-1802, and again in 1811; envoy to France in 1802, and to Spain in 1805; minister to England 1803-08; secretary of state 1811-17, and also secretary of war 1814-15; and president of the United States from 1817 to 1825. The chief events of his administration, "the era of good feeling," were the acquisition of Florida from Spain, the Seminole war, the visit of LaFayette, the recognition of the independence of the South American republics, the enunciation of the Monroe doctrine, and the Missouri Compromise of 1820. He died at New York on the 4th of July, 1831.

[6]**Thomas Jefferson,** third president of the United States, was born in Shadwell, Albemarle county, Virginia, April 13, 1743. He entered William and Mary College in 1760 and seven years later began the practice of law. He was a member of the Virginia house of burgesses from 1769 to 1775; also a member of congress in 1775, and was one of a committee of five to prepare the Declaration of Independence, which, at the request of the committee, he drafted. He soon after resigned his seat in congress to become a member of the Virginia legislature, and was elected governor of Virginia in 1779. Congress appointed him minister plenipotentiary to France in 1782, but before sailing he served a few weeks in congress, during which time he succeeded in passing a bill establishing our present system of decimal currency. He was minister to France from 1785 to 1789, and secretary of state from 1789

senate and house of representatives of that day upon the question of this purchase are vastly entertaining reading.

The treaty was concluded in April, the text of that treaty reached Washington in July, and it was ratified by the senate in November, but possession was not taken till December 20, 1803. First had come formal transfer from Spain to France, and then twenty days later the Fleur-de-lis of France gave place to the Stars and Stripes, and this great inland empire became ours.

In January of this same year, 1803, the congress had authorized an expedition of exploration up the Missouri and across to the Pacific. This was prior to the conclusion of the treaty of cession and before any such cession was anticipated by even Thomas Jefferson. The purpose and object of this expedition was to be purely commercial and without thought of exploring a new country for purposes of later occupation, as is sometimes supposed. Mr. Jefferson, in his letter of instructions to Captain Lewis,[7] says: "The object of your mission is to explore the Missouri River and such principal streams of it as by its course and communication with the waters of the Pacific Ocean, * * * may offer the most direct and practicable water communication across the continent, for the purposes of commerce." The commerce referred to and desired was trade with the Indians west of the Mississippi. This was in its inception the intent and purpose of the Lewis and Clarke expedition.[8] With our acquisition of the entire drainage system of the upper Missouri the importance of this expedition was greatly enlarged and its significance deepened.

For us the story of that expedition—and a wonderful story it is—is the beginning of recorded history. There were others

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to 1793, when he resigned and returned to private life at his home. On a tie ballot in 1800 the house of representatives elected him president over John Adams, and he was re-elected in 1804. Among the important events of his administration are the Tripolitan war, Louisiana purchase and the Lewis and Clarke expedition. He died at Montecello on the 4th of July, 1826, the semi-centennial of the Declaration of Independence.

[7]**Captain Meriwether Lewis**—See South Dakota Department of History Collections, Volume I, page 99.

[8]**Lewis and Clarke Expedition**—See South Dakota Department of History Collections, Volume I, page 100.

who had preceded them. It was for the purpose of gain and adventure. The Hudson Bay Company[9] was already reaping rich harvest. Venturesome men from Canada had a well known trail across from the Mississippi, which stream they crossed at Prairie du Chien, and following up the Minnesota River they crossed the two coteaus, and probably knew all the intricate windings of the Missouri River in this immediate region and to the northward. The river banks and bluffs echoed and re-echoed to the song of the careless boatman and the prairies were made wierdly mournful by the wail of the ungreased ox cart—made entirely of wood and bound together by rawhide. These came from Canada overland. Others came around by way of St. Louis. The Spanish trader also had already traversed this region. These forerunners of civilization were not given to making record of what they saw and did and of what befel them. They were men of action and unused to pen and pencil, if indeed they ever knew how to read or write. Hence our information from such sources is extremely meager. It is, however, not at all improbable that we may some day find records of whose existence we now are unaware.

Before the day of the trader the native American occupied, after his fashion, this land. He hunted and roamed over it, building his abode where he would, and moving to some other location as desire or necessity urged him. He, however, has left enduring record of his presence and life. We do not find it easy to understand and rightly interpret these records. There are remains of very considerable cities and villages in nearly every county of the state. Within twenty miles of this state

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[9]**Hudson Bay Company**—This corporation, in which Prince Rupert and other noblemen were interested, was chartered in 1670 by Charles II of England. The company secured sole control of a large tract of land, known as Rupert Land, comprising that portion of Canada which drains into Hudson Bay. The object of the company was to control the fur and skin trade of that vast region. Later they acquired possession, for a like purpose, of all lands lying between Rupert Land and the Pacific. In 1870 the company transferred its rights largely to the crown in consideration of $1,500,000, reserving only the right to certain ports, about 500,000 acres of land, and exclusive control of the chase in specified regions. It still secures a good income from its trade in furs and the sale of its lands to speculators and settlers.

capitol there are no less than a half dozen sites of cities that once swarmed with life and activity, and each having a population greater than that of many a city of our state having large civic aspirations.

They built monuments—memorials of their life, books for those who follow, having eyes which see. Monuments that in conception at least have no counterpart in a civilization such as ours. Nor can we readily understand and appreciate their true value.

For example: Four miles north of this city there is a range of hills which we call Snake Buttes. This range extends from southeast to northwest and terminates with the river bluffs on the west. To the north of these hills, at their western end, running along on the top of and nearly parallel to the edge or the river bluffs, there is a row of stones, a mile or more in length. Small piles of stones mark off irregular spaces in this long row, and at each end, to mark the beginning and the finish, there is a larger pile of stones. The story told me thirty years ago by an old Sioux, as we walked over the ground together, is this: Long years ago a venturesome Ree Indian came all alone to the southward in search of scalps and horses which he might take from the enemy, the Sioux, who were encamped along the river in this locality. As he scouted among the breaks he was discovered at earliest dawn by a Sioux doing outpost duty and lying in the curious dip there is between the main range and a little sharp mound on the north and at the western end of the buttes. The Sioux, himself unseen, promptly shot his enemy, who turned and ran, though wounded to the death. The arrow had entered the hip in such a way as to render the leg useless and an incumbrance. He ran, or hopped rather, with marvelous swiftness, falling to the ground again and again; in agony and desperation he rose and continued his hopeless flight till overtaken and slain. The victorious Dakota was filled with wonder and admiration, and that such astonishing spirit and power of endurance might have fitting memorial, retracing his steps, he carefully placed a stone over each drop of blood and along the course where the wounded man had fallen he gathered small piles of stones, and larger piles to show the starting in the race and the end. And as my informant told me the story he added, with deep feeling, "That enemy was truly a brave man, the

memorial was fittingly placed, and the generations that have come and gone since that time join the victor in honoring him." He then stooped down and picking up a small stone set it in the line of the others. We build monuments for our heroes and great men and for our loved ones. The Indians set up a memorial for an unknown enemy.

We are making history—the individual, institutions, the state—the grandest kind of history. Every life lived does its part. To us is given opportunity of making life tell to the utmost. This compels the preservation of all that shall explain and better life in the future. The story of an intense life or period illuminates the life of the state or citizen of a later day and explains much that would otherwise be hidden.

We plead for collections of antiquities, the sign books of the past—in stone and iron, in wood and clay—the Indian arrow and spear head, flashing knife and ornament, the early trade hatchet and old fashioned corn hoe, the wooden cart and army wagon, the stage coach and pack-saddle, and the hundreds of things that in their day made life possible and which show the way along which our predecessors have come—nay, verily, the way along which we ourselves have traveled.

We plead—and this is of far greater importance—that the records of today be sacredly kept and preserved. This will be best accomplished when every citizen of the state is a member of our Historical Society, and not only this, but when every citizen shall be the incarnated spirit of history. In those days we shall know how to study history. We shall know, too, how to teach history, and no longer will this study be one of woe and grief to the schoolboy. Then too, if I may continue to prophesy, friends, the State Historical Society will no longer walk softly and in fear lest the members of the legislature fail to vote the pittance towards the support and the extension of its facilities for more effective work. It will not be a question of how much or how little we can get along with and retain vitality, but a question of how much we can use effectively. In that day, too, we shall have a house of our own, with large and convenient rooms and safe deposits, where the priceless collections already in hand and yet to be gathered shall be kept in safety and as teaching out from the past the generations of those who yet shall be to come.

Such is the vision. Meanwhile we pray of the legislators—of the present and to come—two things: That every member join the Historical Society, and that full and adequate support be given this most deserving and vitally interesting department of work for the upbuilding of our state.

During the past two years the work of the Historical Society has progressed satisfactorily. A beginning has been made. We have some interesting and valuable articles in our collection and there are more in private hands awaiting the time when such can be properly cared for. We have a small room in this building as headquarters where all are welcome—but do not all come at one time! Careful studies have been made along several interesting lines of historical research, the results of some of which are presented in our biennial report just published.

Your most efficient secretary believes in live things—in a live Historical Society, as well as in live men. His aim has been and is to gather facts and articles of interest connected with the past, not as such alone, but because of their relations, and for the use of men of today and of tomorrow. His annual review of the progress of the state for 1901 was published in an edition of 23,000 copies. More than 200,000 copies of this were issued and used by others, and its leaves were scattered all over the United States and into foreign countries. The annual review for 1902 is no less interesting and comprehensive.

The State Historical Society is not an immigration bureau and should not be regarded and used as such. But if the facts gathered and presented thus bring settlers into this favored state of ours, welcome them and help them to live worthily of the inheritance into which they enter. It is no small thing nor anything mean that we would offer—but a royal inheritance.

Bear with me in a question I have to ask. I shall ask it bluntly and without preface. What part shall be taken by our state of South Dakota in commemorating the Louisiana Purchase at the gathering of the states to be held at St. Louis in 1904? We cannot afford to be left outside, nor can the rest of the world well consent to our absence. Doubtless ample provision will be made, enabling the state to be fitly represented. There is no state that has more of reason than our state of South Dakota to honor that far-reaching transaction of Mr. Jefferson's administration, the Louisiana Purchase. No state

so young in years can give evidence of progress and advance along every line of human development more satisfactory and can offer larger and richer exhibit of these evidences than can South Dakota. And no state stands in position where the returns from such representation will be more immediate, full and of lasting value.

In speaking thus I trust I shall not have wearied you. I have great reverence for the history makers of our state of the past, large faith in those of today and unbounded confidence in those of the future. It becomes us, however, to enter into our responsibilities with courage and hope, to solve our problems, to study life's lessons and do life's work the more intelligently and with greater purpose because of light that shines out from the past and records that come down from years gone by.

VERENDRYE AND OTHER EARLY EXPLORERS

Address by Bishop Thomas O'Gorman delivered at the biennial meeting of the State Historical Society January 23, 1903. Footnotes by Ferd J. Goodfellow.

I am well pleased and highly honored to have been invited to this first annual meeting of the State Historical Society. Every state in the Union has a society of this kind, to preserve and hand down to future generations, in authentic form and shape, the deeds and events of its origin and progress. Those who come after us are entitled to know who and what were their predecessors, when and how the state came into being, by what means it expanded and grew, what share it took in the progress of the nation, in the civil, military, industrial, agricultural and religious life of the republic.

Now all this should be set down in an authoritative manner, in records that are genuine and incontrovertible. Any one who has looked into the history of the past has often become painfully aware how difficult it is, in the absence of undoubted records, to get at the truth of events; how hearsay and gossip and the tales of fiction writers gradually grow into myths and legends that tradition raises and consecrates into fact. Is not the larger part of the historian's work in many lines to undo all this, to deny what has passed as true history, before he can set about building up on surer foundations the real structure of facts? These considerations are especially true of the origins and beginnings of institutions and states. It is a strange occurrence that today we have to revise many of our notions as to the earliest ages of mankind, because we are getting at the truth as recorded in the libraries that are being unearthed in Chaldea, Assyria and Babylonia and Egypt.

It is the purpose and duty of the Historical Society to preserve the records of the history of South Dakota. It is high

time that it was established, and yet it was not too late. Many of the early settlers and founders of this commonwealth are still alive to give us the truth about our beginnings, and the truth will be found—if not by us, surely by our followers—to be stranger than fiction. What has been done already in this line by the review conducted by Mr. Robinson deserves highest commendation. However, this work of preserving our history should not be left to the labors and resources of one man, or to any set of private individuals. It is of general interest; it is the duty of the commonwealth to aid and foster it by such financial aid as the importance of the work requires.

Technically the history of South Dakota would begin at the date of its admission as a state into the Union. But previously to that it existed jointly with North Dakota in the Territory of Dakota. It has, then, a second chapter, its territorial existence. But, still ascending the stream, we shall find that it formed part of other states and territories before becoming one itself, until we reach the date 1803, when a part of Louisiana, it became part of the United States. All this period from its formation as a territory up to its passage from French to American domination, makes another chapter in its history, its embryonic life, so to speak, awaiting birth into the American republic. Then comes another chapter, that long, dim period under Spanish domination, when all of the United States west of the Mississippi owed allegiance to the crown of Spain—a period during which there is very little to say about South Dakota, and what little there is I intend to tell you now.

But before going on to that subject, I wish to say a word about the place of South Dakota in the coming Louisiana Purchase fair in St. Louis. Undoubtedly we should be represented there, and in a manner creditable to our prosperous condition and our growing assurances. Not only have we much to show in the mineral and agricultural lines that will be a revelation to the country, but, being part of that famous annexation to the American republic, we are in honor bound to be on exhibition in the fair that commemorates its first centenary. I trust that the appropriation for this purpose will be generous and worthy of the state whose per capita annual revenue exceeds that of any other in the Union.

I have said that before the Purchase what is now South Dakota was under Spanish dominion. The French held New Orleans and some territory to the east of it. But the Mississippi River was the boundary line between Spanish and French possessions, and all territory west of the river was, in theory at least, Spanish until a very short time before the Louisiana Purchase, when that territory west of the river passed for a very short while to France, from whom the purchase was made by President Jefferson. From the day Spain occupied Mexico until the relinquishment to France, that is for about three hundred years, all the land west of the river was Spanish territory. I have said at least in theory, for practically during the eighteenth century French voyageurs from New Orleans traveled up the Missouri River as high, I should judge, as the present Omaha,[1] and traveled up rivers coming into the Mississippi from the west as far north and inland as the present Mankato.[2] Also French voyageurs from Canada, pushing beyond Lake Superior into what is now Minnesota and Manitoba, explored as far west as the Rocky Mountains.[3] Such explorations were really an infringement on Spanish rights, since Spain claimed everything west of the Mississippi. However, the interesting question for us is, did Spaniards or did Frenchmen at any time from 1500 to 1800 reach our state, or how near did they come to it?

As to the Spaniards, the answer must be, considering the evidence at hand, that they did not reach so far north as this, though the tribes that then occupied our state knew of the strange white men to the south and did come in contact with them. Often the pursuit of the buffalo may have taken our northern Indians through Nebraska and Kansas clear to the border of the homes of the Spaniards in Texas and New Mexico. The horses of the Spaniards and various utensils of

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[1]Law's map, 1721, shows that the French had explored the Missouri as far as about the vicinity of Pierre.

[2]LeSueur at Fort L'Huillier in 1700.

[3]**Verendrye**—First expedition wintered at the Mandan village on the Missouri River in 1738-39, and the second expedition reached the Rocky Mountains, and on their return camped for eighteen days within 100 miles of Pierre, South Dakota, in 1743.

European manufacture, whether by purchase or by pilfering, made their way into our regions. In the middle of the eighteenth century there was a band of Indians between the Missouri and the Rockies known to the Sioux and the Canadian voyageurs by the name of Gens des Chevaux, the people of the horses, which animals had come to them from white men in the south. There seems to be no doubt that, as our northern Indians pursued the buffalo as far south as New Mexico, so also the southern or Pueblo Indians were wont to come as far north as South Dakota in search of the peculiar red stone at Pipestone, then owned, or if not owned, surrounded by the Yanktons, which name was translated by the Canadian voyageurs "The people of the red stone quarry." By such means was there contact between the Spaniards and the Indians who lived in South Dakota.

But there is no evidence that Spanish explorers set foot on the prairies of our state. In 1540 Coronado[4] with 300 Spaniards started northward from Mexico. According to Bandelier he came as far as the center of Kansas; according to Bancroft as for as the boundary line between Kansas and Nebraska. That is as far north as the Spaniards reached, at least I have never

[4]**Francisco Vazquez de Coronado** of Salamanca married the daughter of Alonzo de Estrada, the treasurer and at one time governor of Mexico, and the son of His Catholic Majesty Don Ferdinand. Coronado was appointed governor of New Galicia by Don Antonio de Mendoza in 1538. Just at this time three Spaniards, named Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes and Castillo Maldonado, and a negro named Stephen, who had been lost on the expedition which Pamfilo de Narvaez led into Florida, reached Mexico. An expedition was fitted out under the supervision of Mendoza, consisting of more than 300 Spaniards, among whom were many noblemen, and about 800 natives of New Spain. Coronado was placed in command and assembled his followers at Compostela, the chief city in the new kingdom of Galicia, 110 leagues from the City of Mexico. From Compostela the expedition started on their journey northward in the early part of the year 1540. In 1541 Coronado reached Quivira, at the junction of the Republican and Smoky Hill rivers, in Kansas, 230 miles south of the southermost point of South Dakota. From Quivira Coronado returned to Mexico, and, after his report of the expedition, made in 1542, we lose sight of him entirely, except that he was accused, in 1544 and again in 1547, of holding more Indians to labor on his estates than were allowed by the royal regulations. We do not know the outcome of these accusations, nor do we know the date of his death.

come across any evidence that would justify the assertion that they had reached South Dakota.

Now as to the French. There are two expeditions, one of which came very close to South Dakota, and the other touched a point in South Dakota not very far from the spot where we are now assembled.

The first expedition was led by LeSueur,[5] one of the boldest of Canadian explorers, who has had his memory honored and immortalized by the state of Minnesota, where a county and a thriving town bear his name. As early as 1695 he had established a post on the upper Mississippi and had gone up the Minnesota River, which he named St. Peter, a name the river retained up to a very late date, in search of a copper mine he had heard of from the Sioux Indians. Five years later, having meanwhile obtained a royal grant to work his mine, he started from New Orleans with twenty men and some Indian guides, with the intention of forming a post near the mine. Just think

[5]**Pierre Charles LeSueur** was born in Montreal in 1657, the son of a Frenchman from Artois. He visited the upper Mississippi in company with Nicholas Perrot in 1689. While commandant at Chequamegon in 1693 he discovered mines of lead, copper, and blue and green earth. He also built a fort on Madeline Island in the Mississippi. In 1695 he went back to Montreal, accompanied by a Chippewa chief named Chingoouabe, and a Sioux chief called Tioscate, who was the first Dakota to visit that city. He was to escort Tioscate back to the Dakota land in 1696, but the chief in the meantime died, after an illness of thirty-three days, and LeSueur was relieved of any obligation to return to the Mississippi region that year. Returning to France, he secured a commission to work the mines in the Dakota country, but when off the coast of Newfoundland he was captured by the English, and threw his commission overboard to prevent their learning of his plans. Peace being declared, he returned to France and obtained another commission in 1698. He at once sailed for Canada, but was prevented, by Governor Frontenac, from going west. Determined to reach his mines over one route or another, he set sail and on December 7, 1699, arrived at Fort Biloxi (now in the state of Mississippi), with thirty workmen. Ascending the Mississippi and then the Minnesota Rver he founded a fort near the present site of Mankato, Minnesota. The fortification was completed on October 14, 1700, and named Fort L'Huillier, in honor of the man who had aided him in his enterprise. LeSueur arrived at Fort Biloxi on the 10th of February, 1702, with 2,000 quintals (200,000 pounds) of blue and green earth, which he carried to France, only to find it worthless. But little is known of his subsequent career. He died on the ocean, about 1710.

of the long voyage in canoes up the Mississippi to the point where now stands Fort Snelling, the confluence of the Minnesota and the Mississippi; then up the Minnesota to its confluence with the Blue Earth River, the present site of Mankato. Here he built a stockade, which he named after a royal officer of the French colony, Fort l'Huillier.[6] This was in October, 1701.[7] Here he wintered. In May he loaded his boats with 4,000 pounds of his mineral and started for New Orleans. He never returned, the Sioux soon drove off his men and the fort was abandoned. The mineral was simply green colored earth.

Winsor reproduces two maps, one of 1702, the other of 1763, both of which mark a route from LeSueur's mine westward to the Missouri. In the first the route is named "Indian track," and in the second "French route to the west." Of course these maps are imperfect, but it would seem as if the routes struck the Missouri at some point within the state, and the conclusion is very probable that French voyageurs from LeSueur's fort did cross South Dakota as far as the Missouri River. The account of the expedition, made by him to the home government, leaves no doubt that during his stay on the Blue Earth River, LeSueur held intercourse with the South Dakota Indians, and that his men went west to the prairies occupied by them. I wonder if ever investigation has been made along the banks of that river to discover the exact location of the fort. Remains of some kind might possibly be found that would enrich the historical collection of Minnesota.

The other French expedition which I mentioned was that of Verendrye[8] in 1742; this one has a much greater interest for

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[6]**Fort L'Huillier**—M. L'Huillier, farmer general (collector of revenues) of France, aided LeSueur in 1699 to form an establishment at the source of the Mississippi River for the purpose of working some mines of green earth which LeSueur had discovered. In September, 1700, LeSueur reached the present site of Mankato, Minnesota, and near that place built his fort, which he completed October 14, 1700, and named Fort L'Huillier. LeSueur returned to France in April, 1702, having left men at the post, but on the 3d of March, 1703, these came back to Mobile, having abandoned the fort.

[7]Most authorities state that the fort was finished on the 14th of October, 1700.

[8]**Pierre Gualtier Verendrye**—(This name is spelled in documents in fourteen different ways.) Verendrye was born at Three Rivers, Quebec,

us. It came from Quebec and by order of the French administration there, whereas the LeSueur expedition of which I have just spoken came from New Orleans. The purpose of the Verendrye expedition—like that of Lewis and Clarke sixty years later—was to discover the western sea—the Pacific—rumors and vague descriptions of which they had gathered from the western tribes around the Great Lakes. However, the purpose does not interest us so much as the journey westward, and especially the return journey; for it is on the return that the Verendrye expedition came to and remained some days in South Dakota.

Gradually the French had extended their line of posts along the northern waterways from Quebec to Lake Manitoba, where their most western stockade was called Fort De la Reine. It was from this point that the two Verendrye brothers started in April, 1742, to find the Pacific. According to Winsor they arrived January 1, 1743, as far as the Big Horn range, an outlying buttress of the Rockies, about 100 miles east of the Yellowstone Park, and went no farther. Beyond them lay 800 miles of mountains and declivity stretching to the coveted sea. Parkman thinks it not unlikely that they may have pushed beyond the Big Horn range and reached a point on the Snake River. Another historian thinks they may have reached the site of Helena, Montana. The descriptions the explorers give in their account are too vague for exact geographical verification. At any rate they turned homeward without finding the object of their search.

Now here is where we come in. The direction they took and the time it took them to travel brought them within two days' march of Pierre, within one day's trip with a fair team. Here are the words of their account: "We arrived the 15th of

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on the 17th of November, 1684. Going to Europe, he was at the battle of Malplaquet on September 11, 1709. He returned to Canada and, while stationed at Lake Nepigon in 1727, was the first to perfect an expedition to explore the chain of lakes forming the northern boundary of Minnesota. Accompanied by three of his sons and a nephew, he constantly pushed westward and reached the Missouri River in the winter of 1838-39, while two of his sons explored as far west as the Rocky Mountains in 1743, the first white men to enter Montana.

March among the band of the Little Cherry,[9] who, where we found them, were two days' march from their camp on the Missouri. We left them on the 2d of April to their great regret." Traveling north and northwest they arrived May 18th at the village of the Mandans, which is supposed to have been at or near the present site of Fort Berthold in North Dakota. Now Fort Berthold is northwest of Pierre about 240 miles. According to their account they did not go in a straight line, but sometimes they headed north, now east, and then again northwest. They were forty-five days on the trip from the point on the Missouri where they stayed with the Little Cherry people to Fort Berthold. Thence they made their way to Lake Manitoba.

Not far from here is Cherry Creek. Bands of Indians then, as now, often took their name from some physical feature of the country they inhabited. Les Gens de la Petite Cerise is the French name given in the account, the band of the Little Cherry. I believe they were a band of Sioux who lived along Cherry Creek, and also had an encampment on the Missouri. Cherry Creek empties into the Cheyenne about fifty miles from the Missouri, and the Cheyenne empties into the Missouri about thirty miles from Pierre. Somewhere between Fort Bennett and Fort Pierre was that camp of the Little Cherry Indians where the Verendrye expeditions rested awhile. Some day or other the exact spot may be found, for in the account I read: "On an eminence, near the fort (camp), I placed a leaden plate engraved with the arms and inscription of the king and some stones in shape of a pyramid in honor of the general." What

[9]**Little Cherry**—While camped near the Mandan villages, on their return down the Missouri River, Lewis and Clarke were visited by several chiefs of the Minnetarees, among whom was Little Cherry. On the 15th of August, 1806, Captain Clarke reproached the Minnetarees for going to war against the Sioux and Ricaras, to which Little Cherry replied that they had staid at home and listened to his advice, but at last went to war against the Sioux because their horses had been stolen and their companions killed; and that in an expedition against those people they had met the Ricaras, who were on their way to strike them, and a battle ensued. He promised to follow the wisnes of the Great Father and live at peace in the future. It is possible that the Little Cherry referred to here is a descendant of the man who so royally entertained the Verendryes sixty years earlier upon their return from the Rocky Mountains.

a find that would be for Mr. Robinson and the Historical Society! A good reward should be promised to the finder. I do not know if historical sentiment and feeling counts for anything as an argument in favor of Pierre as the capital. But surely the most historical spot in the state is right here, or somewhere in this neighborhood. I am inclined to think that if that leaden plate were unearthed before November, 1904, my historical bent would compel me to vote for Pierre. Well, strange and unexpected events may happen before that fateful date to shape the vote of the state; and perhaps so strange and unexpected an event as the finding of that leaden plate may come to pass.

I fear I have tired out your kind patience. My first intention was to speak tonight of Father DeSmet,[10] who has left his name to a famous mine in the Black Hills and to a prosperous town in eastern South Dakota, and who was the first Catholic priest who taught Christianity to the Indians in our state. I reserve that subject for some future occasion. I have been tempted away from my first intention by the wish to tell you of those earlier explorations within the borders of our state before the American republic had gained independence and had set up as a nation in the world. The subject I have treated tonight gives us greater age and antiquity in recorded history than is commonly supposed, and makes us part of that great romantic drama of conquest and exploration, enacted on this continent by Spain and France especially, before our birth as a nation and long before our birth as a state. I know nothing more entrancing in history than that drama, as it unrolls its stirring phases beneath the pen of a Bancroft or a Parkman. From the day that Champlain,[11] in the year 1608, planted on the

[10]**Father Peter John DeSmet**—See South Dakota Department of History Collections, Volume I, page 131.

[11]**Samuel de Champlain,** the founder of Quebec and governor of New France, the present Lower Canada, was born at Brouage, France, about 1570. He served in the wars of the League on the side of Henry IV and received a pension from that monarch. His first voyage to America was as commander of a vessel in the Spanish fleet sailing for Mexico in 1599. On March 5, 1603, he sailed from Honfleur and entered the St. Lawrence in May. Of his many later voyages his third, in 1608-10, is most noteworthy on account of the founding of Quebec, the defeat of the Iroquois, and the discovery of Lake Champlain. In 1612 he was

rocky eminence of Quebec his small colony of adventurers, French missionary and explorer steadily made their way in canoes on the rivers, lakes and upland streams that reach into the heart of this northern continent, until we find them right here on the banks of this river and at the foot of the Rockies.

An adventurous race, a courageous and fearless kind of men, who braved incredible hardships—in search of wealth if you look only at the fur trader—in search of souls if you look at the missionary. I could not give them higher praise than has been given by Bancroft and Parkman. Says Parkman: "The priest and the soldier went hand in hand. The cross and the Fleur de Lis were planted side by side. Long in advance of the settlement at Plymouth French Christianity was actively and beneficently busy among the savages of Maine, among the Hurons of Ontario, among the fierce Iroquois of New York, among the untutored tribes on Lake Huron." "Thus," writes Bancroft, "did the religious zeal of the French bear the cross to the banks of the St. Mary and the confines of Lake Superior, and look wistfully towards the home of the Sioux in the valley of the Mississippi before the New England Eliot had addressed the tribe of Indians that dwelt within six miles of Boston Harbor."

To these French explorers and missionaries we owe a debt of gratitude, and I am happy to say that, as time goes on, America is acknowledging more and more that debt, and that our historians are repaying it with historical gratitude. No, we cannot and we do not want to get away from those French antecedents. The very name of your city is a testimony unto them, whether or no it remains the premier city of the state.

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appointed lieutenant governor, under the Prince of Conde, and in 1620 he began the fortification of Quebec. In 1632 he published his "Voyages a la Nouvelle France." His death occurred at Quebec, December 25, 1635.

INDEX TO PART ONE

Page

Abbott, M. E., Letter to..... 25
Abbott, Louisa J. and Charles L., genealogy 82
Aberdeen Socialist convention, 1902... 63
Adams, Lieut. Frank H., killed at Mariloa 100
Agricultural College established..... 98
Albright, Samuel J., squatter governor 95
Aldrich, Irwin D., contributes to library 20
Allen, C. Louis, contributes to museum 21
Amidon, Joseph B., massacred at Sioux Falls..... 95
Analysis of census 1900..... 48
Annual Reviews.....10, 31, 47, 65
Appropriations, general.....32, 65
Argus-Leader, letters to..... 23
Arickaras, Indians (See Rees).....
Arickara, name applied to Ree villages 90
Armstrong, John, death mentioned.... 73
Armstrong, Moses K., book by..... 79
Delegate in congress..... 96
Contributes portrait..... 19
Artesian wells.....42, 51 63
Ashley, Edward S., candidate secretary of state..... 63
Ashley, Gen. W. H., war with Rees, 91 92
Ashton, captives rescued near..... 94
Assessed valuation, tables by counties 33, 53 68
Astoria expedition in South Dakota... 90
Atkinson, Gen. Henry, treaty commissioner, 1825..... 93

Bank deposits 1901, 1902, 1903....36, 54, 70
Bach, C. J., commissioner school lands 63
Bagstad, Anna E., verses by..... 81
Beadle, W. H. H., contributes to library 19, 30
Belle Fourche, derivation of name.... 25
Bennett, Julian, circuit judge..... 44

Page

Bennett, Granville G., delegate in congress 98
Bentley, Viola B., sketch of ancestry 23
Berg, Otto C., secretary of state..... 63
Bibliography of South Dakota, official 83
Biennial meeting, proceedings of..... 8
Big Stone Lake, home of Sissetons..88, 89
Big White, Mandan chief, returned home 90
Blackburn, William M., mentioned.... 80
Blackfeet Sioux, home on Grand River 89
Blackhawk war compared with Ree war 92
Black Hills, visited by Warren..... 94
Explored by Custer..... 96
History of..... 82
Blackmoon, Unepapa chief in war of 1876 97
Blizzard of 1888..... 99
Blue Earth River, LeSueur's fort on.. 118
Books by South Dakota authors..... 79
Boom of immigration..... 98
Bonham, W. H. contributes to museum 21
Bowler, John A., candidate for U. S. senator 65
Boyland, Hugh G., state senator, death of..... 76
Bras, Mrs. H. L., death mentioned... 76
Brookings, W. W., opposes woman's suffrage 27
Brookings, Wilmot W., squatter governor, 1859..... 95
Brothers, Clarence, candidate for secretary of state..... 63
Brown, Edmund, candidate for circuit judge 43
Brown, G. H., candidate for secretary of state 63
Brown, James M., code commissioner 32, 66
Brown, Mortimer C., verses by..... 81
Brown & Saenger, contribute to museum 20

Page

Brown, Thomas, contributes to museum 21
Brules, home on White River..... 83
Building, 1901, 1902, 1903.....36, 49, 67
Bullock, Seth, executive committeeman 8
Burbank, John A., territorial governor 20
Contributes to gallery..... 96
Burdick, F. L., contributes to museum 21
Burke, Charles H., member of congress 63, 101
Burleigh, B. Wade, verses by..... 81
Burleigh, Walter A., delegate in congress 30, 96
Burleigh & Wenzlaff, book by.....81

Caddoan stock of Indians..... 87
Capital location submitted to vote.... 66
Capital removed to Bismarck..... 98
Carr, Robert V., author book of verse 77, 81
Carter, Jarvis W., death mentioned... 76
Case, E. B., candidate for railway commissioner 63
Catalogue of bound books by South Dakotans 79
Catlin, George, visits Fort Pierre..... 93
Cedar Island, Loisee's post upon..... 89
Census of 1900 analyzed..... 48
Circulating libraries authorized..... 32
Chamberlain, A. E., candidate circuit judge 44
Chamberlain, Will C., author of book verses 44, 80
Champlain, biography of explorer..... 121
Charles Mix county, derivation of name 25
Chalmers, James, books by.....79, 81
Cheyenne and Crow trade at Fort Pierre 91
Cheyenne Indians, derivation of name 23
Chladek, Louis, candidate state treasurer 63
Church, Louis K., territorial governor 99
Church progress 1902, 1903.....62, 75
Clark, A. E., candidate for state treasurer 63
Cleven, Nels A., letter to..... 29
Clough, contributes to museum..... 22
Clover, Samuel Travers, author book verses 81
Collins, Charles B., state treasurer, 63, 65
Collins, E. E., superintendent public instruction 31
Committees, subordinate..... 8
Constitutional conventions, 1883, 1885, 1889 .....98, 99
Cooper, S. E., contributions to library 19

Page

Contributions to Society, list of..... 19
Congressional action affecting South Dakota 50
Cornplanters, Sioux name for Rees.... 83
Coronado, biography of explorer..... 116
Correspondence, volume of..... 11
Counties, assets and debts, 1901..... 35
Legislated out of existence..... 25
Only nominal..... 25
How named 23
Fallriver 25
Lugenbeel 25, 30
McPherson 25
Walworth 25
Coursey, O. W., author of text book.. 77
Crane, Frank, contributions to museum 21
Crane, Mrs. Frank, contributions to gallery and museum.....19, 21
Cranmer, S. H., candidate for attorney general..... 63
Crawford, John C., candidate for governor 63
Crazy Horse, Oglala chief in war of 1876 97
Crook, Gen. George G., in war of 1876 97
Crow and Cheyenne trade at Fort Pierre 91
Crow, I. R., contributions to library.. 19
Crops, 1901, 1902, 1903.....39, 55, 70
Cummins, B. A., contribution to museum 41
Curator elected 8
Report of 12
Curtis, H. H., candidate for governor 63
Custer, Gen. George A., annihilated.. 97
Expedition to Black Hills..... 96

Dairy commissioner, office created..... 31
Dairy and creamery, 1901, 1902, 1903, ...40, 58, 73
Dakota Farmer, contribution to library 20
Dakota Indians (see Sioux)..... 88
Davies, James, author of book of verses 44
Dean, Rett, contribution to library.... 20
Defalcation of W. W. Taylor, state treasurer 100
DeLand, Charles E., contributes to museum 21
DeLand, Charles E., books by.....80, 81
De la Riene, Verendrye's western post 119
DeMuth, Hans, contribution to library 20
DeSmet, Father P. J., mentioned..... 121
Dewell, S. G., contributes to library.. 21
Dewitt, Franklin J., makes settlement in Sioux valley..... 94
Dickinson, Anna J., author of books.. 81
Dickson, Maj. Robert, sketch of..... 23

Page

Dickson, William, death by suicide.... 24
Dillman, Will, author of book of verses 44, 81
Division of Dakota agitated..... 98
Document files.....9, 13
Drought, great, of 1889.....90, 99
Droppers, Garrett, books by..... 82
Contributes to library..... 82

Eakin, E. W., contributes to museum 21
Earthworks at Vermillion..... 25
Eastman, David, commissioner of school lands..... 31
Edgar, W. J., candidate for lieutenant governor 63
Edgerton, Alonzo J., elected senator.. 99
Edmunds, Newton, territorial governor 30, 96
Education, 1901, 1902, 1903.....44, 61, 75
English, A. M., letter to..... 30
Equal suffrage submitted to vote..... 99
Excerpts from correspondence..... 23
Executive committee..... 6
Explorations, early, mentioned..... 87

Fahnestock, Mrs. H. J., letter to..... 26
Fales, Charles, contribution to museum 21
Fall River county, derivation of name 25
Faulk, Andrew J., territorial governor 93
Financial statement of Society funds.. 7
Financial conditions in state, 1901, 1902, 1903.....35, 54, 69
Finch, Rev. A. J., contribution to Society 16, 21
Fires, Leola and Volin destroyed..... 99
First Dakota Cavalry, 1862..... 95
First South Dakota Infantry in Philippines 100
Flandrau, an Omaha village..... 88
LaFrambois locates there..... 91
Death of Mrs. Thatcher there.. 94
Folsom, Moses, letter to..... 30
Foreign population analyzed..... 48
Fort Abraham Lincoln, Terry's base.. 97
Fort Ellis, Gibbon's base..... 97
Fort Fetterman, Crook's base..... 97
Fort Pierre, visited by Catlin..... 93
Visited by Nicolet and Fremont 93
Visited by Riggs and Huggins 93
First religious service in state 93
Visited by Father Ravoux..... 93
Becomes military post..... 94
Fort Randall mentioned.....26, 94
Fort Tecumseh built..... 91
Fourth of July at Pierre, 1825..... 93
Foster, Agness Greene, author of book 77
France claims Dakota country..... 104

Page

Fremont, John C., visits Dakota country 92
French, C. H., contributions to library 20
French trade on Missouri..... 89
Frost, Col. Alfred B..... 100
Fuller, Alpheus G., sent to congress.. 95
Fuller, Arthur L., contribution to museum 20

Gannett, Prof. Henry, letter to..... 25
Gaffey, Loren E., circuit judge..... 43
Gall, Uncpapa chief, characterized.... 25
In war of 1876..... 97
Gallery of portraiture, condition of.. 15
Gamble, John R., congressman..... 100
Gamble, Mrs. John R., contribution to gallery 21
Gamble, Robert J., contributes to museum 19
Member of congress.....30, 100
United States senator.....31, 101
Gardner, Abbie (Sharp), rescue of.... 94
Gas Wells, 1901, 1902, 1903.....42, 51, 68
Gates, Edna Carter, contributes to magazines 44
Geological history.....87, 94
George, Helene, contributor to magazines 44
Gifford, Oscar S., congressman..... 99
Gilman, Stella, author of fiction..... 44
Gjertzen, M. Falk, letter to..... 24
Glenn, S. W., contribution to library 20
Letter to..... 23
Goddard, Thomas M., contribution to museum 21
Godfrey, half-breed negro, in outbreak 28
Gold production, error corrected..... 29
Goodfellow, Ferd J., elected curator.. 8
Work 9
Compilation by..... 83
Notes by.....103, 113
Goodfellow, S. H., contributes to library 20
Author of book..... 8
Grand River, Ree settlement..... 88
Sioux tribes..... 89
Greenwood, Trudeau's post near..... 89
Greyfoot rescues Mrs. Marble..... 94
Grigsby's cowboys in Spanish war..80, 100

Haire, Robert W., endorsed for U. S. senate 63
Hall, Philo, attorney general..... 63
Halladay, state auditor.....63, 65
Haney, Dick, contribution to museum 20
Handy's Point becomes site of Fort Randall 94

Page

Hanson, Joseph Mills, contributes to magazines 44
Harney, Gen. W. S., visits Pierre..... 94
Hayes, John S., contributes to museum 21

Herreid, Charles N., governor, mentioned.....30, 31, 63, 65, 83, 101
Letter to.....3, 29
Contributes to museum..... 21
Herreid, Roscoe Conklin, death mentioned 73
Headley, J. T., contribution to museum 22
Health of public, 1901, 1902, 1903.38, 62, 73
Hemingway, E. E., contribution to library 20
Henry, Maj. Andrew.....91, 92
Hickman, George, history of Marshall county 80
Himes, Dr. Jennie E., contribution to gallery 20
Hipple, John E., contribution to library 21
History, outline, of South Dakota.... 87
Holman, Col. John, contribution to museum 19
Holmes, Charles E., author book of verses 44, 81
Howard, William A., territorial governor 98
Houghton, George L., book by..... 81
Hubbard, J. H., contribution to library 20
Hudson Bay Company, history of..... 106
Huggins, Alexander, visits Fort Pierre, 1840..... 93
Humphrey, H. A., contributes to library 19
Hunt, Walter Price, leads Astorians.. 90
Huron, Democratic convention, 1902... 63
State fair located there..... 66
Elected capital, 1885..... 99
Hyde, Charles L., contributes to library 21
Hyde, John L., letter to..... 30

Indians, condition of, 1901, 1903....46, 76
Chased off James River identified 30
Firstt war with whites in Dakota 90
Traditions discussed..... 26
Speeches, where found..... 24
Rees 80
Inkpaduta, in war of 1876, and death.. 97
Immigrants in South Dakota discussed 26
Immigration boom of the early '80s.... 98

Jarvis, J. J., contribution to gallery.. 21

Page

Jayne, William, territorial governor, calls militia..... 95
Jefferson, Thomas, Louisiana purchase 89
Biography 105
Jensen, Carrie Turner, contribution to library 20
Jolley, John L., defines Vermillion.... 26
Advocates women's suffrage.... 26
Congressman 27
Jones & Mathews compile law book.. 81
Jones, Herschel V., crop expert.....55, 71
Jones, Joseph W., circuit judge..... 43
Jordahl, S. A., contribution to library 19
Judd, Charles E., death mentioned.... 76

Kanouse, Theo. D., elected to congress 99
Kelly, John E., congressman.....63, 100
Author of political poem..... 81
Kerr, Robert F., work mentioned..... 80
Kidder, Jefferson P., in congress...95, 98
Kittredge, Alfred B., U. S. senator, ...30, 63, 65, 101
Knapp, Fannie E., author of poems.. 81
Knowles, Freeman, congressman...63, 100
Kyle, James H., U. S. senator.....100, 101

LaFrambois, Joseph, Sr., pioneer trader 91
LaFrambois, Joseph, Jr., contributes to museum..... 19
Lake Kampeska, militia camp..... 66
Land sales phenomenal in 1902..... 47
LaSalle, cavalier, biography of explorer 103
Law department (see State University)
Law's map of 1721 noticed..... 115
Lawrence, Ezra, contribution to museum 21
Lawton, Charles Bracy, verses by.... 81
Leavenworth conquers the Rees..... 92
Escorts treaty commission, 1825 93
LeCocq, railway commissioner..... 31
Lee, Andrew E., governor.....83, 100
Legislative action, 1903..... 65
Legislature, first territorial..... 95
L'Hullier, Fort, on Blue Earth River, 1700 118
Lien, Adj. Jonas, killed at Mariloa.. 100
Leola destroyed by fire..... 99
LeSueur, Charles Pierre, biography 87, 115, 117
Letters (see Excerpts).....
Lewis, Knute, candidate for state treasurer 63
Lewis and Clark expedition.....89, 106, 120
Library, recommendation relating to 10, 14

Page

Life members of State Historical Cociety 6
Lillibridge, Dr. W. O., author of fiction 44
Lisa, Manuel, special agent and trader on Missouri.....90, 91
Literary output, 1901, 1903.....44, 76
Little Cherry, Minnetaree chief, and Verendrye 120
Little Fish, Sisseton chief, defines "Cheyenne" 23
Live stock, 1901, 1902, 1903.....40, 59, 73
Livingstone, Robert R., biography.... 104
Logan, John D., author of text books 43, 44
Longstaff, John, contributes to library 21
Lord, Louis K., executive committeeman 8
Loisee's post on Missouri.....89, 90
Lostutter, Mr. and Mrs. L. L., contribution 21
Loucks, Henry L., contributes to library 20, 81
Louisiana purchase discussed.....89, 105
Lucas, William V., congressman..... 100
Lugenbeel county, derivation of name 25, 30
Lusk, W. C., loan to library..... 20
Lynch, William A., candidate for attorney general..... 63
Lyon, Col. Leander D., death mentioned 76

McClellan, David, candidate for superintendent 63
McCoy, James H., circuit judge..... 43
McCumber, P. J., contribution to library 20
McDowell, Robert E., contribution to library 20, 21
Books compiled by..... 80
McGee, Levi, circuit judge..... 44
McIntyre, J. J., death mentioned..... 76
McMurtry, William J., author of verses 81
McPherson county, derivation of name 25
Madison, Inkpaduta's camp there..... 94
Madison Normal school established.... 98
Manufacturing, 1902, 1903.....50, 70
Marble, Mrs., rescued by Greyfoot at Madison 94
Mandan chief returned home..... 90
Marquis, George H., author of book of fiction 79
Martin, Eben W., contribution to gallery 20
Congressman 63, 101
Martin, John W., candidate for governor 63

Page

Marshall county, history of..... 80
Masters, Henry, squatter governor, 1858 95
Mathews, George A., delegate to congress 99
Maximillian of Weid visits Missouri River 93
Mellette, Arthur C., governor..... .....23, 30, 83, 99
Membership roll Historical Society.... 6
Memorial, Indian, on Snake Butte.... 107
Miner, Nelson, captain Dakota cavalry 95
Mineral wealth, 1901, 1902, 1903..41, 60, 74
Minnehan, W. H., candidate for commissioner school lands..... 63
Minnesota massacre mentioned..... 95
Minneconjou Indians lived south of Black Hills..... 89
Missouri River, early traders upon.... 89
Missouri Fur Company organized..... 90
Mississippi River discovered..... 104
Director of mint, a letter about S. D. gold 29
Mitchell, candidate for capital..... 63
Monroe, James, biography of president 104
Moody, Gideon C., U. S. senator.... .....30, 32, 66, 99
Moore, Joseph B., circuit judge..... 44
Morals, public, in 1892..... 62
Morehouse, George H., regent of education 76
Morrison, Lieut. Sidney, killed at Mariloa 100
Museum of Historical Society, condition of 14
Myers, Frank, book of Indian wars.... 79

Nash, George W., superintendent public instruction 8, 63, 65, 75
Natural gas (see gas wells).....
Newspapers regularly received by Society 15
New towns in 1901..... 45
Nickname of South Dakota explained 29
Nicollet, Dr. Jean N., visits Dakota country 93
Noble, Mrs., murdered by Roaring Cloud 94
Noble, D. W., candidate for land commissioner 63
Null, Thomas H., candidate for circuit judge 44

O'Fallon, Benjamin, treaty commissioner, 1825..... 93
Officers Historical Society, 1903-4..... 6
O'Gorman, Bishop Thomas, biennial address by..... 113
Oglalas' home on Niobrara and Platte 89

Page

Olson, Ole, Sr., death mentioned..... 76
Omahas driven off by Sioux..... 88
Ordway, Nehemiah G., territorial governor 98
Otherday, John, rescues Abbie Gardner Sharp..... 94
Ottoes war with Yanktons..... 88
Outline of South Dakota History..... 89

Paul, Little, Mazakutamane, releases captive 94
Pawnees, Caddoan..... 89
Peemiller, Otto, contribution to gallery 21
Pennington, John L., territorial governor 98
Perley, George A., contribution to library 22
Pettigrew, R. F., congressman and senator 30, 31, 98
Pettigrew, Mrs. R. F., contribution to gallery 20
Pickler, Mrs. John A., letter to, equal suffrage 27
Pierce, Gilbert A., territorial governor 99
Pierce, Wilber T., candidate for land commissioner 63
Pierre, Ree settlement there..... 88
Pilcher, Joshua, volunteers to help Leavenworth 92
Pitzor, John F., death mentioned..... 76
Phillips, Kirk G., state treasurer..... 100
Philippine war, part of South Dakota in 100
Politics of 1901 and 1902.....43, 63
Population, 1900, 1902, 1903.....34, 47, 67
Foreign, analyzed..... 48
Populist party gives up..... 63
Portraits received by Society..... 14
Price, Walter, candidate for congress 63
Private financial conditions, 1901, 1902, 1903 .....36, 69
Proceedings biennial meeting of Society 8
Productions of U. S. and S. D. compared 28
Productions of South Dakota, 1901, 1902, 1903.....60, 74
Prohibition in constitution, 1885..... 99
Publications, list of state..... 83
Pukwana, derivation of name..... 25

Radisson may have visited Dakota.... 87
Radisson and Grossieliers mentioned.. 80
Railway building, 1901, 1902, 1903,..... .....45, 53, 77
Randall, Fort, located and named by Harney 29

Page

Raymond, John R., delegate in congress 98
Ravoux, Father, visits Fort Pierre, 1842 93
Red Cloud, list of his children..... 24
Red Cloud war mentioned..... 96
Redfield college, contribution to library 20
Red Thunder, a Yanktonais chief..... 23
Ree Indians, primitive inhabitants.... .....80, 87, 88, 90, 92
Reeves, James D., state auditor..... 31
Reinecke, H. W., candidate for railway commissioner..... 63
Religious service, first in Dakota, 1840 93
Replies to correspondents (see Excerpts).....
Reviews of state progress, 1901, 1902, 1903 .....31, 47, 65
Rice, Harvey J., contribution to library 20
Riggs, Stephen Return, author of books 80, 81
First religious service by..... 93
Riggs, Thomas L., essay..... 80
Address 103
Rocky Mountain Fur Company organized 91
Robinson, Dr. DeLorme W., mentioned 21, 23
Robinson, Doane, mentioned..... .....80, 81, 110, 114, 121
Robinson, Fred C., candidate for congress 63
Rose, Hiram B., candidate for railway commissioner 63
Rosen, Father Peter, history Black Hills 20, 82
Rosseau, Roland, death mentioned.... 76
Rossteucher, Charles, opposer women's suffrage 27
Rudolph, Martin E., state senator, death mentioned..... 76

Sans Arcs, Tetons, home on Grand River 89
Scanlan, P. W., candidate for circuit judge 44
Scavenger tax bill passed..... 32
Schamber, John, state treasurer..... 31
Schools of state, 1901, 1902, 1903..61, 75, 44
School lands, 1901, 1902.....44, 61
Scientific expeditions, first to Bad Lands 94
Secretary, addresses by..... 11
Seeley, Charles H., contribution to gallery 21
Seward, Charles X., candidate for circuit judge..... 43

Page

Seymour, contribution to museum..... 20
Shakstad, candidate lieutenant governor 63
Sharp, Mrs. Abbie Gardner (see Gardner) .....
Shanafelt, author of history of Baptist church..... 80
Sheldon, Charles H., governor.....83, 100
Sheldon, Samuel B., contribution to library 19
Shepard, James H., author of chemistries 79
Shepard, Thomas A., contribution to library 20
Shinkle genealogy by the Abbotts..... 82
Shunk, William L., contribution to museum 21
Silsby, George A., national bank examiner 36
Sioux Indians, reason for immigration 88
Memorials of by Riggs..... 103
Sioux Falls, Omaha village..... 88
Settlement at..... 94
Squatter government..... 95
Republican convention, 1902.... 62
Sisseton Indians on Big Stone Lake.. 89
Sisseton, Fort, parade grounds granted state..... 29
Sitting Bull characterized..... 25
In war 1876..... 97
Slagle, Robert L., contribution to library 20
Small, Nina P., candidate for superintendent 63
Smith, D. H., railway commissioner 63, 65
Smith, Ellison G., circuit judge..... 43
Smith, Everitt, candidate for lieutenant governor..... 63
Smith, Frank E., circuit judge..... 43
Smith, G. M., author civil government 79, 80
Smith & Young, books by.....79, 80
Smith, H. G., contribution to gallery 20
Smith, Jedediah S., makes first prayer in Dakota..... 92
Smith, W. W., candidate for congress 63
Snake Butte, memorial upon described 108
Snow, George W., lieutenant governor 31, 63
Socialists nominate ticket, 1902..... 63
Soil, character of in South Dakota... 23
Somers, speaker of the house, 1901.... 31
Spain acquires title to Dakota country 104
Spanish not in South Dakota..... 116
Spanish traditions..... 87
Spanish war, South Dakota in..... 100
Speeches of Indians, where found.... 24

Page

Spink, S. L., delegate in congress.... 96
Spirit Lake massacre..... 94
Spirit Mound visited by Lewis and Clark 90
Sports Afield, letter to..... 25
Spotted Tail induces surrender of Crazy Horse..... 97
Squatter government at Sioux Falls... 95
Standing Buffalo, Sisseton chief, death of 23
Statehood movement in Dakota territory 98
State University established..... 98
Law department..... 31
State publications catalogued..... 83
Stanley, W. H., contribution to library 20
Statement of Society's finances..... 7
Steamboat, first on Missouri River.... 93
Stewart, John A., letter to about immigrants 25
Sterling, Thomas, dean of law school 32
Stillwell, Mrs. Charles H., death mentioned 76
Stutsman, Enos, advocates women's suffrage 27
Subordinate committees of Society.... 8
Sues, Otto L., author Grigsby's Cowboys 80
Suffrage (see women's suffrage).....
Sully's campaign in Dakota..... 80
Summary of productions, 1901, 1902, 1903 .....41, 60, 74
Sweney, Thomas, contributes to museum 21
Swift, Flora M. T., author of verses.. 81
Swinged Cat, state nickname, its derivation 29

Taylor, Franklin, letter to, about Vermillion 25
Taylor, W. W., state treasurer, defaults 100
Tanish, name of Rees..... 88
Tatro, May Phillips, author of verses 81
Taubman, Thomas W., candidate for auditor 63
Tecumseh, Fort, built on site Fort Pierre 91
Terry, Gen., in war of 1876..... 97
Tetons, Sioux, west of Missouri..... 89
Give James valley to Yanktons 88
Visited by Lewis and Clark.... 90
Thatcher, Mrs., killed at Flandrau.... 94
Thomas, William M., contribution to museum 21
Thompson, May Abbott, contribution to museum 20

Page

Thorp, Mrs. G. C., contribution to gallery 20
Todd, John B. S., delegate in congress 95
Todd, Dr. J. E., contribution to library 20
Work on moraines of Dakota 23, 44
Tonty, Henry de, biography of explorer 104
Tracy, Jesse J., letter to, relating to Todd county..... 29
Traders, early, on Missouri River.... 89
Tradition of Snake Butte..... 107
Treaties of 1885..... 93
Treaty of Traverse des Sioux..... 94
Yankton treaty of 1858..... 95
Treaty ending war of outbreak, 1865 96
Ildefonso referred to..... 104
Tree planting, 1901, 1902, 1903.....43, 52
Tripp, Bartlett, code commissioner.... .....30, 32, 66
Tripp, William, captain Dakota cavalry, 1862..... 96
Trudeau's settlement on Missouri River 89
True, A. C., contribution to library.. 20
Twichell, A. A., letter to, relating to Hidatsa 25
Two Kettle Tetons lived on Teton River 89

Uncpapas, Tetons lived on Grand River 89

Vegetables cultivated by Sioux..... 91
Verendrye's explorations..... .....89, 113, 118, 119, 120
Vermillion, derivation of name..... 25
Vetter, Rev. George, death mentioned 76
Volin village destroyed by prairie fire 99
Volkmar, Henry S., contribution to gallery 19

Page

Von Ostrand, Dr. Henry, death mentioned 76

Walrath, Homer D., loan to museum 20
Waneta in war with England..... 91
Ward, Dr. Joseph, mentioned..... 30
War of 1812..... 98
War of 1876..... 97
Warren, Gen. G. K., surveys in Dakota 94
Warner, E. J., secures Indian relics.. 12
Washabaugh, Frank, circuit judge.... 43
Walker, G. Frank, candidate for auditor 63
Walworth county, derivation of name..25
Watertown, militia camp..... 66
Weather, 1901, 1902, 1903.....38, 54, 78
Wells, Rolin J., author book of verse 77, 81
Wenzlaff, Gustav G., author verses.... 81
Wentworth, Frank H., author verses 81
White Lodge, Sisseton chief..... 30
Wholesaling, 1901, 1902, 1903.....36, 50, 70
Williamson, Rev. John P., author of books 80
Williamson, Dr. Thomas S., on derivation of "Cheyenne"..... 23
Wilson, John R., candidate for congress 63
Winsor's view of Verendrye's explorations 119
Women's suffrage, first legislative action 27
Yankton Indians live on lower Missouri 88
War with Ottoes..... 88
Settle in James valley..... 88
Visited by Lewis and Clark.... 90
Treaty with in 1858..... 95
Yanktonais Indians live on upper James 89
In war of 1812..... 91
Young, Clark M., author of books..25, 79

WANETA

A HISTORY

—— OF THE ——

Dakota or Sioux Indians

From their earliest traditions and first contact with white men to the final settlement of the last of them upon reservations and the consequent abandonment of the old tribal life.

—— BY ——

DOANE ROBINSON

Secretary of the South Dakota Department of History

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

Distinction Between Dakotan and Siouan—Indian Traditions Worthless—Speculations as to Origin—Origin of Name Sioux—Dakota—Earliest White Knowledge of Tribe—Home About Lakes of Northern Minnesota—Emigration to Prairies—Secession of the Assinoboins—Effect of Horses and Firearms.....15

CHAPTER II

French Contact—Radisson—Menard—Allouez—Marquette—Joliet—Discovery of Mississippi—Death of Marquette—LaSalle—Hennepin—Captured by Dakotas—Language, Habits and Customs—Medical Treatment—First Dakota Baptism—Duluth to the Rescue—French Trade—LeSueur's First Commission to Dakotas—Civil Organization of Dakotas in LeSueur's Time—Earliest Dakota Wars.....30

CHAPTER III

Character of Traders—How Trade was Conducted—Influence on Indians—Intermarriages—Two Hundred Fifty Years of Bloodmixing—Little Pure Blood Left—Effect on Character and Views—Early Maps—Corronellis—Hennepin—LeSueur—Intertribal Wars—French Interference—Post at Lake Pepin—War with Chippewas for Forty Successive Years—Verendrye Probably Visits South Dakota—Calling in Courier des Bois—Delusigan—Date of the Emigration from Big Woods—Carver's Visit—The Carver Grant—Tetons Go to Missouri and Yanktons Settle on James—The Crime of Ixatape—Wapasha's Heroic Sacrifice—Uncertain Sovereignty Over Dakota Country.....48

CHAPTER IV

The Great War Between the Dakotas and Chippewas—Battle at Crow Wing—Battle at Shakopee—Big Marten's War—Old Chief Killed—The Yanktonais Take a Hand—Yellow Hair's Vengeance on the Wahpetons—War on the Chippewa River—Wapasha's Struggle for the Wisconsin Lands—Big Chippewa's Heroism—Little Crow Holds the St. Croix.....59

CHAPTER V

Lewis and Clark's Expedition—Pierre Durion Probably First Settler—Meet Yanktons at James River—Shake Hand's Speech—Strike the Ree Born—Arrive at Pierre—Black Buffalo Obstreperous—Great Council and Dance—Strange Customs—Police Regulations—Detained by Force—John Valle's Post.....68

CHAPTER VI

Pike's Visit—Calls on Redwing—Treaty with Little Crow—Prohibition—Winter with the Chippewas—Peace with Chippewas—Joe Rollette and Murdoch Cameron Violate Prohibition Law—Council at Prairie des Chien—Little Crow Made Head Chief—Game of LaCrosse—English Flags and Medals Delivered Up—Santees Favor English Trade—Americans and French Popular on Missouri—Black Buffalo Helps Rees Against Americans—The Astoria Expedition.....76

CHAPTER VII

War of 1812—Dickson's Activity—Tecumseh and the Prophet—Their Influence Penetrates to Missouri—Like Messiah Craze—Joseph Renville Enlists Dakotas—Red Thunder and Waneton—Wapasha's Loyalty Questioned—Refuses to Go East, but Sends His Nephew—Itasapa Balks and Brings Disaster to British—Events at Prairie du Chien—Tamaha the One Eyed Sioux—Manuel Lisa's Patriotic Action—The Tetons Remain Loyal to America—Fur Trade Destroyed—England Makes Peace Without Regard to Dakotas' Interests.....83

CHAPTER VIII

Settling Up the War—Treaties at St. Louis—Death of Black Buffalo—Oration of Big Elk—Little Crow and Wapasha not in Evidence—Visit to Drummond Island in 1816—What Occurred There—What Little Crow and Wapasha Reported had Occurred There upon Their Return. 94

CHAPTER IX

Waneta Wins Greatest Honors in 1812 War—Story of His Life—Sun Dance—Anecdote of the Bear's Claws—Personal Appearance—Feasts Major Long—Removes to Missouri River—Protectorate of Rees—Great Treaty Maker—Trader's Estimate of Him—Something of His Father, Red Thunder or Shappa—Peace with Chippewas—Flatmouth's Suspicion—Treachery of Shappa—Flatmouth's Revenge.....101

CHAPTER X

The Little Crow Dynasty—Four Little Crows Known to History—Chatan Wakoowamani, American Made Chief, Described by Schoolcraft—Liked by Forsyth—Talks of Indian Warfare—Not a Dangerous Pastime—Mr. Pond's Figures—Little Crow Goes to Washington with Taliaferro—Signs Treaty of 1825—Dies About 1827—Succeeded by

His Son, Big Eagle—Industry of Big Eagle—Good Example—Sons Killed by Chippewas—Leaves Their Corpses to be Scalped—Meets with Fatal Accident—Parting Admonition to His Son Taoyatiduta, Little Crow, Jr. 109

CHAPTER XI

The Wapashas—A Long Line of the Name—Wapasha of the Revolution—Wapasha of 1812—Serves the English—A Man of Sense and Modesty His Son Joseph—Other Indians of Note—Tamaha, the One-Eyed Sioux—His Loyalty to the Americans—Redwing, Another Dynastic Name—Shakopee, Whose Name Means Six 119

CHAPTER XII

Major Long's First Expedition up the Mississippi, 1817—Witnesses Bear Dance at Winona—Wazzacoota's Romances—Lover's Leap—Tragedy of the Falls—The Two Redwings—Little Crow's Village—Topographical Survey of Mississippi from Prairie du Chien to St. Anthony 129

CHAPTER XIII

Summary of Events Following the War—Robert Dickson Again in Trade—The Selkirk Colony—Leavenworth Lays Foundation of Fort Snelling—Forsyth Pays an Old Debt to the Dakotas—The Redwings not Liked—High Opinion of Wapasha and Little Crow—Leavenworth's Attempt to Make Peace Between Dakotas and Chippewas—Visit of Cass—Reconnoissance from Council Bluffs to Snelling—Killing of Poupin and Andrews—Iron Friend and His Father Surrender—Waneta's Conspiracy Revealed—War with the Crows—Joseph Renville's Columbia Fur Company—Trade on the Missouri—Ree War—New Treaties Contemplated 134

CHAPTER XIV

The Treaties of 1825—Taliaferro, Indian Agent—Takes Dakotas to Prairie du Chien—Beautiful Entry of Flotilla of Canoes—Opposition of Traders—The Boundary Treaty—Its Provisions—Famous Dakotas Sign—Trade and Intercourse Treaties on Missouri—Personnel of Expedition—Treaty of Fort Lookout—Treaty of Fort Tecumseh—Waneta Signs—Other Signers—Visit to Medicine Rock—Fourth of July at Pierre—Success of the Treaty Enterprise—British Shut Out from American Trade 143

CHAPTER XV

Fort Snelling Fails in Its Purpose of Preserving Peace Between Dakotas and Chippewas—Massacre under Its Walls—Arrest of the Miscreants—The Chippewas' Revenge—The Story of Joseph Snelling—Comment by General Sibley—Snelling Blameworthy—Indian Stoicism Exemplified 154

CHAPTER XVI

Dakotas Threaten Hostilities—A Severe Winter—Many Sissetons Perish —Wakpekutes Move to Cannon River—Trading Post on the Elm— Wapasha Sells Timber—Gibson Loses His Cattle—Missionary Reconnoissance—Boundary Treaty of 1830—Taliaferro Again Defeats Traders—The Neutral Strip Reserved—Sissetons Massacred by Sacs— Black Hawk War—Wapasha Takes a Hand for the Government— Follows and Destroys Black Hawk's Refugees—General Atkinson Justly Reproached—Catlin Visits the Dakotas—Comment upon His Work and Reliability.....160

CHAPTER XVII

Coming of the Missionaries—Revolution in Methods—The Pond Brothers —Dr. Williamson and Family—Mr. and Mrs. Stephens—The Ponds Near the Fort—Williamsons Settle at Lac qui Parle—Discouraging Beginnings—Arrival of the Riggs'—Translation of the Bible and Making of the Grammar and Dictionary—Laying Deep and Broad Foundations—Swiss Missionaries—The Methodists under Dr. Brunson—Rev. S. W. Pond's Record of Indian Wars from 1835 to 1845..172

CHAPTER XVIII

A New Treaty and Another Victory for Taliaferro—Wisconsin Pine Lands Relinquished—Nicollet and Fremont Visit the Pipestone Quarry— Sibley's Hunting Party on the Neutral Strip—Police Regulations Very Strict—Power of the Soldiers' Lodge—A Perilous Night in Camp— Nicollet and Fremont at Fort Pierre—Fremont Offered a Wife— Hunting Party on the Sheyenne.....181

CHAPTER XIX

Missionary Visits to Fort Pierre—Dr. Riggs and Mr. Huggins Hold Service There in 1840—Adventure With Hostile Indians on the Way— Dr. Riggs' Estimate of the Dakota Population—Father Ravoux Visits Fort Pierre and Fort Vermillion—Killing of Drover Watson—Military Expedition Against Sissetons—Death of Joseph Renville—Sketch of His Career—Removal of the Winnebagoes to the Reservation Between the Sioux and Chippewas.....195

CHAPTER XX

The Affairs on the Missouri—Successive Indian Agents—Inkpaduta on the Missouri—Payment of Annuities—The Scare at Crow Creek—Joe LaBarge's Boat Attacked by Yanktonais—Father DeSmet Among the Dakotas—Red Fish and His Lost Daughter—Father Hoecken and His Death—Influence of Father DeSmet.....203

CHAPTER XXI

Minnesota Territory Created—Governor Ramsey Recognizes Wamundiyakapi—Inkpaduta Appears on the Stage of Action—Pressure for More Land—Negotiations for the Sioux Lands in Minnesota—Com-

missioner Brown's Letter of Instructions to the Commissioners to Negotiate Treaty—Lea and Ramsey Meet Sissetons and Wahpetons at Traverse des Sioux—Thunderbird Dance—The Treaty Made and Signed—Its Terms—Large Cash Payment—Treaty of Mendota—Similar to that of the Traverse—Trouble Relating to Education Fund Adjusted—Claims of the Traders—Secure Power of Attorney from Indians Through Fraud—Agencies Established on the Minnesota—Story of Wamdesapa, Inkpaduta's Father—Inkpaduta Claims Part of Treaty Money.....209

CHAPTER XXII

California Trail Disturbs Tetons—Hostility and Many Emigrants Killed—Mitchell Proposes Treaty with Plains Tribes—Great Assembly of Indians near Laramie in 1851—Incidents of the Council—Scarcity of Provisions—Treaty Made—California Trail to be Respected by Indians—Paid for Right of Way—Father DeSmet Takes a Hand—Another Instance of His Influence and Usefulness—Indians Disregard Treaty and Go On Killing Emigrants—Harney Sent Against Them in 1855—Entraps Little Thunder and the Brules at Blue Water—Horrible Massacre—Harney at Fort Pierre—A Five Days' Council—Designates Official Chiefs for Each Band—A Wise Plan Defeated—Warren in Black Hills—Consults with Bear's Rib.....218

CHAPTER XXIII

Changes in the Missionary Field—Personnel of Inkpaduta's Band—Outrages on the Little Sioux—Massacre at Spirit Lake—Attack on Springfield—Women Captives Taken—Military Movement Fails—Drowning of Mrs. Thacher—Rescue of Mrs. Marble by Seahota—Murder of Mrs. Noble—Rescue of Abbie Gardner by Paul and John—Attempts to Capture Inkpaduta—Roaring Cloud Killed—Indians Pursue Inkpaduta—Fight Him at Lake Thompson—Government Guilty of Neglect.....230

CHAPTER XXIV

Settlement at Sioux Falls—Inkpaduta Troublesome—The Nobles' Road—Negotiations With the Yanktons—Treaty of 1858—Medary Settlement Destroyed—Reynolds' Expedition—Speech of Bear's Rib—Factions Among the Yanktons—Struck by the Ree Loyal—Smutty Bear Hostile.....245

CHAPTER XXV

Events Preliminary to the Outbreak—General Situation of the Dakotas—Progress in Civilization, Education and Christianity—Effect Upon Them of the Civil War—Bad Faith in Payment of the Money Under the Treaties—Foolish Action of Superintendent Thompson—Little Crow Unpopular—Deposed from Chieftainship by His Tribe—Traveling Hail Elected—Soldier Lodge Organized—Note of Warning from

Dr. Williamson—Inkpaduta Shows Up—Sheean Fails to Catch Him—Attack on the Warehouse by Starving Indians—The Sissetons are Fed and Return to Big Stone.....253

CHAPTER XXVI

The Outbreak—Massacre at Acton—News Carried to Little Crow—General Uprising Ordered—Attack on Agency—James Lynde First Victim—Fight at the Ferry—Captain Marsh Killed—The News Carried to Upper Agency—Heroism of the Christian Indians—The Missionaries Protected—John Otherday Conducts the Agency People to Safety—Missionaries in Hiding—Death of Amos Huggins—Marauders Sent to Remote Settlements—Attack on Fort Ridgely—Battle at New Ulm 269

CHAPTER XXVII

Missionaries Providentially Reach Henderson—General Sibley Called—Battle of Fort Ridgely—McPhail Fails to Bring Relief—Sibley to the Rescue—Hostiles at Upper Agency—Intimidation of Friendlies—Christians Organize Soldiers' Lodge to Protect Captives—Little Paul in Council—Sibley's Correspondence with Little Crow—Paul's Fearless Oration—Release of the Captives Refused—Sibley Moves Out Against the Hostiles—Another Council—Preparing for Battle—Solomon Two Stars Outwits Little Crow—The Indians Defeated—Little Crow Flies—The Captives Rescued—Minor Incidents.....283

CHAPTER XXVIII

Trial of the Hostiles—Three Hundred Convicted—Lincoln Delays Execution—Exasperation of People—Lincoln Takes His Time—Two Hundred Sixty Sentences Commuted by President—Thirty-eight Finally Hanged—Treaties Abrogated—Massacres at Shetak, Sioux Falls and on the James—The Shetak Captives—White Lodge the Villain—Carries Women to Missouri—Discovered by Major Galpin—The Fool Soldier Band—Their Effort on Behalf of Captives—How Rescue was Effected—Credit Due Charger and His Fellows—Yanktonais Assist—The Scare on the Missouri—Settlers Fly for Safety—Stockades at Yankton and Elsewhere—Strike the Ree's Friendship—Inkpaduta at Sioux Falls.....299

CHAPTER XXIX

Little Crow's Escape—Alarm of the Sissetons—Campaign of 1863—Pope's Plan of Action—Sibley's Army Starts for Devils Lake—Capture of Wowinapa—Death of Little Crow—Sissetons in Bad Company—Dr. Weiser Shot—Battle of Big Mound—Sissetons Escape with Their Families—Affair at Dead Buffalo Lake—Display of Strength at Stony Lake—Hostiles Cross Missouri—Sibley Returns to Minnesota.. ..315

CHAPTER XXX

Hostiles Recross the Missouri and Hunt on East Side—Sully Comes Up River Too Late to Join Sibley—Battle of White Stone Hill—Fort Sully Built—Rescue of Mrs. Kelly—Outrages on the Missouri—Campaign of 1864—Sully in Command—Death of Fielner—Sully's Revenge—Fort Rice Built—Battle of Kildeer Mountain—Trip Through Bad Lands—Fisk and His Emigrant Train—Building of Fort Wadsworth—Jack Campbell's Raid—Solomon Two Stars Fights Red Iron's Young Men at Bristol.....327

CHAPTER XXXI

Governor Edmunds Treats for Peace—General Sibley a Providence—Men Developed by the War—Sketch of Little Crow—Something of Inkpaduta—The Strongest Man Developed by the Crisis—A Great Soldier but a Very Bad Man—Other Leading Men—John and Paul—Standing Buffalo—Sam Brown and His Wonderful Ride..... .337

CHAPTER XXXII

Bad Conditions on the California Trail—Spotted Tail Mischievous—Open War on the Platte—Building Montana Road—Red Cloud Comes Into Prominence—Holds Colonel Sawyer's Party in Siege—Refuses to Permit Roads Built—Red Cloud Meets Treaty Commissioners—Refuses to Treat—Spotted Tail Signs and Remains Faithful—Red Cloud on the War Path.....350

CHAPTER XXXIII

Carrington Moves Out to Protect Montana Trail—Red Cloud Camps on His Trail—Unable to Remove Fort Reno—Phil Kearney Built—Red Cloud Constantly Harasses the Soldiers—Daily Skirmishes—Attacks Upon the Wood Trains—Fetterman's Charge and Annihilation—Awful Peril of Fort Phil Kearney—Fetterman Disobeyed Orders..356

CHAPTER XXXIV

Red Cloud Continues His War on the Fort—Montana Trail Rendered Impassable by Hostiles—Red Cloud's Great Feat in Subsisting His People in Hostile Country—Numerous Attacks on Phil Kearney—Determination to Destroy the Fort—Attack on Wood Camp—Powell's Heroic Resistance—A Miraculous Repulse—Awful Loss to the Hostile Forces—Red Cloud Undismayed, Keeps up the War.....371

CHAPTER XXXV

The Peace Commission—Communication Established with Red Cloud—Withdrawal of the Forts and Soldiers and Abandonment of the Montana Road His Only Terms—His Demand Acceded—Forts Abandoned—Soldiers Withdrawn—Red Cloud's Victory Complete.....382

CHAPTER XXXVI

A Gathering of Loose Ends—The Indian Settlement at Crow Creek—Settling the Sissetons on Reservations—Terms of Treaty—Flandreau Settlement—Proposed Reservation Between Sioux and James—General Stanley's Analysis of the Indian Situation in 1869.....388

CHAPTER XXXVII

Establishment of Whetstone Agency—War with the Cheyennes—A Period of Peace—Red Cloud and Spotted Tail Make Their First Visit to Washington—Red Cloud's Speech—Go to New York—Reception at Cooper Institute—Go Home Satisfied.....394

CHAPTER XXXVIII

The Heathen Indians under Gall, Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull—They Remain Quietly on Powder River—Northern Pacific Railway Invades Their Lands—Violation of Treaty of Laramie—The Sioux Resist—Daniels and Williamson Sent to Treat with Them—Continual Attacks upon the Surveyors Who Enter the Indian Lands Without Permission 400

CHAPTER XXXIX

Custer Prospects Black Hills in Violation of Treaty—Indians not Consulted—Finds Gold—Makes Enthusiastic Report upon Beauty, Fertility and Resources of Country—His Report a Rhapsody—Perfectly Calculated to Cause Epidemic of Gold Fever—Accomplishes that Purpose 407

CHAPTER XL

The Gold Fever—Movement Towards the Black Hills—Military Interference—Yankton's Hopes Dashed—The Gordon Party Evade the Soldiers—Jenny's Expedition of 1875—The Allison Commission to Treat for Cession of Hills—Fails to Make Terms—Views of the Indians—Military Withdrawn—Miners Rush to Gold Fields—Eleven Thousand in Sixty Days—Indians Resolve to Fight.....414

CHAPTER XLI

Tetons Gather in Rosebud Country—Have Permits from Agents—Insufficient Supplies at Agencies—Compelled to Hunt for Subsistence—Notified to Return to Agency Before January 31, 1876—Unreasonable Order—Impossible to Comply—Declared Hostile and Turned Over to Military—Crook's Winter Campaign—Great Suffering—Destroys Crazy Horse's Camp—The Summer Campaign—Battle of Rosebud—Crook Defeated—Terry Moves Out from Fort Abraham Lincoln—Gibbon Moves Down from Fort Ellis—Yellowstone Reached—Fatal Error of Military in Relation to Strength of Enemy.....422

CHAPTER XLII

Custer's Fatal Scout—Moves Up the Rosebud—Strikes the Hostile Trail Passes Over to the Little Horn—Divides His Force in Three Columns —Reno's Advance—Charges the Villages—Meets Overwhelming Numbers—Compelled to Retreat—Custer Charges Lower Villages— Rides Into an Ambush—His Column Annihilated—Reno Entrenched— Beseiged Two Days—Terry Arrives—Indians Retire—Indian Army Dissolves—Agency Indians Go Home—Remnant of Hostiles Go to Canada 428

CHAPTER XLIII

Demand for Opening of the Black Hills—A New Commission and New Methods—No General Council Held—Head Men Approached at Each Agency and Treaty Signed—Its Terms—Gall and Sitting Bull in Canada—Spotted Tail Induces Crazy Horse to Surrender—Death of Crazy Horse—Repeated Removal of Agencies—McGillicuddy Manages Hostiles Without Soldiers—Gall Surrenders—Sitting Bull Abandoned —Sitting Bull Comes in and is Confined at Fort Randall—Spotted Tail Killed—Sitting Bull Released—Fails to Bluff Agent McLaughlin —Village Life Broken Up—Indian Courts for Trial of Civil Offenses. 439

CHAPTER XLIV

The Beginning of the Messiah Craze—Jack Wilson's Vision—The News Reaches the Sioux—Delegates Sent to Pyramid Lake to Learn the Truth—Short Bull and Kicking Bear Among Them—Their Report is Believed—The Dance Inaugurated Among the Dakotas—Dance Described—A Weak Agent—Information Reaches Washington..... 459

CHAPTER XLV

Official Action Taken—Short Bull's Progressive Views—McLaughlin Visits Sitting Bull—Military Called Out—There was no Outbreak—Indians Retire to the Bad Lands—Attempt to Arrest Sitting Bull—Death of the Old Disturber—Praise for the Indian Police..... 470

CHAPTER XLVI

Northern Indians Start for Bad Lands—Good Behavior of Hump—Big Foot Escapes to Messiah Camp—He is Apprehended and Placed Under Arrest—Attacks Soldiers—Battle of Wounded Knee Ensues— Agency Indians Alarmed—Affair at the Mission—Miles at the Front —Understanding Promptly Reached—Quiet Restored—Concluding Remarks 483

ABBREVIATIONS

For convenience the following abbreviations are used in the footnotes throughout this volume:

Figures immediately before reference indicates number of volume in a series; figures immediately following the year, if an annual report be referred to.

Belden—The story of Belden the White Chief.

Brady—Dr. Cyrus Townsend Brady's stories of Indian Fights and Fighters in Pearson's Magazine for March, April and May, 1904.

Chittenden—History of the American Fur Trade in the Far West, by Hiram Martin Chittenden, Francis P. Harper, New York.

Dodge—Our Wild Indians, by Colonel Richard I. Dodge, U. S. A.

Drake—Biography and History of the North American Indians, by Samuel G. Drake, Boston, 1837.

Eth.—Annual Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Indian—Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Indian Board—Annual Reports of the Board of Indian Commissioners. These reports must not be confused with those of the regular Indian department.

Mich.—Collections of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society.

Minn.—Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Mont.—Collections of the Montana Historical Society.

Niell—History of Minnesota, by Edward Duffield Niell; reference to fourth edition.

Ramsey—Report of Alexander Ramsey, governor of Minnesota and ex-officio superintenednt of Indian affairs.

S. D.—Collections of the South Dakota Historical Society.

Shea—History of Catholic Missions in America, by John Gilmary Shea.

War—Annual Reports of the secretary of war.

Wis.—Collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

PREFATORY

Naturally, the Dakota or Sioux Indian, the most powerful of all of the Indian races native to the American continent, has, during the two hundred fifty years of contact with white people, been the subject of a vast deal of writing, but it is somewhat remarkable that until this late date no one has attempted a comprehensive history of this people, and yet it may be early enough to attempt this task. The course of the Sioux as a tribe is now completed. He has fought his last war, he has discarded the blanket and donned the habiliments of civilization; he has put his hand to the plow, his herds feed where formerly roamed the buffalo; his children are in school; he contributes to the support of the missionary who brings to him the comforts of the Christian gospel, and while he is in his present stage of transition which marks the revolution in his customs from those of the barbarian to those of civilization, it is probably the most propitious time to set down consecutively and comprehensively the story of his past. The discriminating reader will readily discover that the following pages are little more than a compilation. The compiler's aim has been to gather and sort from the voluminous writings upon the topic enough to give a connected outline of the story of these people, together with something of their habits and customs. He has written neither as the admirer and advocate of the Indian nor as the defender of the practices of the whites, but with the aim to recite the facts precisely as he has found them to be, giving credit to those who deserve it, be they white or red, and placing blame upon the blameworthy. This much is very manifest to the compiler, and will doubtless be made to so appear to the reader: The Sioux Indian is very human. He is neither all good nor all bad. Among them are men of high ideals and very creditable

performance, as well as men of low and brutal instincts, who have given fiendish license to their propensities. Their standards are not our standards, and at all times they have been misapprehended by the whites. As a rule, in their wars with the whites they have been moved by a high and patriotic impulse creditable to any people. This fact the whites, and particularly the military, have lost sight of at the critical periods No people are more attached to the land of their birth and to the graves of their kindred than are these Indians, and they have willingly sacrificed their lives in the defense of their homes or in the protection of what they deemed their rights. They are a reasonable people of great intelligence, and most of the wars might have been averted by negotiations creditable alike to the government and to the Indians.

The compiler is under great obligations to many persons for assistance and information. Rev. John P. Williamson has placed his life long experience and vast information constantly at the service of the writer and has diligently responded to every call for help; likewise have Rev. Thomas L. Riggs, Thomas A. Robertson and Samuel J. Brown contributed freely from their wide information upon the history of the Dakotas. The war department and the Indian department have spared no effort to afford all possible official information, and the Canadian government has laboriously copied out many rare and extensive manuscripts, affording information not otherwise obtainable.

Mr. Robert E. McDowell has been tireless in his efforts to dig out of the musty records of the various departments at Washington documents which throw light upon northwestern history and the relations of white men with the Dakotas.

Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson, Mr. Charles E. DeLand, Colonel Charles P. Jordan and Mr. Ferd J. Goodfellow have each contributed much assistance, and to them the editor gives sincere thanks.

CHAPTER I

Distinction Between Dakotan and Siouan—Indian Traditions Worthless—Speculations as to Origin—Origin of Name Sioux—Dakota—Earliest White Knowledge of Tribe—Home About Lakes of Northern Minnesota—Emigration to Prairies—Secession of the Assinoboins—Effect of Horses and Firearms.

Throughout this paper the reader must bear in mind the distinction between the Dakota and the Siouan. The latter is the generic name for many tribes having a common origin and speaking a similar language.[1] The former comprise an alliance of seven of the Sioux bands, closely related.[2] These people have no reliable traditions of their origin. Most of their so-called traditions are mere inventions, varying from the prosaic to the fancifully poetic, according to the genius and inspiration of the inventor. Most of these relate to the miraculous birth of the first of their line upon or near to their present habitat,[3] unless the interviewer is looking for a more remote origin, a hint of which will bring forward a tale of genesis in some far-off land. Naturally these conflicting stories have no ethnological value, and they have corrupted and ruined all of the older traditions, if indeed these primitive tales were not as well mere romantic fictions. In my own investigations upon this line I have found nothing which smacked of reliability as a genuine tribal tradition which predicated an origin elsewhere than about the lakes which feed the upper courses of the Mississippi. In this there is general agreement among all of the Dakota bands, and it is supported by tribal names and some recorded history.[4] As to a more

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[1]1 S. D. 85; 15 Eth. 158.

[2]Governor Alexander Ramsey's Report (1849), 77; W. J. McGee, 15 Eth. 160; 1 S. D. Hist. Colls. 6.

[3]Donaldson's Catlin (Smithsonian Report 1885), 252. I have been told many miraculous stories of this character by old Indians.

[4]Ramsey (1849), 76.

remote origin I have been told by a grave old man of one of the bands that the Dakotas come from the far-off land of the setting sun, and within the hour another equally reverend old romancer of the same band has informed me that they came from where the sun rises. No reliance whatever may be placed upon their inventions unless collateral matters may be found in substantiation.

There are, however, many interesting speculations, some of which have a more or less scientific basis, relating to an origin upon the eastern continent, though it must be admitted that each of these are reversible and tend to prove as fully that the Indian contention is correct, and that they are in fact the parent stock from which all of the peoples of the earth sprung, and that the emigration was from America to Asia and Europe instead of from those sections to this continent.* The most generally ac-

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* In Drake's Biography and History of the Indians of North America, by Samuel G. Drake, Boston, 1837 (which will hereafter be cited as "Drake"). The second chapter of the first book is devoted to a compilation of the earlier speculations upon the subject of the origin of the red men. He quotes Thomas Morton, 1637, "New Canaan," book one, page 17, who thinks they were of Latin origin, basing his conclusions upon lingual likeness. Dr. Williamson, "History of North Carolina," says: "It can hardly be questioned that the Indians of South America are descended from a class of Hindoos in the southern part of Asia." Father Venegas, who wrote a history of California, published in Madrid in 1753, thought they resembled the Chinese and Mogul Tartars. William Wood, author of "New England's Prospect," published in London, 1634, found in the Indian languages likenesses to the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French and other tongues. John Joselyn, account of two voyages to New England, London, 1673, page 174, says: "The Mohawks' speech is a dialect of the Tartars." Rev. Thomas Thorowgood in 1652 published a pamphlet to prove that the North American Indians were the lost tribes of Israel. Roger Williams was of the same opinion. Cotton Mather (1702) in his "Magnalia Christi Americana," announces his belief that they were Scythians. Adair, who published a large quarto volume upon the origin of the Indians in 1775, "Tortured every custom or usage into a like one of the Jews and almost every word in their language into a Hebrew one of the same meaning." Dr. Boudinot, in his book "The Star of the West," fully agrees with Adair, but both Adair and Boudinot were discounted by the work of Hubbard, a full century earlier, "History of New England," 1680, who says that while he finds among the Indians some customs common to the Scythians, Tartars, Chinese, Hindoos,

cepted theory is that the American Indians, including the Dakotas, are of Asiatic origin and that they reached this continent by skirting along the Asiatic coast to the Islands of the Alaskan archipelago and thence reached the American mainland. That they for a long period resided upon the Pacific coast, where families expanded into bands and tribes until economic reasons compelled an exodus across the mountains, whence the entire continent was sparsely peopled. In support of this theory attention is called to the fact that of the sixty lingual stocks among American Indians thirty-nine are found west of the coast range.[5] This argues almost nothing, however, for of the remaining twenty-one, sixteen are found east of the Alleghenies.[6]

Comparative study of the language of the Dakotas presents the most satisfactory conclusions of the Asiatic origin. In 1866 Professor Frederick L. O. Rhoerig[7] came out to Fort Wadsworth (Sisseton) and spent some time in comparing the Dakota with the Mongolian dialects, and found some striking likenesses. These most nearly resemble the dialects of the Ural-Altaic tribes. Professor Rhoerig does not argue that he has established such relationship, but has found evidence which strongly suggests it. A few of the points of resemblance established by Professor Rhoerig are given: Grammatically the structure of the sentence in the Dakota and the Mongolian is the same, being a complete inversion of the order in which we are accustomed to think, beginning their sentences where we end ours. Likewise in neither the Dakota nor the Mongolian are there any prepositions, that convenient part of speech being used invariably as a post-position. In both languages there is a peculiar polysyllabic and polysynthetic tendency, by which, through an intricate blending of various parts of speech one huge word is produced. Prob-

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Welsh, and indeed of every other nation, still the Indians have as good a right to claim priority of origin as either or all of the foreigners.

The foregoing gives a fair notion of the views held by those who first came among the Indians in the primitive days before they had much come in contact with European influence, and at the opening of the twentieth century we are no more enlightened than were our ancestors. Drake himself, by the way, adhered to the view that the Indians were of an independent stock, specially created for this continent.

[5]Am. Eth. 1885.

[6]Major J. W. Powell's map showing habitat of lingual stocks, 7 Eth.

[7]Smithsonian Report, 1867.

ably the most striking resemblance, however, is in the reduplication of the initial syllable to add intensity to the thought expressed by it. Here is an example in point:

Mongolian—Khara, meaning black; kap-khara, meaning very black.
Dakota—Sapa, meaning black; sap-sapa, meaning very black.

Another peculiarity is the changing of the form of a word from the masculine to the feminine, or to discriminate between strength and weakness, or distance and proximity, by changing the vowel without changing the consonant framework of the word, thus:

Mongolian—Ama, father; eme, mother; kaka, cock; keke, hen.
Dakota—Hepen, second son; hapan, second daughter; cinski, son; cunski, daughter; kon, this; kin, that.

There is, too, a distinct resemblance in very many words having the same meaning. This resemblance is quite as close as could be expected to be preserved in an unwritten language through a long period of time by members of the same stock in situations far remote from each other and without means of communication. A couple of examples of this resemblance:

Mongolian—Tang, light, dawn, understanding.
Dakota—Tanin, visible, manifest, clear.
Mongolian—MeMe, the female breast.
Dakota—MaMa, the female breast.

These examples will indicate the strong resemblance and are really the strongest evidences anywhere found of the possible stock from which the Dakotas sprung.

There are many points of physical resemblance between the Dakotas and the Mongolians of the Ural-Altaic tribes, which adds something to the force of Professor Rhoerig's suggestion of relationship.

The American ethnology[8] assumes that the Siouan people originated on the American continent east of the Appalachian mountains, in the present states of Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, where the Catawbas, and Tutelos, small tribes, were of the Siouan family, and adopt the theory that the buffalo several hundreds of years ago crossed the mountains by way of Cumberland Gap to the Catawba country, and that thence the Sioux followed them back to the plains. This suggestion seems rather far fetched, and is even more easily reversed than the

[8]McGee, Eth. XV, 158.

theory of Asiatic origin. It certainly is equally probable that the small bands of the Sioux found on the Atlantic coast are offshoots of the great western nations as that the mighty tribes of the west sprung from the insignificant people of the east. There really is no proof in support of either theory, and the reader is left to adopt the one which appears to be most reasonable. The weight of opinion among ethnologists,[9] it must be admitted, is in favor of the view that the eastern Sioux were the parent stock and that they were "pinched out" of their homes across the mountains between the Iroquois and the Algonkins, and for the same reason it would have been impossible for a western people to have entered that land and established a foothold there against the more powerful tribes. It is quite possible, however, that the Sioux were carried there as prisoners and developed from a small stock thus transplanted. And, too, the fortunes of Indian tribes depend to a great extent upon health and the quality of armament. In the Missouri valley we have in historic times seen proud and arrogant tribes reduced to vassalage or entirely extinguished in a single season by an epidemic, and we have seen a superior force of Indians driven into exile by an inferior tribe who had come into possession of firearms. Thus it will be seen that all theories relating to the immigration of Indian tribes are futile when the inducing cause can not be known.

After all has been said it is only definitely known that when white men found the Dakotas a considerable number of them still resided in the lake country, where wild rice was a large element in their living, while the Tetons, the Yanktonais and the Yanktons had already left the shelter of the timber and become buffalo hunters of the great prairie stretches.

The name Dakota is derived from the word "koda," of the Santees, and "kola," of the Tetons, signifying "friend." Dakota means an alliance of friends. The root word is frequently come upon in the Siouan language, as in okodakiciye, meaning society, association, republic. The tribe consists of seven bands closely related, springing from one parent stock and still joined in alliance for mutual protection. According to all of their traditions they originated north of the Mississippi, about the Mille

[9]Mooney, Eth. XV, 158; Hale, Proc. Am. Philos. Soc. 1883-4; Am. Antiq. 1883.

lakes of northern Minnesota,[10] and abided there until their numbers became so great that they were compelled to scatter. When for economic reasons it was necessary for some of them to find other hunting grounds they broke off from the parent band, family by family, until they were divided into seven groups. When emigration became imperative some old patriarch gathered his offspring about him and moved away into the wilderness.[11] Two circumstances made all of these migrations tend toward the prairies. First, the woods above them were filled with their powerful enemies, the Chippewas,[12] making a further movement into their native woods impracticable; and again, the prairies afforded an abundance of buffalo,[13] providing them a more certain subsistence than the chase after the timber game. The Dakota always resents the imputation that his people were driven out of the timber by the Chippewa, asserting that they came down "where buffalo was plenty." Nevertheless they did remain at their old lake home until the pressure of the Chippewa rendered it untenable.[14] When these migrations began is lost in the mistiness of the remote past, but the last of them are matters of recorded history. The first to leave the shelter of the forest home were the Tetons,[15] now residing west of the Missouri; the second migration was that of the two Yankton bands,[16] and finally the four bands of the Santees were compelled to find new homes in the open.[17]

The first mention of the Dakotas which appears in any of the writings is in the letter of Paul le Jeune, written in September, 1640, to Vimont, in which he says Jean Nicolet, the discoverer of Wisconsin, had given him the name of a nation called the Nadouessi, who live near the Winnebagos, and indicates that

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[10]Ramsey (1849), 70 et. seq.; Niell, 222.

[11]This policy was continued until the reservation life began. Consequently the subdivision of the several bands was constantly progressing.

[12]Ramsey, 70; Niell's Minnesota, 222; Warren's History of the Ojibways.

[13]Ramsey (1849), 71.

[14]Ramsey; Niell; Warren's Ojibways, 5 Minn.

[15]Based upon oral traditions of the Tetons and Yanktons; maps of the seventeenth century and the overlapping land claims of the tribes.

[16]Idem.

[17]Idem.

Nicolet had visited the tribe in its own country, which, of course, is not probable, as Nicolet in his trip of 1634(?)-1639 did not go further than Green Bay. In the transactions of the Jesuit missions of the northwest we learn that in 1641 Fathers Charles Raynubault and Isaac Logues assembled 2,000 Chippewas at Sault Ste. Marie and from them learned of "a tribe called the Naduwessi, who lived eighteen days' journey to the west and beyond the great lakes."[18]

Radisson,[19] who visited the west in 1654-9, calls them Nadoneceronons, which is manifestly a corruption of the Chippewa name for them—Naduwessi. This latter word the French explorers pluralized Naduwessioux, whence comes the name yet popularly given to the tribe, but which they resent with indignation. Clearly at this primitive date Radisson found the Dakotas chiefly upon the prairies, for his first mention of them is in connection with the buffalo: "As for the buff," he says, "he is a furious animal. One must have a care of him, for every year he kills some Nadoneceronons."[20] On this trip Radisson was accompanied by a party of Hurons, who were in mortal fear of the Dakotas and used their utmost exertions to keep the Frenchmen away from them, but later they came to them "near the lake where they lived," most likely Mille lake, and were treated kindly.

After this the French from Canada were in frequent communication with the Dakotas, and on July 15, 1695, LeSueur arrived at Montreal, accompanied by Teeoskahtay, a M'dewakanton, from Mille Lacs. This was the first Dakota to visit Canada.[21] Up to this time from the first explorations the French had reached the Mississippi from Canada by way of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. The Fox Indians, however, had become hostile to the French and closed the highway, and it was necessary to secure another road.[22] It was therefore determined to bring their goods to the head of Lake Superior and thence reach

[18]Niell calls these Jesuits, Jogues and Raymbault. See Northwest Under Three Flags, 6.

[19]Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson, Prince Society, Boston, 1885.

[20]1 S. D. 171.

[21]Niell, 148.

[22]Idem.

the Mississippi by way of the St. Croix. Here they also encountered difficulties, for, although all of the Indians of the region were friendly to the French, the Chippewas and the Dakotas were usually at bloody war, and passage through their country was in consequence extremely hazardous. Frontenac, governor of Canada, therefore sent out LeSueur[23] as his ambassador to negotiate peace between the hostile tribes, and he found them at peace and in alliance, and Teeoskahtay[24] and some of the Chippewas accompanied him to Montreal to assure the governor that they would be good. Frontenac, with great ceremony, gave them an audience. The programme was an impressive one. Among other things 700 French soldiers in full uniform were reviewed. Teeoskahtay, with true Dakota audacity, had a little exhibition of his own to pull off. When it came his turn to speak he spread down some beaver skins, and, placing upon them twenty-two arrows, he named over twenty-two bands of the Dakotas. Then he wept violently. After his grief had made a sufficiently deep impression he dried his eyes and told Frontenac that if he would supply the Dakotas with guns they would be most obedient subjects and destroy all of the enemies of France. Frontenac promised that he would send LeSueur back to live with them, but before the return was undertaken Teeoskahtay died and LeSueur, contrary to Frontenac's intentions, set out for France to secure from the king license to mine west of the Mississippi.

When the emigration of the Sioux from the timber country began they state that they found their remote relatives, the Iowas,[25] occupying the prairie country adjacent to the Mississippi and the Mahas farther west, so that they were compelled to move to the southwest and locate around Big Stone Lake.[26] These emigrants were called Tetonwans—that is, people who live on the prairies. The lake was called for this reason Teton Lake.[27] When the Yanktons broke away from the parent tribe they, too, had to find a place unoccupied, and they went well down the

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[23]Charles Pierre LeSueur, a native of Montreal and a brother-in-law of D'Iberville, founder of Louisiana.

[24]This name is also spelled Tioscate. Niell, 167.

[25]Ramsey (1849), 70.

[26]Idem. Also DeIsle's map of 1701 and Jeoffrey's map of 1762.

[27]Idem.

Mississippi into the Missouri country,[28] according to tradition, but at the beginning of the eighteenth century had found a resting place in western Iowa.[29] Almost constantly the Dakotas were at war with their powerful neighbors, the Chippewas, who year by year pressed upon them more resistlessly from the northeast. About 1760 is probably the date when the M'dewakantons left the home of their fathers and settled about the Falls of St. Anthony, where Carver found them six years later.[30] These M'dewakantons are conceded to be the last remnant of the parent band. Their name signifies people of the sacred or spirit lake. They were preceded but a short time by the Wakpekutes,[31] the people who shoot in the leaves—that is, hunt in the timber, who settled upon the Minnesota River about St. Peter, and the Wahpetons, meaning literally people of the leaf, probably signifying people who live in the timber, and also the Sissetons, the people who live in the swamp.[32] Each of these names they brought with them from their former homes, which probably refer to their locations north of the Mississippi. This emigration necessitated a general re-arrangement of the locations of the various tribes occupying the northwest. The Chippewa victors, of course, came down and occupied the Mille Lacs country.[33] The four bands of the Dakotas last above mentioned, called collectively the Santees from Isantee, or Knife Lake, at their old home were compelled to drive away the Hohas, or Iowas, from the Minnesota valley, while the combined Dakotas drove the Omahas from the Sioux to a new home south of the Missouri. Having cleared the valleys of the Sioux and the James, the Tetons claimed both valleys as their hunting grounds.[34]

In the course of their enterprising forays the Tetons had learned that west of the Missouri deep snows rarely fell and that in consequence great herds of buffalo repaired there for the win-

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[28]Dr. Stephen R. Riggs, Missionary Herald, January, 1841; Belden, 52.

[29]DeIsle's map, 1701.

[30]Ramsey (1849), 70.

[31]Idem.

[32]Professor W. J. McGee, in Eth. XV, calls the Sissetons "people of the fish scale village."

[33]Warren's History of the Ojibways, in Minn. Hist. Colls., Vol. V.

[34]Bear's Rib's speech. Raynolds' expedition, 1859.

ter pasture, and they determined upon a new migration to this favored land. Without surrendering their claim to the lands they had for a long time occupied about Big Stone Lake, nor the newly conquered territory in the James valley they moved to the Missouri. The valley of the Missouri at this time was occupied by the Ree Indians. It is probable that the Rees had no settlement at the date of the Dakota invasion south of the Big Bend, while their principal seat was at Pierre, where they had a large settlement defended by strong forts at both the upper and lower ends of it. The coming of the Dakotas precipitated a thirty years' war between the two tribes, which resulted about 1792[35] in the complete discomfiture of the Rees, who were compelled to abandon their homes and seek a new location north of the Grand River.[36]

A very short time after the emigration of the Tetons to the Missouri the Yanktons, having met with defeat in their Iowa home, came up the river to find a new location, and the Tetons fitted them out with a stock of horses and gave them the use of the James valley.[37] The Sissetons moved in upon the abandoned grounds of the Tetons at Big Stone Lake. These several occupancies ripened into claims to the soil which subsequently resulted in embarrassment for both Indians and the government.[38]

In the process of time each of the bands were sub-divided to a greater or less extent by the rising up of new patriarchal heads of families, but they still, except in the case of the Tetons, reckon tribal relations by the order in which they broke off from the parent stem at Mille Lacs. Two bands of the Yanktons emigrated from Mille Lacs at the same time and have ever since maintained a close alliance, traveling and fighting together and at the same time coming to settle in the Dakota country of the James valley.[39] They brought their tribal names with them from the old home in the timber and are in the Siouan tongue E-hank-

[35]Lewis and Clark's journal, September 30, 1804.

[36]Chittenden's history of American fur trade.

[37]Oral tribal traditions. Bear's Rib's speech, Raynolds (1859), Eelden, 37.

[38]Letter of Dr. Thomas S. Williamson, Minn. in Civil and Indian Wars. Major Galbraith's report, Ind. Commissioner (1862). Bear's Rib.

[39]Tribal traditions. Dr. S. R. Riggs in Missionary Herald, 1840.

ton-wan, meaning the people of the further end, and E-hank-ton-wan-na, meaning little people of the further end. The first name white men have corrupted into Yankton and the latter into Yanktonais. There are various interpretations of these names, the most common being that they were given them to designate the place they occupied in the tribal councils.[40] Another version is that they related to the location of their homes in the timber, which were at the further end of the lake. Dr. Thomas Foster, who was among these Indians in 1848, takes the latter view.[41]

The Assinoboins, who resided between Devils Lake and Lake Winnipeg, were undoubtedly of Dakota origin, and traditionally are Yanktonais, from whom they seceded, due to a quarrel between two young chiefs over a young woman.[42] If so, the secession occurred at a very early period. As early as 1688 the Assinoboins were well established upon the river in Manitoba which still bears their name, as it did among the tribes at that time.

Community of interest was maintained among the seven bands of the Sioux after the migration of the Tetons to the Missouri until the white settlement interfered with the custom of a great annual reunion, which occurred at the Grove of Oakes (Armadale), on the James River.[43]

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[40]McGee, Eth. XV. Rev. John P. Williamson says Yanktonais means "Little Yankton Band." March 10, 1904.

[41]Ramsey (1849).

[42]Niell, 53, gives two versions of the story: The Crees having first come into contact with the Englisn traders on Hudson Bay, secured fire-arms, and so had the Dakotas at their mercy. A near by band of the latter, to secure the favor of the Crees, married the women of that tribe, which so incensed the other bands that they drove the offenders away. The second version of the story is that two bands of the Yanktonais were hunting near Lake Traverse when a young man seduced the wife of a warrior, and the injured husband was killed in the tent of the seducer while attempting to rescue his wife. This led to a factional fight, which ended in the separation of the Assinoboins from the Dakotas. McGee says this occurred about the middle of the seventeenth century, but a letter written in 1695 says the separation occurred a long time ago. All of the earliest maps speak of the Assinoboins and assign them to the locality they still occupy. See Ramsey (1849), 98. The Assinoboins were mentioned by Nicolet, 1639.

[43]Ramsey (1849), 88. Lewis and Clark's map, 1806.

Before the emigration of the Tetons from Big Stone Lake to the Missouri they had already undergone a process of subdivision, yet whether all of the present seven bands of Tetons had been organized cannot now be determined. At least the Oglalas,[44] Minneconjous,[45] Oohenopas[46] and Uncpapas[47] were known by these appellations before they crossed the river, while the Sichangues, if, as they possibly were, a separate band before the immigration, received their present name after they reached their present home. The Oglalas were the first to cross the western country.[48] The Minneconjous lived directly upon the banks of Big Stone Lake and planted there, hence the name, people who plant by the water. The Two Kettles—Oohenopas—lived upon the Coteau, and in a hard winter[49] were at the point of starvation, when two kettles of corn were found at the Kettle Lakes,[50] which preserved life until the weather moderated and they were enabled to secure game. The Uncpapas received their name from the fact that at one time when the tribe lived east of the river a jealousy arose between them and other members of the tribe over the honors in a fight with the Mahas, and in consequence this band withdrew and for a long time camped by themselves.[51] The Brule Tetons received their name from the circumstance that the warriors of the band made a foray against the Arapahoes, but the latter upon their approach fired the prairie, catching the Dakotas in the flames so that many of them were severely burned.[52] Their plight when they returned home was a source of great amusement to the balance of the tribe, who called them Sichangues (burned thighs),

[44]McGee, 15 Eth.

[45]Idem. Dodge, 229, says "Drowned by water," from fact that band was struck by a waterspout.

[46]Idem.

[47]Idem.

[48]Colin Campbell so informed Dr. Riggs at Fort Pierre in 1840, and the tribal traditions support the view.

[49]Tradition related to the writer by Martin Charger, Swift Bird and White Swan, in 1892.

[50]Idem. Bernard Travassee, a Teton half-breed, told me the same story in 1902.

[51]Another story is that the name means "At the entrance," and that it refers to the position of this tribe in the Teton councils.

[52]Tribal tradition related to the writer by Alex Rencontre in 1900.

hence the French Brule. The other two bands of the Tetons are the Blackfeet and the Sans Arcs, but under what circumstances they received the names I have been unable to discover. They are supposed to be offshoots of the Uncpapas.

Reckoning from the independence of the United States in 1776, the Dakotas appear to have owned and possessed the country from the Falls of the Chippewa River down that stream to its mouth, thence down the Mississippi to about the north line of Iowa, thence across the northern part of Iowa to the mouth of the Sioux River, thence up the Missouri River to the Niobrara and west from there along the Niobrara and the Platte to the Black Hills. Beginning again at the falls of the Chippewa the north line of the Dakotas' territory ran in a generally north of west direction, passing about thirty miles north of St. Anthony Falls and striking the Red River of the North at the mouth of the Sheyenne, thence up the Sheyenne to Devils Lake, thence in a line to the Missouri at the mouth of Heart River, thence up the Heart and across to the Little Missouri and up this stream through the Black Hills to the Platte.[53] This embraced all of South Dakota, more than half of Minnesota, a large portion of North Dakota and portions of Wisconsin and Iowa, a goodly heritage, such as no other tribe of Indians upon the continent was ever able to claim and by prowess make the claim good.

It must not, however, be assumed that at any time the Dakotas confined their operations strictly to the territory to which they claimed title. They were distinctly a ranging people, adventuresome and a bit given to meddling into the affairs of their neighbors, and their excursions took them anywhere from Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico and between the Alleghenies and the Rockies. This roving propensity accounts for much of the conflicting accounts of their location which are found in the earlier relations of the explorers. It may be fairly assumed that when they were still denizens of the big woods they did not confine themselves to the shades of the forests, but that they then, as later, made frequent excursions upon the prairies, returning to the woods for the winter, and it was probably when upon one of these summer excursions that the secession of the Assinoboins occurred.

[53]Maps in XVIII Eth.

The white race was largely, if not entirely, responsible for the emigration of the Dakotas from their native habitat on the lakes through the bringing to America of horses and the supplying of firearms to the Indians. The former made living by buffalo hunting much easier and surer. The exact time when the Sioux came into possession of horses cannot be definitely determined. Carver visited them in 1766 and makes no mention of finding horses among them, though he mentions the fact that they had wars with nations to the west who had many horses. This visit was about 250 years after the Spanish introduction of horses into America and it is highly probable that the Dakotas had horses prior to the date mentioned, for forty years later all of the Dakota tribes were abundantly supplied.[54] It is probably a fair assumption that they began to acquire horses at about the time that the emigration from the timber began.

The Chippewas were not so remote from the white traders as the Sioux, and earlier came into possession of firearms. From that time the Dakotas were somewhat at their mercy. It will be remembered that Teeoskahtay on his visit to Frontenac turned all of his eloquence and craft to an appeal for guns for his people. Five years later LeSueur returned to Minnesota and was visited by the relatives of the lamented Teeoskahtay and after expressing their grief for the untimely death of their emissary to the French government at once set up a piteous plea for firearms, powder and ball.[55]

Gradually as the traders pushed their operations into the west the Dakotas were supplied with the coveted guns and then, supplied also with horses, they were not only able to withstand the encroachments of the Chippewa enemy,[56] but, too, were equipped to hunt the buffalo with ease and success. This period, before the coming of white men in sufficient numbers to require the cession of the lands, and after their equipment with horses and firearms, is the time of the greatest prosperity the Dakotas have known. Freedom, activity, congenial occupation, bountiful supplies of healthy food and immunity from

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[54]Lewis and Clark. Astoria.

[55]Niell, 148.

[56]The Dakotas were always able to repulse the Chippewas on the prairies, while the Chippewas were masters in the timber.

the epidemics which swept many of their neighboring tribes, was the lot of the Sioux, and he waxed strong and arrogant and was not always an agreeable neighbor to his less fortunate kinsmen.

The removal from homes in the timber to the life in the open prairie country wrought some radical changes in the habits and customs of these people, who by this immigration exchanged a ration of wild rice, berries, fish and timber game for a very nearly exclusive diet of buffalo beef;[57] who gave up the canoe (which, by the way, is an Algonkin word; the Dakotas called a boat a watah), for the pony and exchanged the residence of poles, earth and bark for the light and transportable tipi of skins.[58] It is not presumable that these changes were instantly adopted, but rather that they were developments of a considerable period, but it is quite certain that before the migration they were expert canoemen,[59] while at this time the boat is practically unknown to them,[60] though until recently the women did make a little tub-like vessel of a basket structure covered with a skin, in which they transported themselves and their stores, but the use of which the men dispised. Portable dwellings were, of course, of little value to them until the horse came to carry them, though prior to that event in their history the dog was made to carry some burdens. Of course the squaw was always available as a beast of burden, but manifestly a great skin tipi was beyond even her extraordinary power to transport for a day's journey.[61]

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[57]Niell, 163.

[58]Idem.

[59]Niell, 128-155.

[60]Niell, 163.

[61]Idem. Lewis and Clark's journal, September 26, 1804. Belden, 42.

CHAPTER II

French Contact—Radisson—Menard—Allouez—Marquette—Joliet—Discovery of Mississippi—Death of Marquette—LaSalle—Hennepin—Captured by Dakotas—Language, Habits and Customs—Medical Treatment—First Dakota Baptism—Duluth to the Rescue—French Trade—LeSueur's First Commission to Dakotas—Civil Organization of Dakotas in LeSueur's Time—Earliest Dakota Wars.

Mention has already been made of the visits to the Sioux of Radisson and LeSueur. From the middle of the seventeenth century they were more or less under the influence of white men, and it is inferable that their habits, customs and manner of thinking were from that time modified by the white influence. It is natural that the advent of these wonderful strangers, with their firearms, scientific instruments and implements of iron, should have produced a profound impression upon the simple people of the wilderness, and it is most likely that this impression should extend much farther than to the immediate tribes visited, for the communication between remote camps of the Sioux was in those days, as later, frequent and rapid.[62]

As we have seen, the first white man to secure and publish knowledge of the Dakotas was Nicolet, in 1639, and that two years later the Jesuit fathers obtained report of them at Sault Ste. Marie. The latter found the Pottawattamies flying from the Dakotas, with whom they were at war.[63] As we proceed we shall learn that from the beginning of the white knowledge of the Dakotas they almost constantly maintained their position by their prowess and that usually they were not the aggressors,[64] while even the savages regarded them as more merciful to their

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[62]Every piece of important news was carried by runners to the most remote camp of the tribe. Dodge, 344. Sisseton claims, 67.

[63]Northwest Under Three Flags, 7. Jesuit Relations, 1642. Shea's Catholic Church in Colonial Days, Vol. I, 228.

[64]Marquette's letters from LaPointe.

vanquished foes than other tribes.[65] There is no real evidence that either the early Jesuits or Nicolet came into actual contact with any of the Dakotas. The strong probability is that the first white man to set his eyes upon a Dakota Indian was Peter Esprit Radisson, who left Montreal in the spring of 1654 and spent six years or more in the western wilderness and visited the Dakotas at the "lake where they live."[66] In 1656, having returned to Montreal, he made up a party of thirty Frenchmen, including two priests and a large number of Indians, and they started back west, but were attacked by the Iroquois and the party was broken up. Radisson and his brother-in-law, Grosielliers, escaped and made their way to Green Bay and on through the west. They found a party of Hurons who had fled from the east to escape the fury of the Iroquois, living under the protection of the Dakotas.[67] The Dakotas then were living in five villages, having in all about 5,000 people.[68] This is the first indication which comes to us of the primitive strength of the Dakotas. It is possible that at this time the Tetons and Yanktons had already emigrated to the prairies, and they mention the fact that the Assinoboins had already seceded. The return of these explorers to Canada in 1660 with a large quantity of rich fur excited the merchants to large enterprises in the Indian and fur trade and rekindled the zeal of the Jesuits, who in the next year, 1661, dispatched Father Rene Menard to establish a mission upon Lake Superior.[69] He was received kindly by the Chippewa, and having learned from them of the Dakotas, determined to visit them. Some Hurons who had come to treat for peace with the Chippewas, consented to guide him through the Wisconsin wilderness to the Dakota country, and, accompanied by John Guerin, he set out upon the long journey. When somewhere near the head waters of the Black River, in northern Wisconsin, Guerin, being somewhat in advance of his companion, looked back and was distressed to discover that the aged priest had disappeared. Repeated firing

[65]"They freely release the prisoners they take," Jesuit Relations, 1670-71; Niell, 112.

[66]1 S. D. 171.

[67]Niell, 102.

[68]Idem.

[69]This mission was at Keweenaw Bay, Michigan, Shea, 263; Northwest Under Three Flags, 15.

of his gun brought no response, and a search, in which the Hurons joined, failed to reveal any trace of him. It is probable that he sank from sight in a quagmire, but it is possible that he was kidnaped and murdered by prowling Dakotas, for years afterwards his robe and prayer book were found in a Dakota lodge, where they were treated as great medicine. There is no evidence, however, that he was so murdered. The Dakotas may have found these articles where he sank in the swamp.[70] Word of the death of Menard having reached Montreal, the Jesuits sent out Father Claude Allouez to take up his work. He left Montreal on August 6, 1665, with six Frenchmen and a large party of Indians, and on October 1st arrived at Bayfield, Wisconsin, where he found a party of the Hurons who had formerly lived under the protection of the Dakotas, but who had been driven away because, having a few guns, they taunted the Dakotas with their superiority. Now the Dakotas had received them kindly when they were outcasts flying from the Iroquois, and they were in no spirit to submissively bear the boasting of these mendicants, so they showed their prowess by killing very many of them and driving the rest away.[71] A trader had already been among the Dakotas and had pleased their savage tastes with a large number of small bells. When they made their onslaught upon the boastful Hurons they drove a large party of them into a swamp, where it was difficult to dislodge them. The Dakotas therefore resorted to strategem. They cut skins into narrow strips, which they tied together into a long string, which was stretched entirely around the swamp where the Hurons were concealed, and to this string at intervals they attached the bells, and then they retired. The Hurons waited until the coast appeared to be clear, when they made a dash for liberty, but, tripping upon the string, set all of the bells ringing. The Dakotas awaiting this signal fell upon them and scarcely any of the enemy escaped.[72] The Hurons had induced the Chippewas to make war on the Dakotas, and as Father Allouez arrived they were just ready to set out upon this enterprise. A last grand

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[70]Shea, 265, thinks he was lost at Vieux Desert, upon the headwaters of the Wisconsin. Niell, 107, says it was at headwaters of Black River.

[71]Niell, 108.

[72]Perrot's Narrative; Niell, 139.

council was being held, and to this the intrepid priest was admitted. In the name of the King of France he commanded them to maintain peace toward the Dakotas, at the same time directing their attention to the Iroquois, and pledging them the assistance of the French soldiers to subdue this fierce people who obstructed the highway leading from Canada to the west. The foray against the Dakotas was therefore abandoned.[73] Shortly afterward, when upon a visit to the extreme western end of Lake Superior Allouez met a large party of Dakotas, and in speaking of this mentions for the first time the river upon which they lived as the "Messipi."[74] He says: "They are forty or fifty leagues from here in a country of prairies abounding in all kinds of game. They live upon a species of marsh rice. They do not use the gun, but only the bow and arrow, which they use with great dexterity. Their cabins are not covered with bark, but with deerskins, well dried and stitched together so well that cold does not enter. In our presence they seemed abashed and were motionless as statues."[75] Allouez after several years became convinced that his mission could not prosper without more assistance, and, finally becoming discouraged, abandoned the enterprise. On the 13th of September, 1669, he was succeeded by the renowned Father Marquette.[76] Among the latter's earliest letters he pays the Dakotas this tribute: "They are the Iroquois of this country, though less faithless, and never attack till attacked. * * * They have false oats (wild rice), use little canoes, and keep their word strictly."[77] Father Marquette did not visit the Dakota country, but sent messages and presents to them and induced them to visit him at Bayfield. He, however, confined his teaching to the Chippewa, Ottawa and Hurons. About 1672 the Dakotas, becoming again incensed at the conduct of the Hurons, who were the principal converts of Father Marquette at Bayfield, with characteristic chivalry, sent back to the priest the presents he had given them[78] and be-

[73]Bancroft. Niell, 108.

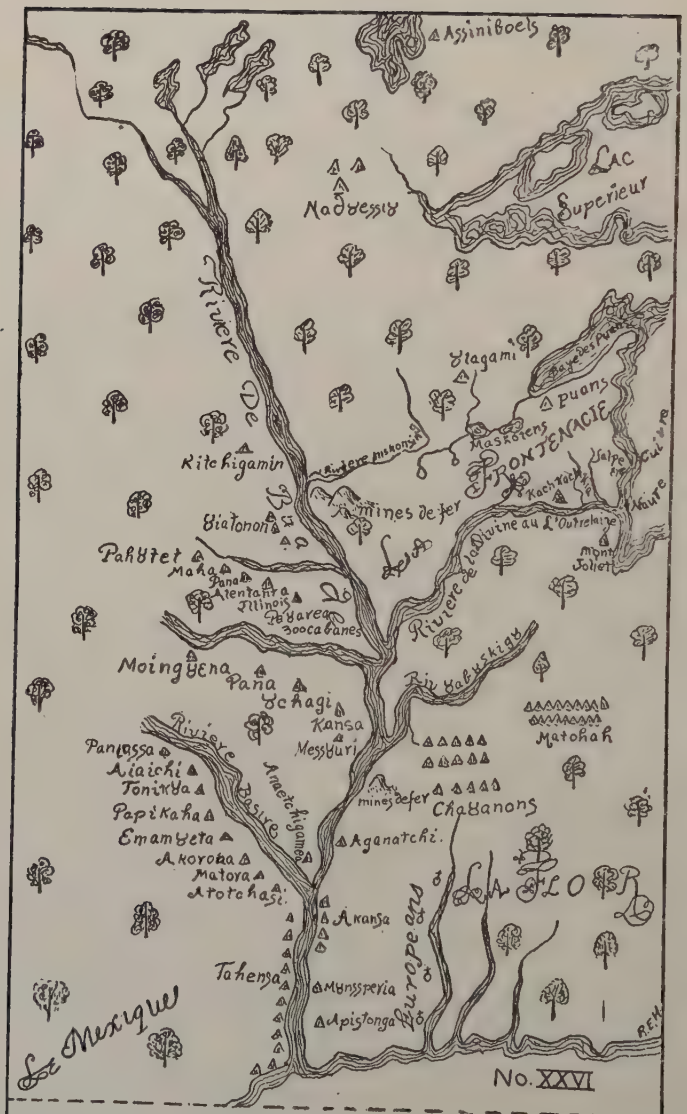
[74]Allouez' Relation of the Mission of the Holy Spirit, 1665. Niell, 110; Northwest Under Three Flags, 22.

[75]Idem.

[76]Northwest Under Three Flags, 23. Niell, 111.

[77]Idem.

[78]Northwest Under Three Flags, 24.



JOLIET'S MAP, 1673-4

gan a vigorous warfare upon their enemies and sent them flying eastward, where they established themselves on the northwest side of the Straits of Macinac, where they were followed by Father Marquette, who abandoned the mission at Bayfield to attend his frightened flock.[79] He set up a new mission, which he called St. Ignace, and from there he set out the next year with Joliet upon the trip across Wisconsin, in which the Mississippi was discovered.[80] There is no record that he came in contact with the Dakotas on that trip, nor again during the remainder of his life, which ended May 19, 1675.[81]

When LaSalle started west in 1679 upon the expedition which after great tribulations was to result in the exploration of the Mississippi from above the falls to its mouth, he was accompanied by Father Louis Hennepin, a priest of the Recollect order. Hennepin was a man with an abnormal curiosity, whose desire to see things led him to join the expedition.[83] In no wise does he appear to have been an agreeable person, nor is his story altogether reliable.[84] He was chosen by LaSalle to explore the upper Mississippi from the mouth of the Illinois, while the main party was to make the trip down the stream from that point. Hennepin was accompanied by Picard de Gay* and Michael Ako, and they left LaSalle's fort on the Illinois on February 29, 1680, in a canoe, in which they carried a small quantity of merchandise for gifts to the Indians.[85] On the 11th of April they met thirty-three bark canoes loaded with a party of Dakotas going to war with the Illinois and Miamis. The Dakotas fired their arrows at the Frenchmen, but upon being shown a pipe ceased their hostile demonstrations. After a night of anxiety a chief presented a peace pipe and they all smoked. The Dakotas then indicated that they would return home with the white men and give up the war enterprise. When the priest undertook the offices of his profession the Indians cried "Wakan"—that is,

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[79]Idem.
[80]Idem.
[81]Idem.
[83]Niell, 125. Niell, 135.
[84]Niell, 127.
*The man's real name was Antoine Augel.
[85]Idem. 1 Minn. 27, 302. 6 Minn. 39 et seq.

medicine or mystery. They crowded around him and created great alarm, and Picard begged him to desist. He then thought he would withdraw and say his breviary in secret, but the Indians would not permit this, thinking it was his purpose to hide something of value. The Frenchmen were virtually prisoners. The Dakotas discussed what disposition to make of them, some being in favor of summarily scalping them, but the majority favored taking them home and so establishing relations with the French which would result in their securing firearms—"maza wakan," they called them—that is, iron mystery. They proceeded up the river and almost hourly developed some new trait of character which filled the priest with amazement. Aquipaguatin, the chief, adroitly worked a wily scheme to obtain merchandise. He "had the bones of a distinguished relative which he preserved with great care in some skins, dressed and adorned with several rows of black and red porcupine quills. From time to time he assembled his men to give it a smoke, and made us come several days to cover the bones with goods and by a present wipe away the tears he had shed for him and for his own son killed by the Miamis. To appease this captious man we threw on the bones several fathoms of tobacco, axes, knives, beads and bracelets. * * * We slept at the point of the Lake of Tears (Pepin), which we so called from the tears which this chief shed all night long, or by one of his sons, whom he caused to weep when he grew tired. The next day after four or five leagues of sail a chief came, telling them to leave their canoes, he pulled up three piles of grass for seats. Then taking a piece of cedar full of little holes he placed a stick into one, which he revolved between the palms of his hands until he kindled a fire."

"Having arrived on the nineteenth day of our navigation five leagues below St. Anthony's Falls, these Indians landed us in a bay, broke our canoe to pieces and secreted their own in the reeds." They then proceeded on the trail to Mille Lacs, sixty leagues distant (the distance is not nearly so great.) As they approached their villages the various bands began to show their spoils. The tobacco was highly prized and led to some contention. The chalice of the father, which glistened in the sun, they were afraid to touch, supposing it to be "wakan." After five days' walk they reached the Issati (Santee) settlements, in the valley of Rum River. The three Frenchmen were here sepa-

rated, Aquipaguetin taking Hennepin to his own camp. This was upon an island, and Aquipaguetin called into requisition five of his squaws with canoes, in which they conveyed them across the lake. The tramp through the woods had used the priest rather severely, and when he was finally deposited in the camp he was scarcely able to move, whereupon a kindhearted old Dakota placed him upon a bearskin before the fire and rubbed his legs and feet with the oil of wildcats. The son of the family was at once attracted by the priest's black robe, which he appropriated and strutted about the camp with it over his shoulders. Learning Hennepin's name and title, the young Indian called the robe Pere Louis' shinnan, the latter word signifying robe. To offset the loss of this black gown, however, the chief on the second day gave Hennepin a fine robe of beaver skins trimmed with porcupine quills.

"He set before me a bark dish full of fish, and, seeing that I could not rise from the ground, he had a small sweating cabin made, in which he made me enter naked with four Indians. This cabin he covered with buffalo skins and inside he put stones red to the middle. He made me a sign to do as the others before beginning to sweat, but I merely concealed my nakedness with a handkerchief. As soon as these Indians had several times breathed out quite violently he began to sing vociferously, the others putting their hands on me and rubbing me while they wept bitterly. I began to faint, but I came out and could scarcely take my habit and put it on. When he made me sweat thus three times a week I felt as strong as ever."[86]

The mariner's compass was a constant source of wonder and amazement. The chiefs having assembled, the braves would ask Hennepin to show his compass. Perceiving that the needle turned, the chief harangued the men and told them the whites were spirits capable of doing anything. In the priest's possession was an iron pot with lions' paw feet, which the Indians would not touch unless their hands were covered with buffalo skins. The women looked upon it as a "wakan" and would not enter the cabin where it was. He set about at once to compile a vocabulary of Dakota words, in which work the children were his

[86]See Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson's article upon Practice of Medicine and Surgery Among the Dakota Indians.

chief assistants. "As soon as I could catch the word Taketchi-abiahen (taku-kapi-he), which means 'what call you that?' I became in a short time able to converse upon familiar subjects. At first this difficulty was hard to surmount. If I had a desire to know what 'to run' was in their tongue I was forced to increase my speed and actually run from one end of the lodge to the other until they understood what I meant and had told me the word, which I presently set down in my dictionary.

"The chiefs of these savages, seeing that I was desirous to learn, frequently made me write, naming all of the parts of the human body, and as I would not put on paper certain indelicate words at which they do not blush, they were heartily amused."

When he referred to his lexicon to learn words which he had set down in it they regarded it with wonder, saying: "That white thing is a spirit which tells Pere Louis all we say."

"These Indians often asked me how many wives and children I had and how old I was—that is, how many winters, for so these natives count. Never illumined by the light of faith, they were surprised by my answer. Pointing to our two Frenchmen, whom I was then visiting at a point three leagues from our village, I told them that a man among us could have but one wife, and as for me I had promised the Master of Life to live as they saw me, and to come and live with them to teach them to become French people; but that gross people, till then lawless and faithless, turned all I said into ridicule. 'How,' said they, 'would you have these two men with thee have wives? Ours would not live with them, for they have hair all over their faces and we have none there or elsewhere.' In fact, they were never better pleased with me than when I was shaved, and from a complaisance, certainly not criminal, I shave every week.

"As often as I went to visit the cabins I found a sick child, whose father was named Mamenisi. Michael Ako would not accompany me, Picard du Guy alone followed me to act as sponsor, or rather to witness the baptism. I christened the child Antoinette in honor of St. Anthony, of Padua, as well as for the Picard's name, which was Anthony Augelle. He was a native of Amiens and a nephew of the procurator general of Paris. * * * The child died soon after, to my great consolation." This was undoubtedly the first baptism among the Dakotas, though it is possible that Allouez may have baptised some of

Portion of Hennepin's Map

them at Ashland. He was informed that the Assinoboins were but seven or eight days' journey away from the Dakotas. This is another evidence of the primitive date at which the separation took place.

In the summer time of 1680 Hennepin accompanied the Dakotas down to the Mississippi upon a buffalo hunt, and as they were returning up the stream they met Duluth, with whom they had had some previous communication through the Indians who had met him near Lake Superior. Duluth had with him five French soldiers and a quantity of merchandise, and was bound for the Dakota villages to trade. He at once engaged Hennepin as a guide and interpreter. It was July 25th when they met, and they proceeded to the villages at Mille Lacs, where they arrived on August 14th. At the end of September the Frenchmen announced that they must return to Canada to obtain more goods. There was some reluctance among the Dakotas, but Duluth managed the matter adroitly and finally at a great council they decided to let them go, and the head chief, whose name was Wazikute, made a map for them, showing them the route by way of the Mississippi, Wisconsin and Fox Rivers to Green Bay. They spent the winter at Michilimacinac and reached Quebec in the spring of 1681. Thence Hennepin hastened to France and never returned to America. He wrote a book telling of his adventures, which was rather boastful, and a later edition published at Utrecht fourteen years after was shamefully mendacious. For many years Hennepin was held responsible for the falsehoods of the later edition, and in consequence the truthfulness of the whole of his narrative was discounted, but in recent years John G. Shea and Bishop Ireland have given the subject much attention and have produced a good deal of evidence which indicates that the Utrecht edition was a forgery.[88] So reliable and authoritative a historian, however, as Reuben Gold Thwaites, secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society, holds Hennepin entirely responsible for the Utrecht edition and makes it the basis of his recently published work upon the subject.*

In 1683 the Canadian government sent Nicholas Perrot and twenty men, including LeSueur, to the Mississippi to establish a

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[88]Niell, 148. 6 Minn. 65.

*Hennepin's A New Discovery, McClurg & Co., 1904.

peace between the Iowas and the Dakotas. They found the Dakotas at war with the Miamis, Foxes and Mascoutins, but oddly enough at this time the Dakotas were in friendly alliance with the Chippewa.[89] That year Perrot and LeSueur built posts on the Mississippi at Lake Pepin and at the mouth of the Wisconsin. The Dakotas were on friendly terms with these Frenchmen and visited them at the post at Lake Pepin, where in a spirit of joviality they plundered the packs of some traders, but under threats from Perrot restored the goods.[90] The next year the Senecas and Cayugas made war on the Dakotas, but how it eventuated is not recorded.[91] In fact, the little wars with the weaker tribes were mere recreations with the strong Dakotas and cut very little figure in their general economic policy. Then, as two centuries later, they regarded it as one of their privileges and means of sport.[92] For the next four years we learn nothing about the affairs of the Dakotas except that in 1687 Perrot was called to Canada to assist in the wars of the French against the Iroquois, and he left his goods at the "Sioux post" on the Mississippi in charge of a few Courier des Bois,[93] but in 1688 he was back among the Dakotas and from the post of the "Nadousossioux" at Lake Pepin he issued a proclamation in 1689 claiming the country formally for the King of France.[94] This proclamation is witnessed by Augustine Legardeur and by Messrs. LeSueur, Hebart, Lemire and Blein. He particularly mentions in this proclamation that the M'dewakantons, Sissetons and a majority of the other Dakotas live northeast of the Mississippi. Perrot is probably the most competent witness upon the subject, as he had at this time been in the country of the Dakotas for most of the time for nine years, and constantly in trade with the Dakotas, and was no doubt well informed as to their habitat.

It is possible, indeed probable, that the trade at the Lake Pepin post was continued during the ensuing three years, for by 1692 trouble had arisen between the traders and the Fox and Mascoutin Indians, which rendered the road across Wisconsin

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[89]Niell, 148.
[90]Same, 145.
[91]Same, 139.
[92]Bear's Rib to Lieutenant G. K. Warren, 1857.
[93]Rangers of the woods, see 50, post.
[94]Niell, 144.

by way of the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers impracticable, and LeSueur was sent to Bayfield to cement the peace then existing between the Dakotas and the Chippewas.[95] He went down to an island in the Mississippi, where he built a new post, "above Lake Pepin and below the mouth of the St. Croix." This post was intended as the center of commerce on the river and at the same time to serve as a barrier between the Dakotas and the Chippewas. In the summer of 1605 he went down to Montreal and took with him Teeoskahtay, as related above. At Macinaw he found the wife of a Dakota chief in captivity and purchased her and took her along to Montreal.[96] She afterwards was restored to her people and carried to them the story of the death of Teeoskahtay.

LeSueur, instead of returning to the Dakotas as Frontenac intended, secured passage to Europe and set sail. It is probable that during his long residence in the west he had explored a good deal of the country between the Mississippi and the Missouri, at least he had obtained information relating to a mine, supposed to be of copper, existing upon the Blue Earth River near Mankato, Minnesota, and his mission to France was to obtain a license to open and work this mine.[97] He secured the desired permission through the patronage of l'Hullier, the farmer general, and set out for Canada, but his boat was taken by the English and he was returned to London and finally made his way back to Paris.[98] During the absence of LeSueur the Dakotas in 1696 went to war with the Foxes and the Miamis, and these latter tribes attempted an invasion of the Dakotas' country, but found the enemy entrenched and were compelled to retire.[99] On the return trip they found a party of French traders en route to the Dakotas with goods, and a fight ensued, in which the Indians were defeated. They soon after met Perrot and took him prisoner and were about to burn him at the stake, but were prevented by some friendly Foxes. This circumstance coming to the ears of Frontenac, he concluded to withdraw all trade from

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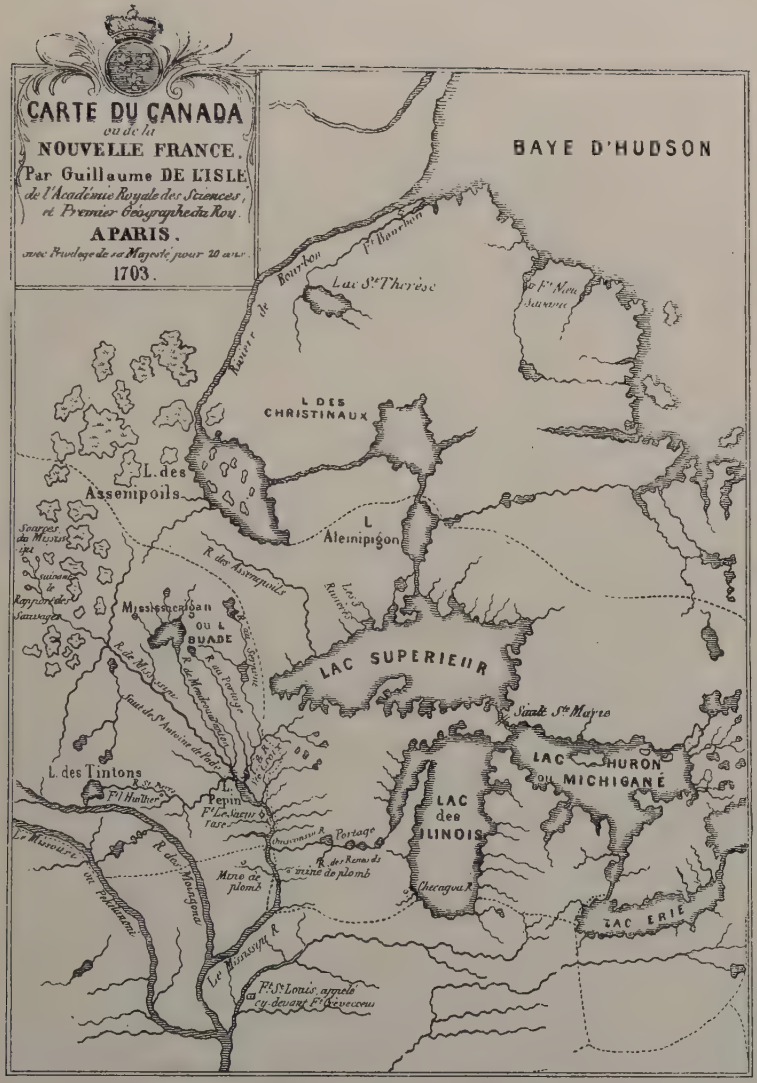
[95]Same, 145.
[96]Same, 148.
[97]Same, 151.
[98]Idem.
[99]Idem.

the western Indians until the close of King William's war, then in progress, and, fearing that LeSueur would go to the Dakota country and supply some of the traders with goods, he induced the king to annul LeSueur's license to mine in the west.[100] LeSueur, learning of this revocation of his license, and knowing that he would be unable to proceed through Canada, took passage with his relative, Pierre LeMoyne, better known as d'Iberville, founder of Louisiana, to the gulf, and in company with a party of twenty men, including Penticaut, the intelligent ship carpenter, proceeded with a large quantity of goods up the Mississippi. When he got into the Illinois country he was informed by a note from Father Marest, who had previously been with the Dakotas, but who now was ministering to the Illinois, that the Dakotas and Iowas were at war with the Sacs, Foxes, Kickapoos and Mascoutins, and that in a recent battle the Dakotas had been victorious, and that the eastern Indians were at that time away to avenge themselves upon the Iowas for the whipping they had received, being too much afraid of the Dakotas to attack them.[101] The object of the note was to warn LeSueur against these war parties, whom the good father declared were utterly faithless. When somewhere near St. Louis on the 30th of July, 1700, he met seventeen Dakotas in seven canoes going down to get even with the Illinois for having killed three Dakota prisoners, but he prevailed upon them to turn back. On the 19th of September he entered the Minnesota river, and on October 1st reached the Blue Earth near Mankato, where his mine was supposed to be. At the mouth of the Blue Earth he met a party of Sioux, who gave him some valuable information as to the territory of the several tribes at that time. They said that section belonged to the Iowas and the Ottoes and the Tetons (Sioux of the west), and that the territory of these Indians extended to the Mississippi, and they therefore begged him to return to the mouth of the Minnesota and establish his post upon the Mississippi, where the Dakotas could also trade with him upon their own land. They told him that at that time the Tetons had about one thousand lodges, and that they did not use canoes nor gather wild rice, but lived entirely by the chase on the prairies between the Mississippi and

[100]Penticaut, historian of LeSueur's trip. Niell, 154.

[101]Idem.

Portion of Le Sueur's Map



Section of a Map of Canada.

the Missouri. They said that they made their lodges of buffalo skins and carried them about with them wherever they went. That they were remarkably expert with the bow and arrow, and had been known to kill ducks on the wing. They also mentioned that polygamy was common with them, and, too, that they had a curious habit of swallowing the smoke of the tobacco or of holding it in the mouth and blowing it out through the nose.[102] These facts are interesting and valuable, as they are the first historical statements relating to the habitat and habits of the Tetons. LeSueur set at work at once, and by the 14th had completed the post, which he named Fort l'Hullier in honor of the French farmer general, and he sent out emissaries to the neighboring bands to invite them to come in and establish camps around the post for the winter trade. As early as the 3d of October they were visited by a party of Dakotas under a chief named Wakantape, whose home was probably on the Mississippi near Redwing. He and all of his party of sixteen persons were near relatives of Teeoskahtay, the Indian whom LeSueur took to Canada in 1695, and who had died there, and after weeping for some time for their relative they made a strong appeal for powder and bullets. This seems to have been a weakness in the Teeoskahtay family. On the 24th a party of Oglalas appeared at the fort and thereafter he was in constant communication with both the Tetons and the Santees, and was also in communication with the Mahas on the Sioux River, whom he believed to be vastly the strongest tribe of the section, placing their strength at 12,000. The next spring he opened his copper mine, and, loading his boat with the mineral, which was worthless, he returned to d'Iberville at the gulf and took passage with him to France. He classified the Dakotas as "the Sioux of the east and the Sioux of the west," and noted seven bands of the former and nine of the latter. Only a few of the distinguishing names employed by him are still recognized. From the misunderstood and worse spelled names used by him we can, with something of a stretch of imagination, figure out M'dewakantons, Wakpekutes, Wahpetons and Sissetons among the bands of the east, while the Wahpetons and Wakpekutes are also included with the bands of

[102]Idem.

the west.[103] We are only able to recognize the Oglalas among the bands of the west as a name still familiar. In his report to d'Iberville he recommended that the Dakotas be induced to settle upon the Missouri, where their trade would be accessible to the French from Louisiana, a jealousy already having grown up between the Canadian and Louisiana traders.[104] His men remained at Fort l'Hullier until the spring of 1702, when, having disposed of all of their wares and having no means of replenishing the stock, they abandoned the post and returned to the gulf.

The foregoing comprises the record of white contact with the Dakotas down to the beginning of the eighteenth century, and it will appear that for fifty years at least they had been in constant, or very nearly constant, association; that the eastern Dakotas at least had learned the use of firearms and of many articles of white manufacture, including the much prized domestic utensils, and that in consequence the practices of these people were already undergoing a change. It is probable, too, that the French had brought to them a smattering of their religious beliefs, and that the aboriginal ideas upon this momentous subject had been modified by these views. As no record was kept of the primitive views of these savages upon the subject of a spiritual life it is manifest that anything learned since that remote time upon the subject will have been influenced by the teachings of the whites, so that we are left to the merest speculations as to what they originally believed upon the vital topic.

During this period of fifty years we find the Dakotas at war one or more times with the Chippewas, Foxes, Mascoutins, Sauks, Miamis, Illinois, Senecas, Cayugas, Pottawattamies, Iroquois, Hurons, Crees, Assinoboins and Iowas, and probably with other unnamed western tribes. In the fullest modern sense they lived the strenuous life. LeSueur suggests that no sooner did the Santees come into possession of firearms than they asserted a mastership over the Tetons.

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[103]Idem. Rev. John P. Williamson identifies LeSueur's Hinhantons as Yanktons.

[104]Idem. Letter to Historical Society, March 3, 1903.

CHAPTER III

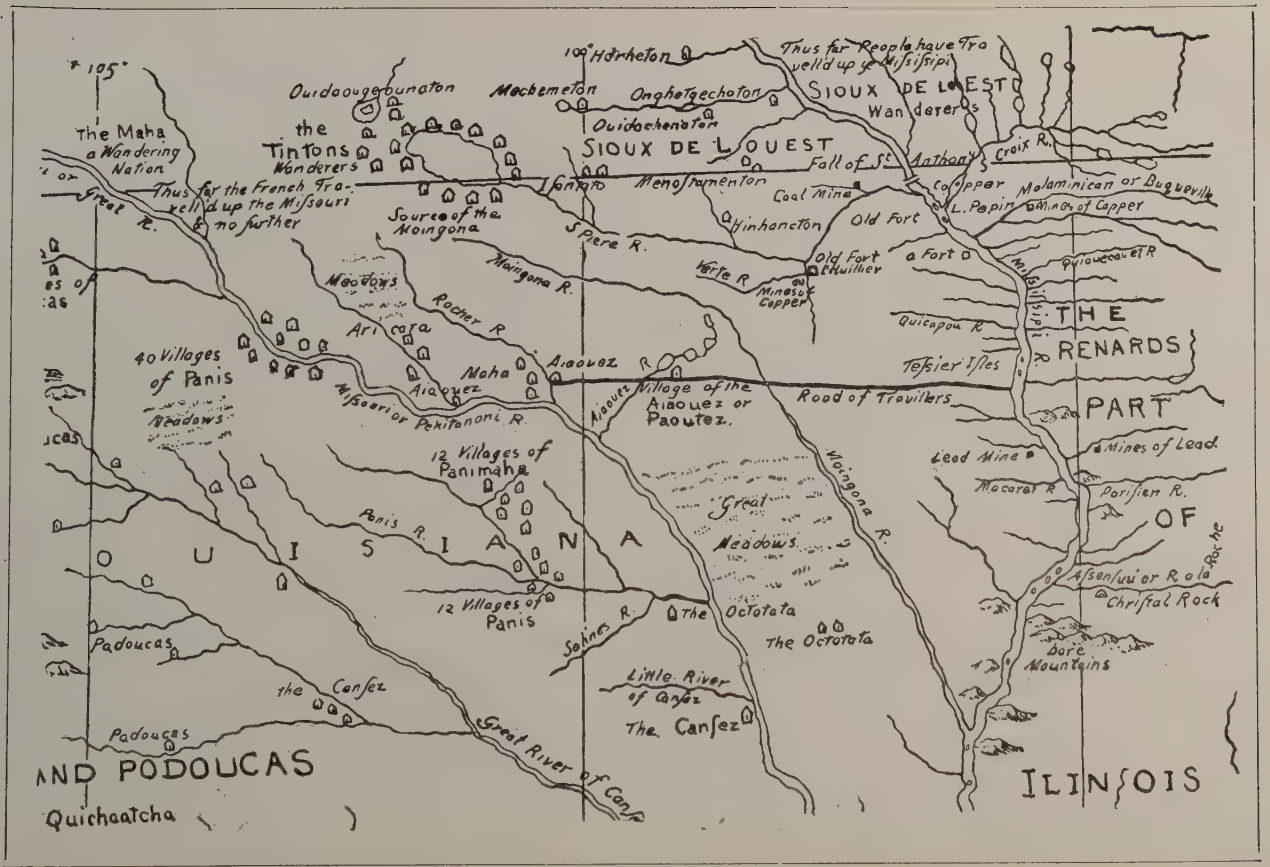
Character of Traders—How Trade was Conducted—Influence on Indians—Intermarriages—Two Hundred Fifty Years of Bloodmixing—Little Pure Blood Left—Effect on Character and Views—Early Maps—Corronellis—Hennepin—LeSueur—Intertribal Wars—French Interference—Post at Lake Pepin—War with Chippewas for Forty Successive Years—Verendrye Probably Visits South Dakota—Calling in Courier des Bois—Delusigan—Date of the Emigration from Big Woods—Carver's Visit—The Carver Grant—Tetons Go to Missouri and Yanktons Settle on James—The Crime of Ixatape—Wapasha's Heroic Sacrifice—Uncertain Sovereignty Over Dakota Country.

By this time a new element had entered into the life of the Dakotas, the influence of which cannot be measured, but which certainly very materially changed their views of life and methods of living. From the records we are able to trace the movements of the leaders in trade and in religion who penetrated into the wilds of the west, bearing baptism and barter to the natives, but we get no more than a hint of the character of the men who accompanied them, yet we know it was rare for either missionary or merchant to go out single-handed. Usually they were accompanied by from two or three to a hundred helpers. In the trade the leaders were as a rule retired military officers and the descendents of a decayed French nobility, men of worldly wisdom, polished manners and imperious temper, who found in the wild new land opportunity to surround themselves with a sort of dependent community over which they were absolute monarchs. It was not difficult for them, by a self-gratifying exhibition of temper and tinsel, to secure the adulation of the savages, and they found a fascination in the wild life that surpassed the attractions of the fashionable society of France. These men established central posts from which the trade of their section was conducted, as was the case of Perrot at Lake Pepin, and in a smaller way of LeSueur at Fort L'Hullier. From these posts clerks, usually French Canadians, having

learning enough to enable them to conduct trade and account for the proceeds, were sent out to the camps of such Indians as could not conveniently come in to the central post, and the clerks were accompanied on their expeditions by a still lower class of French Canadians, men uneducated and rough, who packed the goods through the timber and returned with the furs, and for that reason they were called coureurs des bois, that is runners of the woods. They were as a rule expert canoe men, inured to hardships, of happy, mercurial temperament, and in their tastes very little above the aborigines. Every Frenchman in the wilderness, the priests only excepted, considered it his first privilege to obtain an Indian wife, so that from the bourgeois of the posts down to the last of the coureur des bois, half Indian families sprung up wherever their camps were pitched. Though ignorant, these wood rangers were imbued with the traditions and the superstitions of the whites, and with some idea of the Christian religion, and these traditions and superstitions were inevitably communicated to their children. The offspring of these alliances were called "bois brules," that is burnt woods, owing to the dark color of the half-breeds, possibly keeping in mind also the relation to the woods rangers. It is now more than two hundred and fifty years since these intimate relations between the whites and the Dakotas began, and from that time have been maintained, so that not only the stock of first alliances, but constantly added new marriages between the traders, trappers and Dakota women have, it is fair to presume, left very little of the pure Dakota blood in the land, and absolutely nothing of the primitive Dakota view of life.

Near the close of the seventeenth and at the beginning of the eighteenth century several maps of the northwest were published, and from them something of the location of the Dakota tribes may be inferred. The first of these is known as Marquette's map, and is supposed to have been drawn in 1673 and to have been published in 1681. It is certain that most of the facts exhibited on this map were obtained from the Indians and not from the observation of white men.

Next comes the map of Coronellis, made in 1688. It is from the information obtained by Duluth, and locates the Dakotas at Mille Lacs.



Portion of Law's Map, 1723

The third map in point of time is the Hennepin map of 1698. It calls Mille Lacs the Lake of the Issati (Santees), and locates the Wahpetons and Sissetons northeast of that lake.

The fourth map is that by William DeIsle, made in 1703 from the notes of LeSueur. It divides the Dakotas into the Sioux of the east and Sioux of the west, according to the classification in LeSueur's list of tribes, those of the east being about Mille Lacs and those of the west about Big Stone Lake, which is called Lake Tinton. The Yanktons are located down in western Iowa opposite the mouth of the Platte. A revision of this map by Jeffreys was published in 1760.

The recorded history of the Dakotas during the eighteenth century is very meager indeed, and there is very little in their traditions which adds to the limited record. We learn that in 1700 the Dakotas were engaged in a war with the Sauks and Foxes, in which the former were victorious,[105] but fourteen years later, when the French made war on the Foxes for obstructing the road to the Mississippi, the latter made an alliance with the Dakotas, and upon the approach of the French army of 800 men the Indians entrenched themselves and for the first time were subjected to cannon fire. This speedily brought them to terms, and they gave hostages for their good behavior and sent emissaries to Montreal to make a treaty of peace and friendship,[106] but by the spring of 1717 the Dakotas and Foxes were again leagued in a war with the French. These troubles were due to the withdrawal of the coureur des bois from the west, which cut off the Dakotas' opportunity to obtain arms and utensils. In 1726 a new peace was made and the Canadians entered into an agreement to send two traders to reside with the Dakotas, as well as a priest to establish a mission for their evangelization.[107] The Foxes, it appears, did not observe this treaty and made arrangements with the Tetons to find a haven with them in the west in case the French pressed them too hard.

In pursuance to the treaty made with the Dakotas, as well as to influence the action of the Foxes, the Canadian government in the spring of 1727 sent an expedition from Montreal,

[105]Niell, 176.
[106]Niell, 178.
[107]Niell, 181.

which reached Lake Pepin on September 17th, and it was resolved to build the post there, at a point nearly opposite Maiden Rock. The expedition was under the command of Pierre Boucher, and was accompanied by traders and two missionaries, the latter being equipped among other things with a case of mathematical instruments, a universal astronomic dial, a spirit level, surveyor's chain and stakes and a telescope. The post was the most elaborate one yet built in the west, and had a stockade 100 feet square, in which were three comfortable and commodious buildings. They did not appreciate the liability of floods on the river and occupied too low ground, so that the next spring the floor of the fort was covered with water. Very early in the season the Foxes drove the entire party away. Because of the conduct of the Foxes the government started an army of 400 soldiers and 800 Indians west in June under command of DeLignery. The Indians were smart enough to keep out of his reach, and he accomplished nothing but to chase them from one deserted camp to another. Apparently the Lake Pepin post was not again occupied until 1736, when St. Pierre, accompanied by Father Guignas, went there with traders and found the Dakotas very friendly.[108]

About 1725 the peace which for thirty years had existed between the Dakotas and Chippewas was broken, and for forty years thereafter they carried on a relentless war, in which in the end the advantage was with the Chippewas.[109]

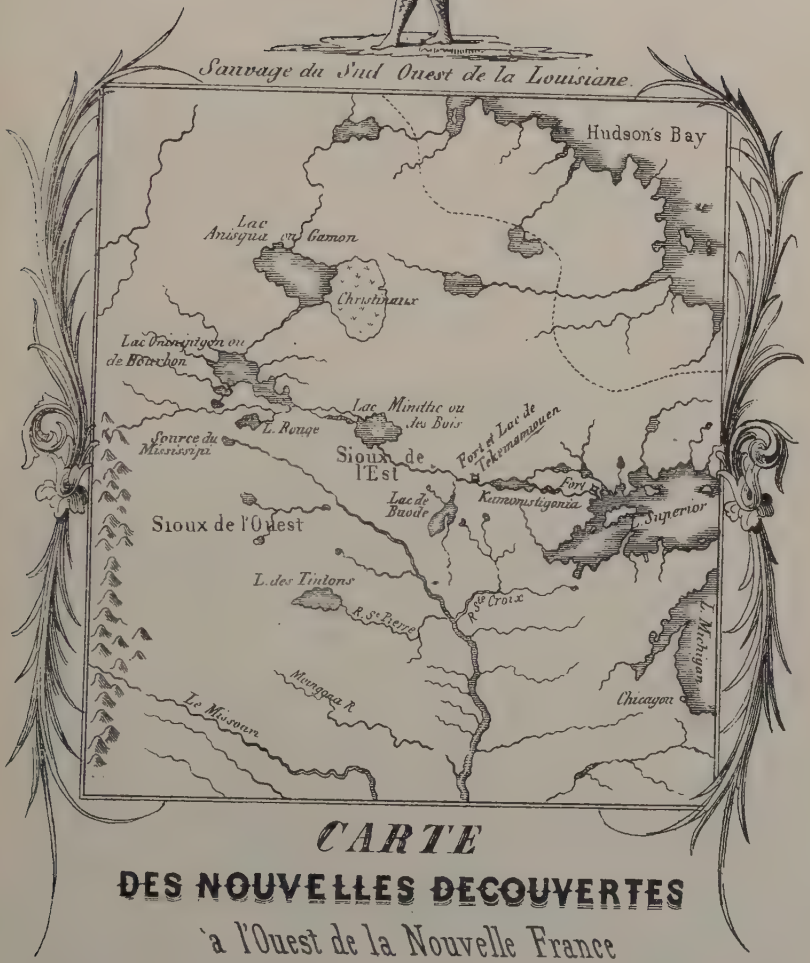
About 1737 Verendrye, a French officer, was commissioned by the king to explore a way across America to the Pacific. His route was by way of the lakes, Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods, the Assinoboin and Missouri rivers. While in the lake region of northern Minnesota the expedition was attacked by the Dakotas and a son of the commandant killed and their goods stolen.[110] Verandrye in the course of his explorations reached the western mountains, and returning reached a point near the center of South Dakota, and may have come into contact with the Tetons there, but it is most likely that the latter tribe had not

[108]Idem.

[109]Carver's Travels in the Interior of North America.

[110]Canadian Archives. 5 Minn. 428. Verendrye is spelled in fourteen different ways in the old manuscripts.

Sauvage du Sud Ouest de la Louisiane.



CARTE

DES NOUVELLES DECOUVERTES

à l'Ouest de la Nouvelle France

Dressee sur les Mémoires de M.r De l'Isle, Professeur à l'Académie Royale des Sciences Par Philippe Buache. — 1750.

Drawn from the Original by R. Ormsby Sweeny.

PART OF A MAP
OF
CANADA
and
THE NORTHERN PART OF
LOUISIANA,
with the Adjacent Countries,

by THO^{s} JEFFERYS Geographer
TO HIS MAJESTY
1762.

The original by R. Ormsby Sweeny

yet crossed the Missouri.[111] At this time Father Guignas appears to have conducted a mission among the Dakotas.[112]

Again in 1745-6 the government resolved to withdraw the coureur des bois from the Dakotas, because they were obtaining their goods irregularly from the English and down the Mississippi and were not paying the royalty which Canada exacted. DeLusigan was dispatched to the west to call them in. He went as far as Big Stone Lake and found some of the traders, but was powerless to bring them to Macinaw, where they were to be arrested and tried for the violation of the revenue laws. While at Big Stone Lake the Dakotas brought to DeLusigan nineteen of their young men, bound with cords. They had killed three Frenchmen in Illinois. He released the young men and succeeded in making a peace between the Dakotas and Chippewas, which was immediately broken when he was gone.[113]

About 1760, defeated by the Chippewas in the "forty years' war," the Sântee Dakotas moved down from the Mille Lacs and took up their home upon the Mississippi and Minnesota. And at about the same time the Tetons removed from Big Stone Lake to the Missouri.[114]

In June, 1766, Jonathan Carver, a native of Connecticut, who had done good service for the colonies in the just closed French and Indian war, left Boston to explore the northwest. He reached the Mississippi at the mouth of the Wisconsin about the middle of October, and passing up the river in a canoe, accompanied by only one white man and a Mohawk Indian, he made the acquaintance of the M'dewakantons at the mouth of the St. Croix, and notes that they were still engaged in a fight with their hereditary enemies, the Chippewa. He learned that there were eleven bands of them, three of whom he designated as river bands, and the remaining eight as "Naduwessis of the plains." The ice became troublesome at the mouth of the Minnesota, and he left his canoe there about the middle of November and walked up to St. Anthony Falls, which he describes very graphically. In about ten days he returned to his canoe. He had

[111] Bishop O'Gorman's address, this volume.
[112] Niell, 189.
[113] Niell, 191.
[114] Dr. S. R. Riggs, 1840. Tribal traditions.

conceived a notion that somewhere in the vicinity he would find a western branch of the Mississippi which would take him out to the mountains and make an easy highway to the Pacific, and he resolved to explore the Minnesota River. It was one of those delightful open autumns, and resuming his canoe he rowed, as he reckoned, 200 miles up the stream, not finding his way blocked until the 7th of December, where he spent the winter with a large band of the Dakotas, probably the Wahpetons. He remained with them until the river opened in April, when more than 300 of his hospitable friends accompanied him to the Mississippi.[115] After Carver's death his heirs produced a paper purporting to be a copy of a grant of a large tract of land, made by two Dakotas, Hawhopawjatin and Otohtongoomlisheaw. The tract described extends from St. Anthony Falls to Lake Pepin, and east from the lake 100 miles, and from that point in a direct line to the falls, making a wedge-shaped piece. They never were able to produce the original, nor to show that the Indians mentioned were authorized to convey the land in question, nor that the Dakotas owned the land. Carver himself makes no mention in his book of having obtained such a grant. The heirs had the claim before congress for many years, but it was never recognized, and doubtless was a forgery.[116]

About this time the Yanktons and Yanktonais were driven out of western Iowa by the Ottoes and came up and settled in the James valley.[117]

At about this time, the date is not definitely fixed, but it was within a few years of the cession of Canada to the English, a trader located at the mouth of the Minnesota, and he quarreled with a Dakota named Ixatape, and watching his opportunity the Indian shot the trader as he sat quietly smoking in the cabin. This led to the withdrawal of trade from the Dakotas, who by this time had come to place great dependence upon this method of obtaining supplies, and a hard winter coming on, they suffered extreme hardship. On the opening of spring the Dakotas held a council and determined to take the guilty Ixatape and

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[115]Carver's travels through the interior parts of North America.

[116]Niell, 217.

[117]Traditions of Yanktons related to writer by Dr. W. A. Burleigh, former agent. Bear's Rib's speech to Raynolds, 1859.

go down to Quebec and turn him over to the authorities. Accordingly they made up a party of 100 and started by way of the Wisconsin River. Old Wapashaw was at the head of the expedition. Before they reached Green Bay more than half of the party had deserted, and there all but six came away, taking the prisoner with them. Wapashaw, undaunted however, with his five companions kept on their way, and when they arrived at Quebec Wapashaw, with a heroism rarely equaled, offered himself as a vicarious sacrifice for his tribe in lieu of the escaped prisoner. His generosity impressed the English and they gave him every consideration. He gave them a clear understanding of the organization of the Dakota tribes and the subdivision into seven bands, and they gave him a medal for each of the bands. It was by this time winter, and they remained at Quebec until spring, and they were attacked by smallpox and only Wapashaw survived, but he succeeeded in restoring trade for his people.[118]

Wapashaw was loyal to the English throughout the Revolution, and with his braves rendered effective service upon the frontier in protecting trade, but did not go east, as some of the tribes did, to fight the colonists in the war.[119] After the treaty of peace and the cession of the northwest to the colonies the English still held possession of the country and the Dakotas continued to give their allegiance to the English; indeed it was nearly forty years before they finally acknowledged the United States authority.

During this period of uncertainty as to the sovereignty over the northwest we find little of record relating to the Dakotas' relations to white men. Trade for the region centered at Macinaw, primarily, with a secondary base at Prairie du Chien.

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[118]Niell, 227. Letter of Rev. G. H. Pond. This Wapasha was a half Chippewa and was born about 1718. His mother was a Chippewa taken prisoner by the Dakotas, who returned to her tribe, leaving Wapasha and another brother. She subsequently married a Chippewa and raised another family. In 1747, during one of the wars between the Dakotas and Chippewas, the latter were getting the worst of it, when Mamongeseda, a Chippewa half brother of Wapasha's, sallied out and in a loud voice inquired if his brother Wapasha was present. This at once converted the battle into a love feast. Warren, 219.

[119]Niell, 229.

Toward the end of the century the French began to creep up the Missouri from St. Louis, and by 1796 had two and perhaps three posts for trade with the Dakotas in the South Dakota country.[120]

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[120]Lewis and Clark found young Pierre Durion trading with the Yanktons August 27, 1804. They passed the Pawnee House, or Trudeau's post (near Fort Randall), September 8th, Loisel's post on Cedar Island, thirty miles below Pierre, on September 22d, and on October 1st found John Valle's "house among the willows" at the mouth of the Cheyenne, "a trader who is now here pursuing his commerce with the Sioux."

CHAPTER IV

The Great War Between the Dakotas and Chippewas—Battle at Crow Wing—Battle at Shakopee—Big Marten's War—Old Chief Killed—The Yanktonais Take a Hand—Yellow Hair's Vengeance on the Wahpetons—War on the Chippewa River—Wapasha's Struggle for the Wisconsin Lands—Big Chippewa's Heroism—Little Crow Holds the St. Croix.

Though defeated and driven from their grand villages at Mille Lacs and Knife Lake, which had promptly been occupied by their enemies, the Dakotas did not propose to give up their old haunts without one more grand struggle for their possession. Consequently in 1768, having somewhat recuperated from the defeat which had dispossessed them, with the united force of their nation they set out to drive back the conquering invaders. How large their force really was it is now impossible to estimate. Warren, the historian of the Chippewas, thinks there were not more than 500 warriors, but the Dakota tradition is that there were many more. They were perfectly familiar with the entire country, and it was their plan to pass around the Chippewa and reach the headwaters of the Mississippi, and coming down that stream destroy the Chippewa villages in detail. They succeeded in reaching the upper river by making a grand circuit by way of Gull, Leach, Cass and Winnepegosish lakes, and in the first instance had good success. They captured thirty young women who were out on a huckleberry party, and picked off a number of isolated families. They found the warriors of the Chippewas in a drunken carouse, but the women, realizing the situation, brought their lords to their senses by ducking them in the lake until they were aroused from their drunken stupor, and they made a really gallant defense and drove the Dakotas off, though not without the loss of some men. The Dakotas with their captives then set off down the river, apparently satisfied with what they had accomplished,

though just how they hoped to profit by the enterprise unless they crushed and drove away the enemy does not appear. Their satisfaction, however, was of short duration. A party of Chippewa hunters had discovered the passage of the Dakotas into the Chippewa country and rightly divining that it was their intention to return by the Misssissippi, they arranged an ambush upon that stream. Just below the mouth of Crow Wing River there is a sharp bend where the whole force of the channel is thrown against the east shore, which rises almost perpendicularly to a height of fifty feet, and canoes passing down the river are drawn by the current immediately under this bank. With an eye to these advantages the Chippewas selected the point for the ambuscade. They dug several holes along this bank large enough to accommodate eight or ten men each, from which they were invisible to passing enemies, while they completely commanded the channel.

Warren thus relates what followed: "One morning after their preparations were complete, one of their scouts who had been sent about a mile up the Mississippi and who was watching on the bank for the first appearance of the Dakotas, descended carelessly to the water's edge to drink. While lapping the water with his hand to his lips, looking up the river he perceived a canoe suddenly turn a point of land above him. Instinctively he threw himself flat upon the ground and gradually crawled back unperceived. When out of sight he looked back and saw the whole bosom of the river covered with war canoes of those of whose coming he had been sent to watch. Seeing that he had not been noticed he flew back to his comrades, who now fully prepared for the conflict by putting on their war paints and ornaments of battle.

"Opposite the main mouth of the Crow Wing and in plain view of their ambuscade, they saw their enemies disembark and proceed to cook their morning meal. They saw the large group of female prisoners as they were roughly pushed ashore and made to build the fires and hang the kettles. Amongst them doubtless were their wives, daughters and sisters. They saw the young warriors of the enemy form in a ring and dance, yelling and rejoicing over the scalps they had taken. * * *

With difficulty the leader restrained his younger and more foolhardy warriors from rushing out and attacking their enemies while engaged in their orgies.

"The Dakotas having finished their morning meal and scalp dancing, once more poured into their canoes. They floated down the current in a compact mass, holding on to each others' canoes while filling and lighting their pipes and passing them from one to another, to be alternately smoked. Above them, dangling from the ends of poles, were the scalps they had taken. In the foremost canoes were the war leaders, and planted before them were the war ensigns of feathers. After smoking they united in the cry which they utter after killing an enemy. The drums began beating, accompanied by yells and songs of triumph. Still moving in a compact flotilla, the current at length brought them immediately under the deadly ambuscade. * * * At the sound of their leader's war whistle they (Chippewas) suddenly let fly a flight of bullets and barbed arrows into the serried ranks of the enemies, picking out for death the most prominent and full plumed figures amongst them. * * * The confusion amongst the Dakotas at this sudden and unexpected attack was immense. The captives overturned the canoes they were in, and the rest running against one another and those in the water struggling to re-embark, and the sudden jumps of those who were wounded, caused many of them to overturn, leaving their owners struggling in the deep current. Many were thus drowned, and as long as they remained in range of their enemies' weapons the Dakotas suffered severely. Some dove and swam ashore on the opposite side, then running down the bank joined those of their fellows who still floated about a mile below the place of attack, where they all landed and collected their upturned canoes and such of their articles as floated past. Many of their captives made their escape by swimming to their friends. Some were dispatched at the first onset, and the few that still remained in their hands the Dakotas tied to trees to await the result of the coming struggle, for smarting under the loss of their bravest men, and having noticed the comparatively small number of the Chippewas, they determined to go back and fight the battle anew and revenge the death of their relatives. They bravely made the attack, but the Chippewas were so strongly and securely posted that they sustained the

attack until night without losing any of their men, while the Dakotas suffered severely, being obliged to fight from open ground without shelter. The fight lasted until night, when the Dakotas retreated. They encamped where they had landed and within plain view and hearing of their enemies, who during the night distinctly heard their lamentations for their relatives who had been slain during the day's fight. In the morning the Dakotas, still burning for vengeance, returned to the attack. Acting with greater caution and wariness, they approached the Chippewa defenses by digging counter holes or making embankments of earth or logs before them to shield them from their missiles. The ammunition of the contending parties failing them, the Dakotas dug their hiding holes so close to their foes that large stones were easily thrown from hole to hole. In this manner the late noted Chippewa chief, Sweet, then a young man, received a stunning blow on his face which broke his jaw bone. Some of the bravest warriors fought hand to hand with clubs and knives, and the Chippewas lost one of their number. They fought so obstinately, however, that the Dakotas were compelled to retreat, and fearing retaliation the M'dewakantons removed finally from the Rum River country, never again to occupy that section."

The first intimation which the women and children of the Dakotas, who were assembled about the Falls of St. Anthony, received of this terrible catastrophe was brought to them by the river in the floating debris, among which were recognized articles of tribal property and occasionally the mutilated body of some of their relatives. Their story of the grief which this brought to them is among the most pathetic tales which history has preserved to us.

The next year the Chippewas resolved to invade the new country of the Dakotas and punish them for their conduct of the previous year, and under the leadership of old Noka, a well known chief of that period, they descended the Mississippi to the mouth of Crow River, thirty miles above the falls, where they hid their canoes and struck across country to the Minnesota at the village of old Shakopee, the father of the Shakopee of 1812. The attack resulted in a drawn battle, both parties taking scalps and claiming the victory. The Chippewas were, however, compelled to withdraw to their own country without

inflicting especial damage. This was in the year 1769, and is notable as the first year in which the Chippewas ever advanced so far into the Dakota country. Some years later, probably in 1772, it at least was prior to 1775, when through English influence a peace was made which lasted for a long time, Big Marten, another well known Chippewa, gathered up another war party of 120 men and started to make war on the Dakotas. At the same time Little Crow the elder had started upon an invasion of the Chippewa country with about 100 warriors. The two parties met on the bank of the Mississippi just north of the mouth of Elk River. The Chippewas were first to discover the presence of the enemy and were the strongest party, so that in every way they possessed an advantage. The Dakotas were on an open below a heavily wooded bottom, from which the Chippewas attacked them. They returned the fire, both parties being well armed with muskets. The warriors of both parties jumped continually from side to side to prevent their enemies from taking sure aim; and as they stood confronting one another for a few moments on the open prairie, exchanging quick successive volleys, their bodies in continual motion, the plumes on their heads waving to and fro, and uttering their fierce, quick, sharp battle cries, they must have presented a singular and wild appearance. For a short time only were the Dakotas able to hold their own, when they were compelled to drop their blankets and fly down the river, turning occasionally to fire back at their pursuers. In this way a running fight was kept up for three miles, when the Dakotas to their great joy met a large party of Shakopee's warriors who had come across from the Minnesota to join in the foray against the Chippewas. They promptly turned upon the enemy, and it was now the Chippewas' turn to run. Hard pressed the Chippewas started up Elm River, and when exhausted from the enforced race sheltered themselves by a grove of oaks, where they made a stand. The fight at the grove was a desperate one. The Dakotas dug rifle pits and in this way approached very close to the Chippewas, but with all their efforts through several hours they were unable to dislodge them. It was the early spring, just as the grass was starting, and the prairie in the vicinity was covered with a heavy coat of last year's grass, to which the Dakotas set fire. A high wind was blowing and the Chippewas were soon seeking safety

in flight. The best runners among them could only keep away from the flames, while the old and the weak and wounded were soon overcome and perished. Such Chippewas as escaped reached the Mississippi and plunged into its flood and took refuge upon an island. The Dakotas followed them to the water's edge, but did not care to attack them upon the island retreat, and both parties returned to their respective countries.

The next year, probably 1773, Big Marten started out again to fight the Dakotas and get even for the disaster of the previous campaign. That he could muster but sixty warriors at this time is suggestive of the havoc of the loss of the previous year. Reaching the battlefield at Elk River he found it occupied by Little Crow, Redwing, Shakopee, Wapasha and at least 400 warriors. The Chippewas again had the advantage of first discovery and entrenched themselves before the enemy could attack. The Dakotas, too, were enabled to fight from cover, and all day they watched each other and picked off any warrior who had the temerity to show his head. Big Marten was killed by a Dakota bullet, and at night his warriors escaped under the cover of the darkness. This was the last engagement between the tribes prior to the English made peace incident to the Revolutionary war.

From all the accounts the fighting at this period, when the Dakotas were struggling for their homes at the lakes and the Chippewas were establishing themselves in the conquered territory, was the fiercest and most sanguinary in the history of these tribes. It is not recorded that another time did they seek battles in the open and manfully stand up and fight to the death as they did upon the occasions just narrated.

There does not appear to have been any more fighting between the tribes until 1783, when the Revolutionary war being over, the Indians returned to their homes and their hereditary occupations. A French trader had set up a post at the junction of the Partridge River with Crow River for the Chippewa trade and had gathered about him about forty Chippewa hunters, when in February they were attacked by about 200 Dakotas from the prairie, probably Yanktonais, armed only with bows and arrows. All of the Chippewas had guns and the post was stockaded. The Dakotas soon exhausted their arrows without reaching any of the Chippewas, while the latter with their

muskets had reached and killed several of their assailants. The Dakotas therefore carried off their dead, which they dropped through holes cut in the ice, and retired from the country.

At this period and for many years thereafter the favorite hunting grounds of the Sissetons and Wahpetons were about Long Prairie and Alexandria, and in the progress of time the Chippewas began to resort to the same locality, and these meetings were usually attended by more or less bloodshed, though it happened more than once when the enemies were about of equal strength that they made a peace and hunted quietly together the game, which in the timber surrounding this prairie abounded in greater abundance than elsewhere. These peace treaties, however, were frequently but a cover for treachery upon the part of one or both signatories. Under the terms of one of these armistices in the year 1785 Yellow Hair, the father of old Flatmouth, whose wife was a Dakota, fell in with and became a very great friend of a Wahpeton chief, and they spent the winter together in great comfort. The next spring after the Wahpetons had left the camp a party of Dakotas fell upon Yellow Hair's camp and killed some of his children and scalped his eldest son, a lad of twelve years, and sent him to his people alive. Yellow Hair at once took his family and the corpses of his children to his village at Leech Lake, and then with five warriors set out on the trail of the Wahpetons. On the headwaters of Crow River, 200 miles from his home, he found a Dakota camp of but two lodges, and he promptly opened up hostilities at the peep of day, the first announcement of his presence being his warwhoop and the discharge of his guns. It proved to be the camp of his Wahpeton friend of the winter's hunt, who was entirely innocent of his wrongs, the children probably having been killed by the Cut Heads from the prairie, but he did not hestitate upon that account, but ruthlessly shot down the friend and his family. The Wahpeton begged for mercy, and Yellow Hair, lighting his pipe, said that he would like to adopt a child from the Dakotas in place of the child he had lost. The Wahpeton took his little daughter and decking her out in all her finery sent her out to Yellow Hair, who seized her in sight of her parents and scalped her alive and sent her shrieking back to them. At this act of horrible brutality

the wounded Dakota renewed the fight and succeeded in killing one of Yellow Hair's men, but not a single inmate of the two Wahpeton lodges was left alive.

From the Revolution until about 1810 the warfare between the Chippewas of northern Wisconsin and Wapasha's and Redwing's bands was almost continuous. The battle grounds were upon the Chippewa and Menomonee rivers in western Wisconsin. In 1795 a war chief named Big Chippewa from Lake Flambeau came down to revenge the loss of some relatives upon Redwing's people. His party consisted of twenty-three picked warriors. From the mouth of the Chippewa they could see a war party dancing and preparing to leave Redwing's village on the opposite side of the river, and rightly surmising that they intended crossing to the east shore and probably to go up the Chippewa, they laid an ambush on the banks of the Chippewa and awaited events. At daybreak the next morning they saw 200 Dakotas enter their canoes and paddle across and enter the mouth of the Chippewa. It was the sheerest folly for twenty-three men, even with the advantage of an ambush, to attack such an army, but the stubborn chief would not listen to any other course, but fired upon the flotilla and picked off several of the head men. They then started upon a rapid retreat, hoping that the confusion of the Dakotas would give them such a start that they could escape, but Big Chippewa was so named because he was exceedingly corpulent and unable to run fast or far, and he soon became exhausted. His warriors gathered around him, assuring him they would fight to the last man, but he would not have it, but sent them along, telling them that he was good for nothing else than to hold the enemy back to let them escape. The Dakotas, in hot pursuit, soon came upon him seated in a clump of tall grass and quietly smoking. They stopped in astonishment and began leaping from side to side to distract his aim, but he paid no attention to them. The whole Dakota force arrived, but hesitated to go closer, believing he was trying to decoy them into an ambush. They gradually and cautiously surrounded him, and when after the loss of much time they became convinced that he was entirely alone fired upon him. At the first shot he fell forward as if dead. The Dakotas rushed forward to scalp him, but he sprang to his feet and shot the leader dead and killed another with the stock of his

gun and wounded several others with his knife before they dispatched him, a Dakota catching him by the scalp lock and completely severing his head from his body. The other Chippewas effected their escape.

In 1798 another battle occurred at Prairie Rice Lake, forty miles north of Chippewa Falls, in which but a few lives were lost, but among those were the wife and child of one of the Dakota chiefs. In the entire series of fights the casualties were but trivial.

At this period, too, near the end of the eighteenth century, there were a number of battles between Little Crow's band and the Chippewas of the St. Croix, though like the others but few were killed upon either side and neither party seems to have secured any advantage. In fact after the Chippewas had become thoroughly established upon the Santee Lakes and the Dakotas had accepted the conquest as final, there does not appear to have been any other motive in their wars than to gratify revenge. No thought of territorial conquest seems to have been in their minds. A Chippewa was killed and his friends determined to take it out of the Dakotas, and having taken a single Dakota life in repayment that settled the matter until the Dakotas made another raid. Naturally the Dakotas, who had been driven away from their homes, were the most vindictive, and never let the opportunity to strike a Chippewa escape when the conditions were in any manner favorable. For all of the stories of the wars subsequent to the conquest of the Dakotas above related we are indebted to Warren's History of the Chippewas, modified somewhat by the stories of other writers throwing additional light upon the same events, and to a few corroborative details supplied by John B. Renville and Solomon Twostars.

CHAPTER V

Lewis and Clark's Expedition—Pierre Durion Probably First Settler—Meet Yanktons at James River—Shake Hand's Speech—Strike the Ree Born—Arrive at Pierre—Black Buffalo Obstreperous—Great Council and Dance—Strange Customs—Police Regulations—Detained by Force—John Valle's Post.

When Lewis and Clark[121] left St. Louis for their celebrated expedition over the Missouri to the Pacific Ocean in the spring of 1804, they engaged as interpreter to the Dakota Indians Pierre Durion, a French trader who had had long experience among the Indians and whose home was at Yankton.[122] Durion was in all probability the first white man to make his home in South Dakota, antedating Garreau of the Arickaras, to whom the honor is generally attributed, by several years. Durion's wife was a Yankton woman, and his half-breed son was a man and engaged in trade when Lewis and Clark arrived at the James River in August, 1804. This predicates the fact that Durion must have been among them and taken a wife there at least as early as 1780. This Dakota born, half Indian son of the guide to Lewis and Clark became the guide to the Astoria party six years later.[124]

It was the 27th of that summer month when the explorers first came in contact with the Dakotas at the mouth of James River, and sent an invitation to the tribe to visit them at Green Island, across the river from the present Yankton, where on the 28th and 29th a grand council was held, and the Yanktons

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[121]See notes 15, 16, 17, pages 99 and 100 of First S. D. Hist. Colls., for biographies and succinct account of the great expedition.

[122]Dr. Eliot N. Coues' notes to Lewis and Clark. The Conquest. Lewis and Clark's journal for August 27, 1804. The story here given of Lewis and Clark's relations to the Dakotas is taken from the Hosmer reprint of the official journal.

[124]Washington Irving's Astoria.

acknowledged the sovereignty of the United States, and the captains in turn recognized the chiefs of the tribe and fitted them out with gaudy officers' uniforms, with cocked hats and red feathers. They learned that the Yanktons originally resided on the Mississippi and were a part of the people of the Spirit Lake. Taken at that early day, this is important testimony as to the former history of the Yanktons. In relation to the manner of living of the Yanktons at that date they say: "The camps of the Sioux are conical in form, covered with buffalo robes painted with various figures and colors, with an aperture in the top for the smoke to pass through. The lodges contain from ten to fifteen persons, and the interior arrangement is compact and handsome, each lodge having a place to cook detached from it." After the captains had informed them of the change of sovereignty following the Louisiana purchase and had given them the presents, the Yanktons retired and engaged in a protracted council, deliberating upon the reply they were to make to the strangers. The next morning they returned and seating themselves in a row indicated a place for the captains to be seated, and after smoking a pipe which was passed from mouth to mouth until each had taken a whiff, when the head chief, whose name they set down as Weucha (Shake Hand), arose and said: "I see before me my great father's two sons. You see me and the rest of our chiefs and warriors. We are very poor; we have neither powder or ball nor knives, and our women and children have no clothes. I wish that as my brothers have given me a flag and a medal, they would give something to these poor people, or let them stop and trade with the first boat that comes up the river. I will bring chiefs of the Pawnees and Mahas together and make peace between them; but it is better that I should do this than my great father's sons, for they will listen to me more readily. I will take some chiefs to your country in the spring, but before that time I cannot leave home. I went formerly to the English, and they give me a medal and some clothes. When I went to the Spanish they gave me a medal, but nothing to keep it from my skin; but now you give me a medal and clothes. But still we are poor and I wish you would give us something for our squaws."

Mahtoree, the White Crane, said: "I have listened to what our father's words were yesterday, and I am glad today to see

how you have dressed our old chief. I am a young man and do not care to take much. My fathers have made me a chief. I had much sense before, but now I think I have more than ever What the old chief has declared I will confirm and do whatever you please; but I wish you would take pity on us, for we are very poor."

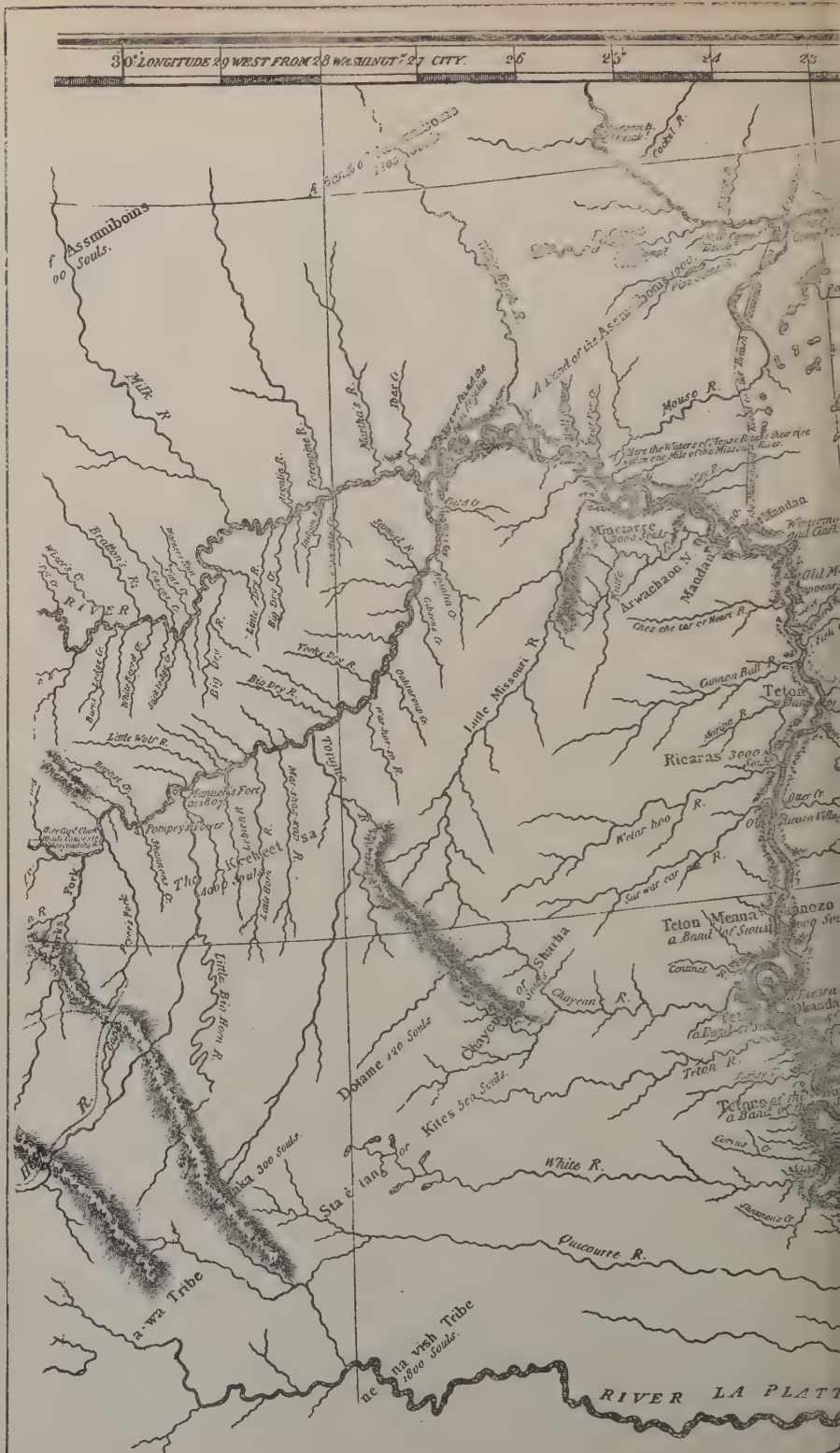
Struck by the Pawnee made a similar talk, and Half Man varied the character of the begging by modestly requesting a supply of the "great father's milk," meaning whisky.

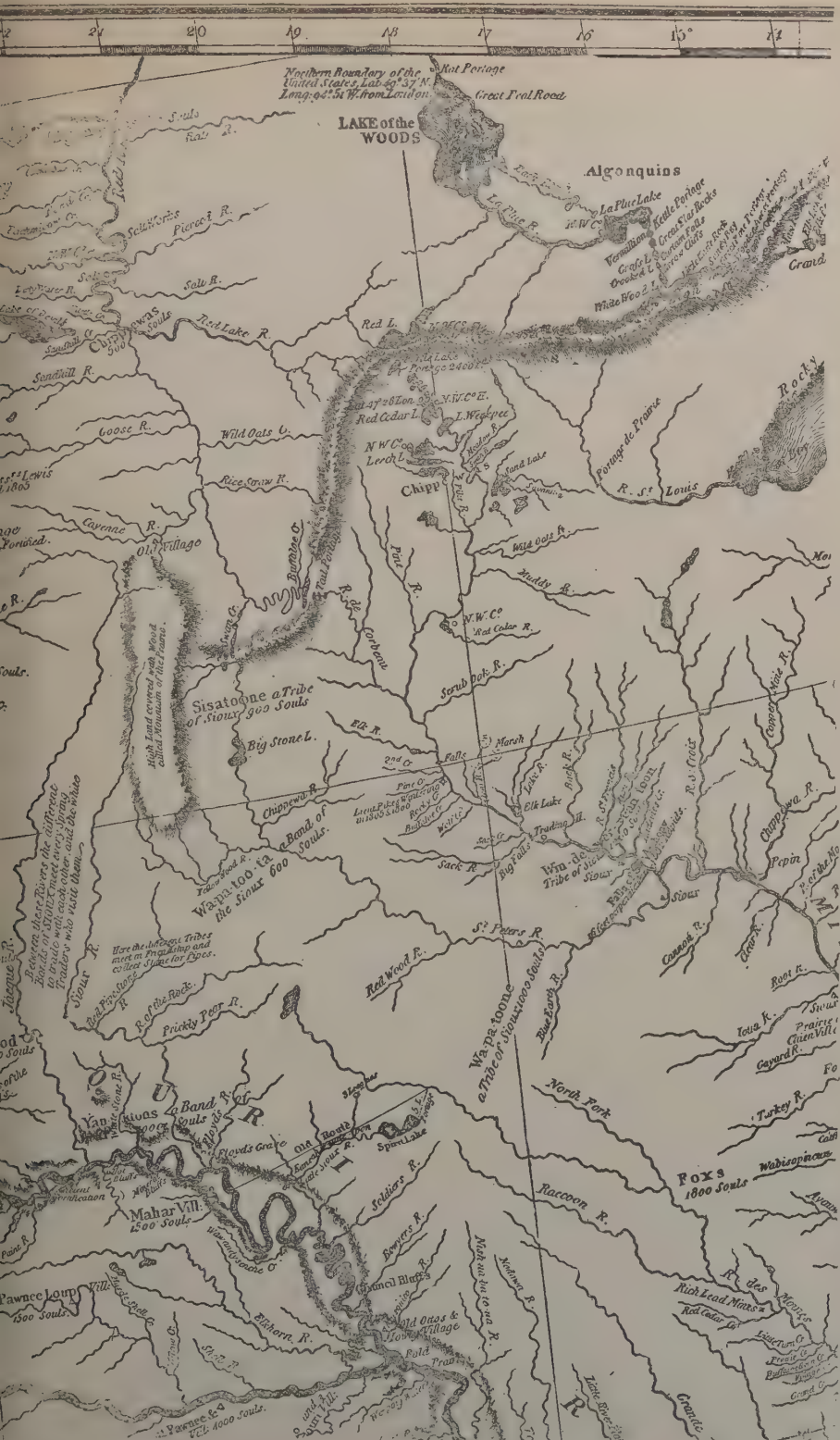
During the night a child was born to a Yankton woman, and Captain Lewis asked that it might be brought to him, saying he proposed to make an American of it, and wrapped it in the Stars and Stripes. That child was Strike the Ree, and all of his life he boasted of his Americanism, and probably to that fact more than to any other was due his position of loyalty to the whites in the perilous times of 1862. It was due to his influence that the Yanktons refused to join in the outbreak, and the preservation of the settlement at Yankton is doubtless due to his prudent action.

Old Durion was left with the Yanktons for the purpose of conducting a delegation of them down to Washington the next spring, a mission which he accomplished during the next two years. They were the first Dakotas to visit the president.

While with the Yanktons Lewis and Clark learned of a society of young men who had taken a great oath never to turn back before any danger or to give way to their enemies. Originally there were twenty-two members of the band, but adherence to their rash oath had reduced the number to four. As an illustration of their fanaticism it is mentioned that in crossing the Missouri in the winter a large hole in the ice lay directly in the course, which might have been easily avoided by turning a short distance to either hand, but the leader rushed directly into it and was drowned.

Leaving the Yanktons on September 1st the party moved on further into the Dakota country, passing the Pawnee House built by Trudeau in 1796 on September 8th, and on the 22d Loisel's post on Cedar Island, which was the oldest post in the Dakota country, but they did not come in contact with any Indians until the 23d, when a short distance below the mouth of the Teton River (Fort Pierre) three Dakota boys swam out


30° LONGITUDE 29 WEST FROM WASHINGTON CITY.
Assiniboins
Milk R.
Mouse R.
Mandan
Minnetaree
Arwachaoo
Chee che tar or Heart R.
Little Missouri R.
Cannon Ball R.
Ricaras 3000 Souls
Teton Band
Teton Menna a Band of Sioux
Chayenne R.
Chayenne or Sharha Nation
Dotame 120 Souls
Kites 500 Souls
White R.
Sta e lang or Kites 500 Souls
Pascopre R.
Pawnee Republic
Pawnee Loup
Pawnee Kee-Hee-Kee



Showing Dakota Country 1804

to their boats and told them two bands of Dakotas were camped on the Teton, having respectively sixty and eighty lodges. They were sent back with an invitation to the chiefs to meet them in council the next morning. They met five other Indians that day, and camped that night at the mouth of the Teton.

The Dakotas who met them here were, according to the journal of the captains, Teton Okandandas, which undoubtedly was their misunderstanding of Oohenopa. It does not appear possible that they could so have misconstrued the word, but when in the same paragraph we find "Tatanka Sapa" written Untongasabaw, and the next name in the list, "Tatonka Wakan," written Tartongawaka, we can realize that it was not much of a feat for the captains to convert "Oohenopa" into Okandandas.[125] The fact is it is very difficult to catch the phonic spelling of any unfamiliar word, even among persons speaking our own tongue, and we can realize how much more difficult it is to catch an alien word upon first hearing it. Having left Durion, the interpreter, at Yankton, the captains were compelled to rely upon the assistance of a Frenchman who spoke neither English or Dakota with any facility. They went through a similar ceremony to that at Yankton, giving to Tatonka Sapa (Black Buffalo)[126] a medal, a flag, a laced uniform and a cocked hat and feather, and after showing them the working of the swivel and air gun and other curiosities, they gave to each a part of a glass of whisky, which they liked very much, but they found great difficulty in getting rid of them. Captain Clark finally succeeded in getting them ashore, but they were intent upon mischief. Three Indians seized the cable by which the boat was moored and one put his arms around the mast. Tortohonga, the second chief, told them that they had not received presents enough and that they could not go on. A quarrel followed and personal violence was threatened, but Captain Clark drew his sword and the men rushed to his assistance, when they withdrew opposition and held a council. The captains moved their effects over to the island, where they spent the night, and the next day the Indians were very humble and implored the white

[125]Note 18, page 101, 1 S. D.

[126]See acount of the participation of this man in the Rees' fight on Pryor and Chouteau, three years later.

men to go to their camp a mile or two up the river, where they might be feasted and entertained. The captains were received at the landing by ten young men each, who carried them to the camp upon highly decorated buffalo robes, where they were placed beside the chiefs in the council circle. The council lodge consisted of three-quarters of a circle, covered at the top with neatly dressed skins. Seventy men sat in the council. Before the chief was placed the Spanish and American flags. In the center of the circle the pipe of peace was elevated on two forked sticks and under it a quantity of swansdown was scattered. After a good deal of talking the old chief took the pipe and first pointing it to heaven, then to the earth and then to the points of the compass, he lighted it and presented it to the visitors. After this followed a feast of dog and buffalo meat. At dark the chamber was cleared for dancing and a fire kindled to light up the scene. "The orchestra consisted of about ten men, who played a sort of tamborine formed of skin stretched over a hoop, and made a jingling noise with a long stick to which the hoofs of deer and goats were hung; the third instrument was a skin bag with pebbles in it. These, with five or six young men for the vocal parts, made up the band. The women then came forward highly decorated, some with poles in their hands upon which were hung the scalps of their enemies; others with guns, spears or other trophies, taken in war by their husbands, brothers or connexions. Having ranged themselves in two columns, on either side of the fire, as soon as the music begun they danced toward each other till they met in the center, when the rattles were shaken and they shouted and returned to their places. They have no step, but shuffle along the ground; nor does the music appear to be anything more than a confusion of noises, distinguished only by hard or gentle blows upon the buffalo skin; the song is perfectly extemporaneous. In the pauses of the dance any man of the company comes forward and recites in a sort of low gutteral tone some story or incident, which is either martial or ludicrous, or, as was the case this evening, voluptuous and indecent. This is taken up by the orchestra and the dancers, who repeat it in a higher strain and dance to it. Sometimes they alternate, the orchestra first performing, and when it ceases the women raise their voices and make a music more agreeable, that is less intolerable than that

of the musicians. The dances of the men, which are always separate from those of the women, are conducted very nearly in the same way, except that the men jump up and down instead of shuffling, and in the war dances the recitations are all of a military cast. The harmony of the entertainment had nearly been disturbed by one of the musicians, who thinking he had not received a due share of the tobacco we had distributed during the evening, put himself into a passion, broke one of the drums, threw two of them into the fire and left the band. They were taken out of the fire, a buffalo robe held in one hand and beaten with the other by several of the company supplied the place of the lost drum or tamborine, and no notice was taken of the offensive conduct of the man. We staid until 12 o'clock at night, when we informed the chiefs that they must be fatigued with all these attempts to amuse us, and retired, accompanied by four chiefs, two of whom spent the night on board with us." The next morning these guests as a matter of course carried off the blankets upon which they had slept. This is to this day the Indian custom. The writer recalls being present at a great feast several years ago at the Cheyenne River agency, given by the Indians of that agency to visitors from many of the other reservations. The spread was a bountiful one and at its close the visitors gathered up all of the remnants, including many unbroken packages of provisions, and unconcernedly carried them away.

These Dakotas were dressed entirely in skins, and the captains minutely describe the outfits of both the men and women. The only domestic utensils mentioned were water-bags of the paunches of deer and other animals and wooden bowls, but whether the latter were of domestic or white make is not stated. They also had platters and horn spoons. The pipe, then as now, was made of pipestone with a stem of ash wood about three feet long. A police regulation of the tribe is carefully described:

"While on shore today we witnessed a quarrel between two squaws, which appeared to be growing every moment more boisterous, when a man came forward, at whose approach every one seemed terrified and ran. He took the squaws and without any ceremony whipped them severely. On inquiring into the nature of such summary justice, we learnt that this man was an officer well known to this and many other tribes. His duty

is to keep the peace, and the whole interior police of the village is confided to two or three of these officers, who are named by the chief, and remain some days, at least until the chief appoints a successor. They seem to be a sort of constable or sentinel, since they are always on the watch, to keep tranquility during the day and guarding the camp at night. The short duration of their office is compensated by its authority; his power is supreme and in the suppression of any riot or disturbance no resistance to him is suffered; his person is sacred and if in the execution of his duty he strikes even a chief of the second class he cannot be punished for this salutary insolence. In general they accompany the person of the chief and when ordered to do any duty, however dangerous, it is a point of honor rather to die than to refuse obedience. Thus when they attempted to stop us yesterday, the chief ordered one of these men to take possession of the boat; he at once put his arms around the mast, and, as we understood, no force except the command of the chief would have induced him to release his hold. Like the other men, their bodies are blackened, but their distinguishing mark is a collection of two or three raven skins fixed to the girdle behind the back in such a way that the tails stick out horizontally from the body. On the head, too, is a raven skin, split into two parts and tied so as to let the beak project from the forehead."

On the second night the captains attended another dance given in their honor, and upon returning to the boats at midnight they mismanaged to let two of the vessels come together in such a way as to break the mooring line of one of them and it floated into the stream. This created some commotion and the chiefs set up a hullaboloo which brought all of the warriors from the camp to the shore, ostensibly to repel an attack from the Mahas, but really because they thought the party intended to steal a march on them and get away in the night. It was manifestly the intention of the Indians to detain the explorers there.

The tribe had just returned from a war with the Mahas and had a party of about fifty women and children captives of the enemy tribe, which upon request of the captains Black Buffalo promised to restore to their own people.

When on the morning of September 28th they were finally ready to take their leave Black Buffalo remained on the boat and a party of young men sat on the cable and refused to let them off. The captains trained the swivel upon them, when Black Buffalo interposed and said that they only wanted some more tobacco. Rather than to incur trouble they gave them a little tobacco, and by a personal appeal to the old chief to use his power as a chief to compel his men to let them go in peace they got away, but for two days the Tetons followed along the banks begging for gifts. Black Buffalo enjoyed his voyage very much until the third day, when the boat in which he was riding struck a sawyer and came near to capsizing. He was much alarmed, and when they landed to right the boat he seized his gun and said that he had now conducted them safely out of the country of the Tetons and would return to his people. On October 2d they passed the trading hut of John Valle at the mouth of the Cheyenne. He was expecting a large number of Dakotas from the north to come and trade with him. That afternoon they encountered a party of Yanktonais, but did not council with them, and for a day or two were concerned for their safety by the proximity of prowling Indians and dared not send their hunters out, but they were not molested. Upon the map made by Captain Clark to illustrate the first official publication of their journal in 1814 a tribe of the Sioux (Dakotas) called the Saones is located about where Fort Yates now stands, but they did not encounter any Dakotas there, or north of the Cheyenne, either in going out or returning.

On the return trip in 1806 they did not find any Indians in the Fort Pierre region, but came upon some of Black Buffalo's people down near Fort Randall. This time they spell his name Tahtackasabah. Near Bon Homme Island they came upon eighty lodges of Yanktons, who treated them kindly, and they passed out of the Dakota country.

CHAPTER VI

Pike's Visit—Calls on Redwing—Treaty with Little Crow—Prohibition—Winter with the Chippewas—Peace with Chippewas—Joe Rollette and Murdoch Cameron Violate Prohibition Law—Council at Prairie des Chien—Little Crow Made Head Chief—Game of LaCrosse—English Flags and Medals Delivered Up—Santees Favor English Trade—Americans and French Popular on Missouri—Black Buffalo Helps Rees Against Americans—The Astoria Expedition.

No sooner was the Louisiana purchase ratified than Jefferson undertook to procure its thorough exploration with a view to gaining knowledge of its geography, climate, resources and population. We have seen that even before the purchase Lewis and Clark were dispatched up the Missouri. In the summer of 1805 the renowned Zebulon M. Pike[127] was commissioned to explore the Mississippi to its headwaters. Pike arrived at Prairie du Chien on September 4th, but there is no record that he met any of the Dakotas until he arrived at Lake Pepin, where he met Redwing, with a small band of Dakotas. He told him of the purchase, gave him some presents, and passed on to the mouth of the Minnesota, where he arrived on the 21st of September, and camped on the island, where he was visited next day by Little Crow,[128] the second of that name, whose home was at Kaposia (St. Paul), and on the 23d, Monday, made the first treaty ever entered into between the United States government and the Dakota Indians, by which the M'dewakantonwan band relinquished to the government a tract nine miles square at the mouth of the St. Croix for military purposes, and another

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[127]General Zebulon Montgomery Pike.

[128]Little Crow was the chief of the M'dewakantons and lived on the present site of St. Paul, Minnesota. He was a vigorous leader in the wars between the Dakotas and the Chippewas. His sympathies were thoroughly English and he enlisted in the service of the king, through the influence of Robert Dickson, in the war of 1812. See chapter 10, post.

tract extending from one league south of the mouth of the Minnesota up the river to one league above the Falls of St. Anthony, and nine miles wide on both sides of the river, this, too, to be occupied for military purposes, the erection of a fort and trading post. The Indians reserved the right to occupy and hunt over the lands ceded, and for the concession they were paid $2,000.[129] He made a very long speech to the Dakotas and undertook to enforce a complete prohibition of all liquor traffic among them. Little Crow signed the deed and retired to his camp. The next morning bright and early he came rushing back, carrying the United States flag, and expecting to find Pike's party massacred. In some way the flag had been lost from the boat during the night, and Little Crow had found it floating down the river. Pike proceeded up the river and built a temporary post at the mouth of Pine Creek, but himself with a few companions spent the entire winter in exploring the headwaters of the Mississippi, going as far as the divide between the Mississippi and the waters of the lakes. While still at his post on the Mississippi he was visited by Robert Dickson, the trader to the Sioux who a few years later had charge of the British interests in the west during the war of 1812. He met the Chippewas and formed a very poor opinion of them as compared to the Dakotas. He was unable to persuade any of the Chippewas to accompany him to Washington.

In the spring he returned to the falls and held a council with the Sissetons who had come in to trade, and invited them to send a representative to Washington. He urged them to keep the peace with the Chippewas, with whom the old feud was raging at the time hotter than ever. They made good promises, but kept on fighting. At the St. Croix he met Little Crow, who admitted that it was beyond his power to keep the young men from going to war against their hereditary enemies. He learned here that Joseph Rolette and Murdoch Cameron were disregarding his orders and were selling whisky, and he resolved to prosecute Cameron, against whom he learned from the Yanktons had carried liquor to them and defiantly sold it,

[129] In cash or its equivalent in goods. The price was not agreed upon by Pike, but was inserted in the treaty by the senate at the date of ratification. Indian laws, page 316.

after informing them of the prohibition. He was compelled to wait some days with Little Crow until the ice went out of Lake Pepin. He again visited Redwing, who made a bombastic speech and offered to gather up a thousand Dakotas for the service of the United States. At Winona Wapasha,[183] who lived there, was away from home on a hunt and he did not get to see him. As he passed down the river he had invited all of the bands to send delegations to a general council to be held at Prairie du Chien, and soon after he arrived there a large number representing all of the eastern Dakotas and other tribes of the Mississippi met him there. He gave them much good advice. Among others whom he met there was Red Thunder, chief of the "Yanctongs." This man was a Cut Head Yanktonais. The concensus of opinion seemed to be among the Dakotas that Little Crow was the most capable man among them, and Pike in consequence recognized him as the head chief of the Dakotas. He describes a game of lacrosse which was played while he waited at Prairie du Chien, between the Winnebagoes and Foxes on one side against the Dakotas. This occurred on Sunday, April 30th.

"This afternoon they had a great game of the cross on the prairie, between the Sioux on the one side and the Puants and the Reynards on the other. The ball is made of some hard substance and covered with leather; the cross sticks are round, with net work, and handles three feet long. The parties being ready and bets agreed upon, to the amount of some thousands of dollars, the goals were set up on the prairie at the distance of half a mile. The ball is thrown up in the middle and each party strives to drive it to the opposite goal, and when either party wins the first rubber, which is driving it quick around the post, the ball is again taken to the center, the ground changed and the contest renewed, and this is continued until one party wins four times, which decides the bet. It is an interesting sight to see two or three hundred naked savages contending on the plain which shall bear off the palm of victory. He who drives the ball around the goal is much shouted at by his companions. It sometimes happens that one catches the ball in his racket,

[183] Wapasha, chief of the Wakpekutes, whose home was at Winona. See chapter 11.

and depending on his speed endeavors to carry it to the goal, and when he finds himself too closely pursued he hurls it with great force and dexterity to an amazing distance, where there are always flankers of both parties ready to receive it. It seldom touches the ground, but is sometimes kept in the air for hours before either party can gain the victory. In the game I witnessed the Sioux were victorious, more, I believe, from their skill in throwing the ball than by their swiftness, for I thought the Puants and Reynards the swiftest runners."[183-2]

In the final council the tribes acknowledged the sovereignty of the United States and delivered up their English medals and flags, and on April 22d Pike set out down the river.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the purchase had been proclaimed to all of the tribes of the Dakotas, both on the Mississippi and the Missouri, and all of the tribes had given a nominal acknowledgement of the sovereignty of the United States, and one band at least had in writing acknowledged the new government by relinquishing a portion of land to it.

Manifestly the relations between the Santees and Tetons had been less intimate than formerly for a long time, and now their trade relations were established along entirely different lines, the Santees still trading with the old French frontiersmen, most of whom had become English in their sentiments, as well as with a large number of Scotchmen, who had more recently come into the western trade. These were entirely British in their allegiance and sought in every way to keep the Dakotas away from the American influence. On the other hand the Tetons were supplied with goods on the Missouri from St. Louis,

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[183-2]See Belden, page 39. It was by means of this game, which they called baggatiway, that Pontiac's Indians under Menehwehna threw Major Etherington and his garrison off their guard in 1763 and obtained access to the fort at Michilimacinac, after which they massacred the soldiers. Outside the stockade about 400 Indians engaged in the game. Occasionally they would as if by accident bat the ball over the stockade into the enclosure surrounding the fort. Then both contesting parties would rush through the gates to recover the ball. After they had done this several times, until the suspicions of the soldiers were thoroughly removed, they fell upon the unsuspecting Englishmen and murdered seventy out of the ninety men and carried the remainder into slavery. See Alexander Henry's Travels in Canada. Drake, Book V, 52. Warren's History of Chippewas, 5 Minn. 204. Flandrau's Minnesota, 345.

and all of the traders were American in sentiment and impressed that view to a greater or less extent upon their swarthy customers. For convenience in the progress of this history, unless a more specific definition is given, the Dakotas of the Mississippi and Minnesota will be designated as Santees and those of the Missouri as Tetons, although strictly speaking the Yankton tribes are not Tetons. The diverse lines of trade were soon to possess a very deep political and economic significance to the country, as well as to the Indians.

The trade of the Mississippi at once fell into the hands of Robert Dickson and Murdoch Cameron, who utterly disregarded the rules established by Pike for the government of trade and conducted affairs to their own pleasure, particularly in the matter of dispensing liquor, and their liberality in this behalf was a strong point in their favor and an influence against the Americans. The Dakota Indian loved his toddy and freely gave his affections to the men who catered to his appetite, so it came about that a strong pro-English sentiment grew up among the Santees. Outside of these matters of trade very little of record appears relating to the Santees from the departure of Pike until the year prior to the opening of the second war with England.

On the Missouri, however, there was continual activity. The next spring after the return of Lewis and Clark Manuel Lisa[134] and Pierre Menard[135] of St. Louis went up river, supplying the post at Cedar Island with goods, but leaving no other record of dealings in the Sioux country. Shortly afterward Sergeant Pryor[136] and Pierre Chouteau, Sr.,[137] came up, returning to the Yanktons the party which Pierre Durion had conducted down to see President Jefferson, and attempting to restore Big White,[138] the Mandan chief whom Lewis and Clark had taken

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[134]Note 20, page 102, 1 S. D. Also note 12, page 321, Idem.

[135]Pierre Menard, a brother-in-law of the elder Chouteau. He spent the winter of 1807-8 at the three forks of the Missouri, where he lived in a state of siege from the hostility of the natives.

[136]Sergeant Nathaniel Pryor, who accompanied Lewis and Clark on the great expedition.

[137]Pierre Chouteau, Sr., whose name was John Pierre, was a brother of Auguste Chouteau, the founder of the St. Louis family. John Pierre was the father of Pierre, Jr., the master of the fur trade.

[138]Big White, accompanied by his wife and baby, went to Washington with Lewis and Clark, upon their return from the Pacific, and was made

to Washington, to his people. They got through the Dakota country without incident, but when they reached Arickara[139] they were stopped by the Rees and a fight ensued, in which some of their men were killed, and they were compelled to turn back. In this engagement the Rees were assisted by a party of Dakotas from the Teton River under the leadership of Black Buffalo, the chief of the band which entertained and detained Lewis and Clark upon their upriver voyage. Black Buffalo and his men attempted to cut off the passage of Pryor and Chouteau at a point on the river where the channel carried them near the west bank, below Arickara, when they were retreating, and the chief was picked off by a riverman's rifle and fell seriously wounded, but recovered. The Dakotas then withdrew and the party returned to St. Louis without further difficulty. At this time the Dakotas did all they could to encourage traders to come among them, though they were not pleased to have goods carried by them to the upper tribes.[140]

In 1808 Manuel Lisa returned from his upriver adventure, but there is nothing of record that he had any intercourse with the Dakotas. At St. Louis he organized the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company, in which most of the traders of that city joined, and the next year this company under agreement from the government safely conducted Big White to his home.[141] During all of this time it appears that trade was kept up with the Sioux at the Loisel post on Cedar Island, which passed into the hands of the Missouri Fur Company, but both there and at Yankton the relations were evidently pleasant, for there is no note of any disturbance. The next year the Loisel post burned, together

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much of by Jefferson and his cabinet. He was very tall, and though a young man his hair was as white as that of an albino. He was not returned to his home, owing to the hostility of the Rees, until the summer of 1809.

[139]Arickara, a name arbitrarily bestowed by the writer upon the section six miles north of the mouth of the Grand River, where were located the villages of the Ree Indians after their migration from the neighborhood of Pierre after the Dakota invasion in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The locality is so much under discussion in the history of South Dakota that a distinctive name appears to be essential for the convenience of the writer and reader.

[140]See Astoria. Chittenden.

[141]Chittenden.

with $15,000 worth of furs which had been accumulated there through trade with the Dakotas. This was probably the entire winter's trade and is an indication of the volume of business done there.[142] It is probable that these furs were equivalent to fully one-half of the business done in South Dakota at that time.

In 1811 the Dakotas of South Dakota came into contact with two historic expeditions through their country. These were the Astoria and the Missouri Fur Company parties, the latter under Manuel Lisa. The Astorians anticipated great difficulty in passing through the Dakota country, but were really very little troubled and not at all delayed.[143] The fact probably is that the Dakotas who interrupted them had no more hostile intention than to beg for tobacco and other presents,[144] though the timid and cautious Mr. Hunt magnified their actions into open hostility. At this date, as had been the case for many years prior and for several subsequent seasons, the Tetons were at war with the Rees.[145]

On the morning of May 31st, as they were approaching the Big Bend, above Chamberlain, a party of Dakotas of the Yanktons and Tetons, among whom was Black Buffalo, appeared on the east side of the river, the expedition being camped on the west shore. They declared they would not allow arms carried to the Mandans and Rees, with whom they were at war, but upon explanation that the party was enroute to the Pacific, and after Mr. Hunt had made a demonstration of strength and fired the swivels to let them hear how loud they could bark, opposition was withdrawn and the party proceeded.

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[142]Idem 954.

[143]Washington Irving's Astoria. Bradbury.

[144]See suggestion of influence of Prophet craze, post.

[145]Astoria.

CHAPTER VII

War of 1812—Dickson's Activity—Tecumseh and the Prophet—Their Influence Penetrates to Missouri—Like Messiah Craze—Joseph Renville Elists Dakotas—Red Thunder and Waneton—Wapasha's Loyalty Questioned—Refuses to Go East, but Sends His Nephew—Itasapa Balks and Brings Disaster to British—Events at Prairie du Chien—Tamaha the One Eyed Sioux—Manuel Lisa's Patriotic Action—The Tetons Remain Loyal to America—Fur Trade Destroyed—England Makes Peace Without Regard to Dakotas' Interests.

As has been noted, as soon as Lieutenant Pike left the upper Mississippi, Dickson, Campbell and the other British traders set out to poison the minds of the Indians against the Americans.[146] At this time it was the American proposition to establish great factories, as they were called, where all sorts of goods would be supplied to the Indians by the government at cost.[147] These factories were to be located at convenient points in the Indian country, and their success of course meant ruin to the traders. This was the secret of the traders' opposition to the Americanization of the Indian country, and they were tireless in their efforts to unite all of the Indians in common cause with the English to keep the Americans out.[148] Robert Dickson was given a commission from the governor of Canada as western agent and superintendent of the Indian department and was clothed with extraordinary powers.[149] He was said to be the only officer in the British empire who was permitted to expend money at will without an accounting.[150] He heaped presents upon the Indians with unstinted hand, and having the field to

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[146]Niell, 276.

[147]Pike's journal, September 23, 1805. Niell, 276. Chittenden, 12.

[148]Niell, 276, et seq.

[149]13 Wis. 3.

[150]Letter of John Asken, 13 Wis. 82. Letter of John Rodenhurst, same, 132.

himself, for the Americans made no attempt to occupy it or to hold the good will of the Indians, he soon had them heartily favorable to the English cause. At this juncture an incident occurred which was taken advantage of by Dickson and other British agents, which made a profound impression upon the Indians and favorable to the English. Tecumseh and The Prophet, his brother, Shawnees of Indiana, whose chief village was at Tippecanoe, attempted to league all of the tribes of the northwest in oppostion to the whites.[151] Tecumseh was a great warrior and The Prophet was a noted medicine man, and it is assumed that they were instigated to the movement by the English, but that fact is not demonstrated. However, as stated, the English were temporarily to profit by it. The Prophet proclaimed that he had been told by the great spirits that it was the will of the gods that the Indians should live independently of the whites and return to the primitive uses of the race.[152] The flint and steel were to be disregarded and fire obtained as in the old days by the friction of two sticks. They were to discard firearms, but not until after the whites were disposed of. He claimed the power to resuscitate the dead and promised great blessings to those who believed and followed him.[153] He sent messengers painted as black as ebony to all of the tribes. By 1809 they had penetrated to the Wisconsin tribes. When Manuel Lisa returned to St. Louis from his trip to Arickara in the summer of 1811 he informed Governor Clark that "the wampum was carrying by British influence along the banks of the Missouri and that all of the nations of this great river were excited to join the universal confederacy then setting on foot, of which The Prophet was the instrument and British traders the soul."[154] It was one of those ghost dance crazes which swept the Indian country like a contagion. The Mississippi Dakotas were in full sympathy with it, and after General Har-

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[151]Soley's Wars of the United States. Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America. American State Papers: Indian Affairs, Vol. I, p. 776. Eggleston and Seele's Tecumseh, chapters 12-23. Dillon's History of Indiana, chapters 35-38. Drake, book V, 128.

[152]Niell, 278.

[153]Idem.

[154]Lisa's letter to Governor Clark, resigning sub-agency. Chittenden, 899.

rison, then governor of Indiana, had marched his militia against Tecumseh in the summer of 1811 and defeated him and destroyed his village at Tippecanoe on the 7th of November, they readily accepted the claim advanced by Dickson that the English had been sent by the great spirit to drive off and destroy the Americans, after which they would retire to their own country and leave the Indians in possession of the land.[155] In addition to the influence which Dickson had acquired through his liberality in dispensing British presents, he had established an especial tie with the Dakotas by marrying a Dakota woman, the sister of Red Thunder, a prominent chief of the Cut Head Yanktonais.[156] Dickson therefore had no difficulty in enlisting the Mississippi Dakotas in his cause, but the American influence from St. Louis permeated the Missouri River bands, and after a period of indecision they cast their lot in with the Americans, and kept the Mississippi brethren busy looking out for expected attacks from their own people in the west.[157] The Prophet craze, however, may have had something to do with the spirit of hostility which the Astorians claimed to have encountered among the Missouri Dakotas in 1811, for that was at the very juncture when the excitement was at its greatest heat.[158]

Immediately upon the declaration of war in 1812, Dickson sent Joseph Renville, a half-blood M'dewakanton Dakota, who was his official interpreter, to gather up Dakotas to assist the

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[155]In the summer of 1900 the writer interviewed a large number of leading Sissetons upon their knowledge of the relations of the Dakotas with the English during the war of 1812, and found them well informed. Among those who contributed tribal history were Rev. John B. Renville, son of Captain Joseph Renville, the interpreter; Victor, grandson of Joseph and son of Gabriel; Solomon Twostars, Enoch, and many others. John B. Renville was interviewed separately and was the best witness; the others were seen collectively and contributed a good deal of interesting and corroborative matter. All agreed that it was the clear understanding that the English were fighting to re-establish the rights of the Indians, and when that was done they were to be left to themselves, except that the English were to supply them with such goods as they required.

[156]Niell, 279.

[157]John B. Renville informed me that the Santees were in constant expectation of war with the Tetons and Yanktons.

[158]Lisa's letter of resignation.

English.[159] Renville brought down to Green Bay about 150 Dakotas, accompanied by Little Crow and Wapashaw. They were present on the 17th of July, at Macinac, when that post surrendered to the English, but of course, as there was no fighting, their part in it was nothing more than to add to the impressiveness of the numbers which overawed the Americans and induced them to capitulate. After a season of feasting at British expense they returned home for the winter to recruit additional forces for the campaigns of the next year. They were successful in raising a large number.[160] Chiefly they were M'dewakantons of the bands of Little Crow and Wapasha, but all of the other eastern bands were represented, including the Yanktonais.[161]

When Renville visited the Sissetons at Lake Traverse, upon his recruiting mission, he found visiting there Red Thunder, known to the Chippewas as Shappa, the beaver, the Yanktonais chief who visited Pike at Prairie des Chiens in 1806. He was the brother of Dickson's wife. His son Waneta, a lad of 17, was with him, and they at once decided to go to the British. Whether other Yanktonais accompanied them is not recorded, but twenty-two Sissetons did go. The remainder of the Dakota volunteers, numbering 200 in all, were made up from the bands of Little Crow, Redwing and Wapasha, but Wapasha himself was suspected of holding views in sympathy with the Americans. He held on to the flags and medals given him by Pike and absolutely refused to go to the Canadian frontier, but did send his nephew, Itasappa, to represent him, and the latter was the head chief of the expedition. They went by way of Macinac and early in May were present and took part in the siege of Fort Meigs, but their value to the British is very questionable.[162] After the arrival of the Kentucky recruits compelled the English to raise the siege of Fort Meigs, Dickson gathered up his Indians and started to attack Fort Stephenson, before Sandusky, intending to proceed down the Maumee (river of the Miamis) to

[159]John B. Renville's story. Niell, 278.

[160]13 Wis. 4. Ten thousand warriors were promised.

[161]John B. Renville's story. In confirmation see Long's journal (Keating), July 23, 1823, et seq.

[162]Testimony of Robert Dickson upon trial of Joseph Rolette for sedition. 16 Mich. 4.

its mouth and then skirt along the shore of the lake until in the vicinity of the fort, but when he arrived at the mouth of the river and landed with all of his other Indian allies, of all the western tribes Itasappa and his Dakotas refused to land, but pulled sturdily along toward Detroit. In hot haste Lieutenant Fraser and Colin Campbell were dispatched to call them back, but without avail. Itasappa's conduct was contagious and all of the other bands took the same course; only Little Crow of the Dakotas and sixteen warriors remained to help the English out.[163] To this desertion of Itasappa Colonel Dickson attributed the "disaster that befell our (British) fleet, the loss of Amherstburg and Detroit and the subsequent capture of General Proctor's army."[164] After this the Dakotas with all speed returned to the Mississippi. With Little Crow remained Red Thunder and his son Waneta,[165] and the latter won the highest renown for his valor in the fight before Fort Stephenson, and because of his fearless fighting in the open received the name he bore with honor to his grave, which means "he who charges his enemies."[166]

All of the allies returned to the west in the fall, and Little Crow and Redwing and Waneta continued to serve the English cause to the great satisfaction of the officers, but Wapasha was not at any time in good standing. One sub-band of his camp, known as the Fireleaf band, was openly "American," and Wapasha undoubtedly shared in its sentiments until after the shoot-

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[163]Testimony of Joseph Renville upon trial of Joseph Rolette for sedition, before court martial at Prairie des Chien, January, 1815. 16 Mich. 16.

[164]Major Long's diary for July 23, 1823.

[165]Drake, Book V, page 135.

[166]Dr. Niell relates a story of the fight before Fort Meigs; telling how the Indian allies having killed an American and were about to make a feast of the body. That Little Crow and Wapasha, who were at the time seated in conversation with Colonel Dickson and Joseph Renville, were invited to take part, but that they broke up the banquet, severely reprimanding the Indians for their barbarity, and gives the verbatim remarks of the two chiefs upon that occasion. He does not state his authority for the stories, but manifestly they are mistaken so far as Wapasha was concerned, for he was not present. It is likely the entire affair is an Indian invention. Niell, 281. I find the same story in McKinney & Hall, who are doubtless Niell's authority.

ing of its head man by order of a court martial, when he professed a change of heart and surrendered his American flag and medals.

On the 10th of February, 1814, Wapasha and Little Crow, with 200 other Indians of the various tribes, visited Macinac in company with Colonel Dickson,[167] to beg for soldiers and ammunition to protect them from the Americans, whom they feared would reach them and injure their families by way of the Mississippi.[168] As usual, both of the old chiefs indulged in a speech, each manifesting the greatest devotion to the English cause and the greatest abhorrence of the Americans. They appear to have remained at Macinac until the Americans actually did appear and establish a post at the mouth of the Wisconsin, when they hurried back with Dickson[169] and the English soldiers and remained on the Mississippi until the end of the war; kept on the quivive by the pernicious activity of Manuel Lisa in keeping the Missouri River Dakotas in a threatening attitude towards them, though adroitly managing to prevent open warfare.[170] Almost immediately after the Americans had built their Fort Shelby at Prairie du Chien the British came down from Macinac and dispossessed them and named the post Fort McKay.[171] In the events of the remaining year of the war the Dakotas are but an incident. Dickson was inclined to show them every favor in preference to the eastern Indians.[172] He held himself superior to the military and answerable only to the governor, Sir George Prevost, and he was in constant wrangle with Captains Anderson and Bulger, who successively were in command

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[167]13 Wis. 9.

[168]Idem. 7. Minutes of council in possession State Historical Society, S. D.

[169]This proposition is disputed. Mr. Alfred E. Bulger (13 Wis.) thinks Dickson had not left Prairie du Chien when Americans arrived. The Sissetons all agree that he left a few days previous to the arrival of the Americans and that the news of that event was carried to him on the road by Red Fish, a Sisseton. Red Fish lived to a very old age among the Sissetons, dying about 1875, and this was one of the stock stories that he frequently told.

[170]Rev. John B. Renville.

[171]13 Wis. 6, et seq.

[172]Idem.

at Fort McKay.[173] By this time Dickson had added to his title, "Agent and superintendent of the western Indian department," the words "and of the conquered countries."[174] He was a splendid trader and well up in all of the tricks of the business, and he applied his commercial knowledge to the situation at the expense of military authority. Joe Rolette had the beef contract for the fort, but Dickson was determined to ruin him and so, by means of his liberality with the English presents, cornered the market and secured all of the meat that was brought in by the Indians, the only source of supply.[175] Rolette, at his wits' ends to meet his contract, conceived the plan of going out on the Minnesota prairies and supplying the disaffected Fireleaf band of Wapasha's Dakotas with ammunition and in return securing from them a supply of buffalo beef from a source outside the influence of Dickson. Consequently Rolette in December, 1814, sent Antoine Dubois and Louis Champagney to carry ammunition to this band, who ranged somewhat back from the river, probably through the Owatonna country.

They accomplished their mission, but while returning to the fort in company with an Indian of the band named Chunksah (probably Shunka), the latter secured their rifles while they were asleep and shot them both. Champagney died immediately, but Dubois managed to reach the fort, about twenty-four miles distant, where he related the circumstance, and then died.[176] This band of Dakotas to whom the murderer belonged, in their opposition to Little Crow, had expressed sympathy with the Americans and had been denounced by the authorities as "Americans,"[177] and were therefore not to participate in the distribution of presents and ammunition, and Rolette had knowledge of this prohibition. Here, then, was Dickson's opportunity. He promptly denounced Rolette for supplying Americans with ammunition, and had him court-martialed.[178] Rolette was acquitted, as he had no disloyal intentions. Captain Bulger, however, at once marched a force of eighty men against the

[173]Idem.
[174]Dickson's letter to Rolette, January 3, 1815. 13 Wis.
[175]Rolette to Bulger, December 30, 1814. 13 Wis.
[176]13 Wis. 122.
[177]Idem, 37.
[178]Idem, 47.

rebellious Dakotas to secure and bring in the murderer. He had fled further west and could not be secured, but they brought in the chief of the band as a hostage.[179] One of the men murdered was a half-breed nephew of Wapasha, and the boy's father had also been killed the previous year, presumably by the same Indian,[180] and Wapasha and Little Crow applied for permission to go out and destroy the entire band of rebels, but this permission was withheld.[181] On the 6th of January, 1815, about one month after the murder, the Fireleaf band (the rebels) brought in Chunksah, and he was at once tried by a general court-martial and shot on the spot, as the sentence of the court. Captain Bulger of course had no legal power to call a general court-martial, nor to execute the sentence of one without submitting the finding to his superiors, but a little irregularity of that kind did not count upon the upper Mississippi ninety years ago, especially where there was nothing more important than the life of a Dakota Indian at stake.[182]

When Lieutenant Pike explored the upper river in 1806 he met at St. Paul an Indian named Tamaha, the Rising Moose, better known among the whites as "the one-eyed Sioux." Pike was particularly pleased with the intelligence and friendliness of this man and speaks of him as "my friend."[183] He was one of the signers of the treaty by which the M'dewakantons relinquished the Fort Snelling military reservation secured by Pike on that occasion. Little Crow and all of the others soon were seduced away from the allegiance to the Americans which they pledged to Pike, by the whisky and presents of Dickson, but Tamaha remained constant and boasted that he was the only

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[179]Idem, 36.

[180]Idem, 37.

[181]Idem.

[182]"It being the unanimous opinion of all the officers of the garrison, and it being the wish of the Indians and the inhabitants of the country that the murderer should suffer death, I directed a general court-martial to assemble to decide upon his fate (notwithstanding the articles of war direct that no person under the degree of a field officer is to have the power to assemble a general court-martial, yet I hope the necessity of the case will be my justification)." Captain Bulger to Colonel McDonell, January 7, 1815.

[183]Niell, 288.

American in his tribe.[184] When Renville and Dickson went east with a band of fighting Dakotas to make war on the United States, Tamaha made his way to St. Louis and offered his services to Governor Clark as a scout and messenger.[185] In 1814 Tamaha accompanied Manuel Lisa up the Missouri to the mouth of the James River, whence he made his way across country to Prairie du Chien.[186] Just what his mission was is not certain, but it is probable that Lisa intended he should return after obtaining what information was desirable, though it is quite possible that the wily Spaniard only intended that he should carry such information to the Mississippi as would lead them to think the Missouri River Indians were hostile to them and so hold them in the west. The latter, upon the whole, is the more probable theory, for there is nothing to indicate that he carried any dispatches, or was really expected to return.[187] Be that as it may, when Tamaha arrived at Prairie du Chien he was not very amicably received by Dickson, who snatched his bundle from his shoulder and searched it for letters, and failing to find any, demanded information of the Americans' movements down the river.[188] This information Tamaha refused to give, whereupon he was thrown into the guardhouse and threatened with death if he refused to divulge what he knew of the Americans' purposes. Finding that he could not be intimidated, Dickson released him, and he went to his home on the upper river, where he spent the winter. In the spring he returned to Prairie du Chien just as the English were abandoning that post in conformity to the treaty of peace. They had set fire to the fort and abandoned it, first having raised an American flag over it to be destroyed. Seeing this, Tamaha rushed into the fort through the flames and smoke and rescued the flag.[189] Only one other M'dewakanton was loyal to the Americans during the war, a

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[184]Idem.

[185]Chittenden, 560.

[186]Idem. Niell, 286.

[187]"He came back to St. Louis in June, 1815. He had promised Governor Clark to visit the tribes and he kept his word." Chittenden, 561. Conquest, 336.

[188]Chittenden, 560. Niell, 286.

[189]Niell, 287.

friend of Tamaha's named Haypedan.[190] Before the close of the war Dickson's conduct had become so obnoxious to Captain Bulger that he was deposed and sent to Macinac in disgrace.[191] Almost at the time of the peace the western authorities were ordered by the English to go among the Indians and inform them that all of the other differences between the English and Americans had been settled except the restoration of the lands to the Indians, and that the king was now carrying on the war solely in behalf of the Indians.[192] When the peace was actually made, as has been seen, the English burned the post on the Mississippi, and leaving the Indians to square themselves with the new order in the best way possible, abandoned the country.[193]

The war practically destroyed the fur trade for the time being, both by cutting off the market and by distracting the attention of the Indians from the hunt.[194] Manuel Lisa, however, pushed the business of the Missouri Fur Company with some success. He was intensely American in his sentiments, and in 1814 Governor Clark rewarded his activity in the public interest by making him agent for all of the Missouri River Indians above the mouth of the Kansas and conferred upon him large powers and responsibilities.[195] His policy, as has been before indicated, was to retain the friendship and confidence of his own Indians and keep them well in hand, at the same time allowing the impression to get out that they were American and likely at any time to strike the tribes on the Mississippi. As earnest of this intention he let a party of Yanktons and Omahas make a foray against the Iowas,[196] who were English allies, and kept up a line of communication carrying "scare stories," which had the desired effect and kept the Mississippi Dakotas close to their own camp fires.[197] Meanwhile he supplied his own Indians with regular trade, and induced them to hunt. He carried to them vegetables and assisted them in gardening, so that vegetables became a good part of their living. They were regu-

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[190]Niell, 288.
[191]13 Wis. 105, 135.
[192]Idem, 98.
[193]Idem, 146.
[194]Astoria, Chittenden; The Conquest.
[195]Chittenden, 129.
[197]Rev. John B. Renville.

larly cultivating pumpkins, beans, corn, potatoes and turnips. He set up blacksmith shops and manufactured for them, free of charge, knives, hatchets and all of the curious contrivances of their own invention. He was particularly careful of the comfort of the old and decrepit, and made his trading establishments asylums for this class of people.[198] He had a large establishment at Council Bluffs, and another at the interior of South Dakota, but whether at Cedar Island at the site of the old Loisel post, which was burned in 1810, or upon American Island at Chamberlain, is not now known. It was likely the latter location. These posts were equipped with all sorts of domestic animals, like horses, cattle, hogs and poultry.[199] From all of the evidences he possessed the affections of the Dakotas in a greater degree than any other white man of his period.

At the close of the war, therefore, the condition of the Dakotas of the Missouri contrasted most favorably with that of their brethren of the Mississippi. While the American Dakotas were cheerfully and industriously hunting and planting upon their own land and enjoying the legitimate fruits of their industry, the British Dakotas of the Mississippi were left without trade or employment, gloomy, despondent and ill-tempered, deserted by their allies and suspicious of the advances of the Americans.[200]

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[198]Lisa's letter of resignation.

[199]Idem.

[200]Niell, 292. Lisa's letter.

CHAPTER VIII

Settling Up the War—Treaties at St. Louis—Death of Black Buffalo—Oration of Big Elk—Little Crow and Wapasha not in Evidence—Visit to Drummond Island in 1816—What Occurred There—What Little Crow and Wapasha Reported had Occurred There upon Their Return.

On the 15th of July, 1815, all of the Dakota tribes, unless it may be the Yanktonais, had appeared at the Portage des Sioux, a point near the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri, and had on that day signed treaties with the United States. Separate treaties were made with the Tetons, the Sioux of the Lake (M'dewakantons), the Sioux of the River St. Peter's (probably the Wakpekutes), the Sioux of the leaf, of the broad leaf and of those who shoot in the pine tops (probably the Wahpetons and Sissetons), and the Yanktons, five different compacts in all, though of the same tenor. On behalf of the government the treaties were signed by William Clark,[203] Ninian Edwards[204] and Auguste Chouteau.[205] Nine headmen signed on behalf of the Tetons, five for the M'dewakantons, but the name of neither Little Crow nor Wapasha appears; six sign for the Sioux of the St. Peter's; forty-one for "the Sioux of the leaf, of the broad leaf and those who shoot in the pine tops." Among these are Redwing and Bad Hail, two well known Dakotas. Eleven Indian names are appended to the Yankton treaty, none of which are familiar. All of the documents are of the same tenor, as follows:[206]

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[203]Captain William Clark of the Lewis and Clark expedition, then governor of Missouri and superintendent of Indian affairs on the Mississippi.

[204]Ninian Edwards, then governor of Illinois.

[205]Founder of the famous Chouteau family of St. Louis. See 1 S. D. 264.

[206]Indian Treaties and Laws, 1826, page 276, et seq.

Article 1. Every injury or act of hostility, committed by one or either of the contracting parties against the other, shall be mutually forgiven and forgot.

Art. 2. There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between all of the citizens of the United States of America and all of the individuals composing said tribe, and all of the friendly relations which existed between them before the war shall be and the same are hereby renewed.

Art. 3. The undersigned chiefs and warriors for themselves and their said tribe, do hereby acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the United States of America, and of no other nation, power or sovereignty whatever.

In addition to the foregoing, the treaty of "the Sioux of the leaf, the broad leaf and who shoot in the pine tops" contain this clause:

The undersigned chiefs and warriors for themselves and their tribes respectively, do by these presents confirm to the United States all and every cession or cessions of land, heretofore made by their tribes to the British, French or Spanish government, within the limits of the United States or their territories; and the parties here contracting do, moreover, in mutual friendship, recognize, re-establish and confirm all and every treaty, contract and agreement heretofore concluded between the United States and such tribes or nations.

At the same time similar treaties were effected with all of the other tribes of the upper Mississippi except the Sacs and Foxes, who remained hostile, and as they commanded the river at Rockport the Americans found great difficulty in communicating with the eastern Sioux, and were finally compelled to send Lieutenant Kennerly to them by way of the Missouri River.[207] These treaties closed the incidents of the war of 1812 so far as the Dakotas were concerned.

This great council of Portage des Sioux (the narrow point between the Mississippi and Missouri at the confluence of these streams), held in July, 1815, was one of the most notable ever held on the continent, both in the character of the Indians gathered there and in the results of it. It was the time of the real naturalization of the Dakotas, as well as the other northwestern tribes, as citizens of the United States, for while they had lived upon American soil for years, only the Tetons and Yanktons had until this time given up their allegiance to the crown of England, and the northwest was American in name only. At

[207] Chittenden, 561.

this time they gave complete submission to the United States government, and since that date, no matter how hostile they may have been in local matters, they have never failed to recognize the sovereignty of the great father at Washington. Among the Dakotas who were present were Redwing, Smutty Bear, Black Buffalo and the Partisan.

While waiting for the assembling of the council Black Buffalo died, on the night of July 14th.[208] He was a Minneconjou and a man of a good deal of power.[209] It will be recalled that he was the principal chief with whom Lewis and Clark counciled, feasted and quarreled, at the mouth of the Teton (Fort Pierre) from September 25th to the 28th, 1804. when upon the up trip.[210] He was with his band down near Fort Randall when the explorers returned in 1806, and fearing trouble and delay they did not stop to hold communion with him.[211] In 1807 he was in league with the Rees and present in the Ree villages when the attack was made upon the party of Lieutenant Pryor and Pierre John Chouteau, who were endeavoring to get Big White to his home, and in the skirmish Black Buffalo was dangerously wounded, the whites supposing he was killed.[212] We next find him at the head of a party of Dakotas whom the Astorians met at the Big Bend in 1811, protesting against the carrying of arms to the Rees and Mandans, with whom they were then at war. At this time, by reason of his appearance and mild deportment, he made a very favorable impression upon Brakenridge, who was the historian of the expedition.[213] During the ensuing war with Great Britain Black Buffalo was one of the men upon whom Manuel Lisa relied in his efforts to keep the Missouri River Dakotas friendly to the United States, and at the close of the war Lisa himself brought him down to Portage des Sioux, in company with forty-two other western Indians, where, as stated, his death occurred. Colonel John Miller, with a detachment of the Third Infantry, was present, and at the request of Governor Clark, Black Buffalo was buried with military

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[208]Drake, Book V, 137.

[209]Teton Minnekineazzo, Brakenridge, May 31, 1811.

[210]Lewis and Clark's journal, dates named.

[211]Lewis and Clark's journal, July 30, 1806.

[212]Page —,ante.

[213]Brakenridge, May 31, 1811.

honors. Indeed he was given the honors of an officer of high rank, and the ceremonies evidently made a deep impression upon the assembled redmen, for Big Elk, chief of the Omahas, who delivered one of the funeral orations, said:[214]

Do not grieve. Misfortunes will happen to the wisest and best of men. Death will come and always comes out of season. It is the command of the Great Spirit and all nations and people must obey. What is passed and cannot be prevented should not be grieved for. Be not displeased or discouraged that in visiting your father here you have lost your chief. A misfortune of this kind may never again befal you, but this would have come to you, perhaps at your own village. Five times have I visited this land and never returned with sorrow or pain. Misfortunes do not flourish particularly in our path. They grow everywhere. What a misfortune for me that I could not have died today, instead of the chief who lies before us. The trifling loss my nation would have sustained in my death would have been doubly paid for in the honors of my burial. They would have wiped off everything like regret. Instead of being covered with a cloud of sorrow my warriors would have felt the sunshine of joy in their hearts. To me it would have been a most glorious occurrence. Hereafter, when I die at home, instead of a noble grave and a grand procession, the rolling music and the thunderous cannon, with a flag waving at my head, I shall be wrapped in a robe (an old robe, perhaps), and hoisted on a slender scaffold to the whistling winds, soon to be blown to the earth, my flesh to be devoured by the wolves and my bones rattled on the plains by the wild beasts. Chief of the soldiers, your labors have not been in vain. Your attention shall not be forgotten. My nation shall know the respect that is paid to the dead. When I return I shall echo the sound of your guns.

Why Wapasha and Little Crow did not attend the council at Portage des Sioux does not appear. On the whole examination of the situation it appears rather remarkable that they should not have done so, for Redwing attended it and signed the treaty, and the bands of Wapasha and Little Crow were present and afterwards deemed bound by the treaty. Wapasha's American tendencies during the war, it would seem, would have induced him to take this early opportunity to square himself with the American authorities.

The English traders were prompt to recognize the error which had been made by the government in abandoning the

[214]Drake, Book V, page 137.

western Indians at the close of the war, and in August Captain Anderson, who had served the British during the war at Prairie du Chien and was therefore well acquainted with the Indians, was dispatched by Colonel McDonell to the Mississippi to invite the Sioux and other western tribes to come down to Drummond Island, where the British headquarters in the west had been established after the abandonment of Macinac after the treaty of peace, to receive the thanks of the king for their service in the war. Wapasha met Anderson in council near Prairie du Chien on August 15, 1815, and made a speech in which he said: "I am happy that you show us the fine path of peace in which our fathers walked with such ease."

For some reason the Dakotas were not able to go down to Lake Huron that autumn, but in June, 1816, they appeared at the English post on Drummond Island, and on the 28th a council was held and Wapasha was the first speaker. He said:*

My English Father: I salute you—our great father beyond the great lake—also of the officers here.

Father, formerly I used to speak to you upon agreeable subjects. My present speech is rather disagreeable.

Father, your children are miserably situated; there is great appearance of encroachments being made upon their lands. I address you in behalf of all of your red children from the westward, and this wampum (holding up a wampum belt) is to be shown to all of the principal English chiefs on the communication from this to Quebec, and from thence to our great father, the king; and to acquaint them all that an omssion appears to have been made at the treaty made between the Big Knives (Americans) and the English, our fathers; for since the hatchet has been buried the Big Knives threaten to erect forts upon your children's lands, which they cannot suffer. The land is their only support. Though I do not know what arrangement you made with the Big Knives when you buried the hatchet, yet learned that you had not forgot us in that arrangement, but on my arrival at Michilimacinac I was told by the Big Knives that it was not the case; that we, your children, are deprived in some measure of the pleasure of seeing you, and totally deprived of the benefit of having English traders amongst them, consequently we cannot live long, or else we must adopt severe measures, but those measures will not be adopted before we hear from our English father.

Father, excuse me if I take up much of your time in my

*Minutes of the council, in possession South Dakota Historical Society.

discourse. I am not accustomed to make long speeches, but the subject of the present discourse is of such importance as to compel me to make it more lengthy than usual.

Though there is an obstruction between you and us, yet we stretched our hand over all difficulties and obstructions and hold our English father with a strong hold and never will forget him as long as we live. Before your Indian children have violent measures with the Big Knives they will wait patiently one, two or three nights for an answer from our great father, the king.

Here Wapasha presented a pipe, two pouches and some wampum to the superintendent, and again said:

Father, here is a paper which contains accounts of provisions which our English traders furnished us with to enable us to visit you. Had they not afforded us that assistance it would have been impossible for us to have reached this place. We, the chiefs and the rest of our nation here present, beg that you will get them paid, so that on some other occasion it may be an inducement for them, the traders, to assist us, should you require our presence.

Little Crow then arose and said:

Father, formerly my ancestors used to visit our great father's representatives, and always went away overjoyed, for they did not meet with any difficulties in coming or returning to their homes. At present it is not the case; for my part I have met with great difficulties on my route to this with those who accompany me.

Father, you know well that you are the father of all the Indian nations, viz: The Menomonees, the Winnebagoes, Sauks, Sioux and all the western Indians, and that you forgot them when you made peace with the Big Knives. It appears that the good work you had begun for your children was lost when you buried the hatchet with the Big Knives, for the discourse which was held with us as we passed Michilimacinac was very different from what we expected. The Big Knives addressed us by taking us by the left hand and holding in their right a switch, which implies that the Big Knives intend to deprive us of our traders and build forts on our lands without permission.

Father, if I represent our situation in a humble voice, do not believe that your children are afraid of them. No, they believe themselves strong enough to resist them with your consent and assistance. This is the language and determination of your children, the Dakotas. You see before you a part of our nation, whose families are waiting anxiously for the assistance of our great father to support them for a year. Your children are deprived of their traders, consequently they cannot, without your assistance, possibly live for more than one year.

To these speeches Colonel McKay and Colonel McDonell replied in suitable terms, and with encouragement that they should be supplied with English traders, and after supplying them with presents the Indians returned to the Mississippi.

Soon thereafter American dominance was completely established in the west, and the old chiefs, like the consummate politicians which they were, readily fell in with the new order of things. Then they remembered what had occurred down at Drummond Island after this manner: They recalled that they had made the weary tramp of 800 or 1,000 miles through the wilderness, not to implore aid from the English, but to show their contempt for them. They related how Colonel McDonell had profusely thanked them for their service to the king and had pointed to a small heap of presents he had to offer them, when Wapasha, with great dignity, replied:†

My father, what is this I see before me? A few knives and blankets! Is this all you promised at the beginning of the war? Where are those promises you made at Michilimacinac and sent to our villages on the Mississippi? You told us you would never let fall the hatchet until the Americans were driven beyond the mountains; that our British father would never make peace without consulting his red children. Has that come to pass? We never knew of this peace. We are told it was made by our great father beyond the water, without the knowledge of his war chiefs; that it is your duty to obey his orders. What is this to us? Will these paltry presents pay for the men we have lost in battle and in the war? Will they soothe the feelings of our friends? Will they make good your promises to us? For myself, I am an old man. I have lived long and always found the means of subsistence, and I can do so still!

Then they recalled that Little Crow was even more defiant and vehement:

After we have fought for you, endured many hardships, lost some of our people and awakened the vengeance of our powerful neighbors, you make a peace for yourselves and leave us to obtain such terms as we can! You no longer need our services, and offer us these goods to pay us for having deserted us. But no! we will not take them; we hold them and yourselves in equal contempt!

So saying, he kicked the goods right and left and withdrew. After all the Dakota Indian of 1816 was very human.

†Niell, 293.

CHAPTER IX

Waneta Wins Greatest Honors in 1812 War—Story of His Life—Sun Dance—Anecdote of the Bear's Claws—Personal Appearance—Feasts Major Long—Removes to Missouri River—Protectorate of Rees—Great Treaty Maker—Trader's Estimate of Him—Something of His Father, Red Thunder or Shappa—Peace with Chippewas—Flatmouth's Suspicion—Treachery of Shappa—Flatmouth's Revenge.

The memorable campaign with the English apparently developed but one great character. Little Crow and Wapasha went into the war as great chiefs, and do not appear to have either gained nor lost by its exploits. The one great character brought out by its demands and opportunity was Waneta, the Yanktonais boy from the wilds of the James River, who won his name, The Rushing Man, or the man that charges the enemy, by the valor he exhibited at Forts Meigs and Stephenson. He killed seven men in battle and received nine wounds. At the attack on Sandusky he was hit by a bullet and by three buckshot in the breast. The bullet glanced on his breast bone and passed around under the skin and came out at his back.[215] His intrepidity won for him the admiration of whites and Indians alike, and he gained the reputation of being the most powerful Indian upon the continent.[216] Something of the history of this remarkable man may as well be inserted here as elsewhere. He accompanied his father, a Cut Head Yanktonais chief, to join the English in the spring of 1813, when he was about 18 years old.[217] Rev. John B. Renville informed this writer that after the war, owing to his valor, he was given the pay of a captain in the English army and taken to England, where the king gave him an audience. I am unable to verify this statement, but at

[215]Drake, Book V, 135.
[216]Idem.
[217]McKinney & Hall, Vol. I, 110.

Waneta, 1823

any rate he retained his English sympathies and his hostility to Americans for a long time after the war, and after the other prominent Dakotas were reconciled to the American dominance.[218] After the war was out of the way the Dakotas resumed their old time feud with the Chippewas, Crees and Assinoboins, and Waneta was a leader. He was with a party under the command of his uncle who completely annihilated a settlement of Chippewas near Pembina, and in 1822 he greatly alarmed the Pembina people by massacreing a party of Assinoboins in that neighborhood.[219] He seems to have been the most ubiquitous of mortals, and his operations extended from Fort Sandusky to the upper Missouri, from Pembina to St. Louis, and he was in the most distant localities at times so brief that his passage from one to another seems marvelous. In the summer of 1822, after returning from the exploit against the Chippewas and Assinoboins, in compliance with a pledge he had made that if successful in the enterprise that he would do so, he celebrated the sun dance. This involved the giving away of all his property and the abstinence from food for the space of four days, during which time he danced about an upright pole, to which he was fastened by ropes tied into loops cut into the skin of his breast and arms. In the earlier portion of the dance he would swing his entire weight upon the ropes, supported only by the skin loops. He kept it up until 10 o'clock on the morning of the fourth day, when the loop cut into his breast gave way. He kept on until noon, when one of the arm loops pulled out, when his uncle cut him down and he fell in a swoon.[220] The next spring he was all right, so that it is probable that his recovery was rapid. In the autumn of 1820 Waneta was still hostile and gathered up a party of Yanktonais and Sissetons and led them down to Fort Snelling to see what was going on there. Colonel Snelling was just converting St. Peter's cantonment into the fort. They hovered around the barracks, and at last Waneta presented himself at the gates, ostensibly to have a friendly talk with the colonel. The gates were opened, and sufficient information having been obtained to warrant the belief that he meditated an attack, he was placed under arrest and marched to the council

[218]Keating, July 23, 1823.
[219]Idem.
[220]Drake, Book V, 135.

hall, where his treachery was fully exposed. A large number of badges and medals which he had received from the English were found in his possession and they were taken from him and burned before his eyes. They hustled him around until he was fully convinced of the power of the Americans, and from that date showed himself loyal to American interests.[221]

In the spring of 1823 he was again at Fort Snelling and wore, as was his custom, a necklace of the claws of the grizzly bear, which Beltrami, an Italian refugee, a man of great prominence, desired to secure, but Waneta refused to sell. Mrs. Snelling, wife of the commandant, had great influence over Waneta, and the Italian appealed to her for assistance in securing the desired prize. She sought the Yanktonais and asked him to sell her the necklace. He critically examined the beautiful hair of the lady and replied that he did not desire to part with the necklace, as he wore it as a badge of prowess and honor, having himself killed the bear from which the claws were obtained, but upon one condition he would part with it. If Mrs. Snelling would cut off her hair and braid it into a necklace for him he would trade. The Italian did not secure the trophy.[222] On the 23d of July, that year, when the expedition under Major Long arrived at the head of Lake Traverse they found Waneta camped there with his family. Keating, the historian of the expedition, thus describes him:[223] "He is a tall man, upwards of six feet high. His countenance would be esteemed handsome in any country. His features are regular and well shaped. There is an intelligence that beams through his eye which is not the usual concomitant of Indian features. His manners are dignified and reserved; his attitudes are graceful and easy, though they appear to be somewhat studied."

When the party arrived at the post of the fur company located at the head of the lake they found it surrounded by Indian tipis, from which American flags were streaming in honor of the expedition. Upon dismounting they were met by an invitation to take dinner with Waneta. "We repaired to a sort of pavilion, which they had erected by the union of several large skin lodges; fine buffalo robes were spread all around and the air

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[221]Idem. Keating, July 23, 1823.

[222]Niell, 327.

[223]Mrs. Snelling's Reminiscences of Pioneer Women of the West.

was perfumed by the odor of sweet scented grass which had been burned in it. On entering the lodge we saw the chief seated near the further end, and one of the principal men pointed out to us the place destined for our accommodation. It was at the upper end of the lodge, the Indians who were in it taking no further notice of us. These consisted of the chief, his son, a lad of about 8 years, and eight or ten of the principal warriors. The chief's dress presented a mixture of the aboriginal and oriental costume. He wore moccasins and leggings of splendid scarlet cloth, a blue breechcloth, a fine shirt of printed muslin, over this a frock coat of fine blue cloth, with scarlet facings, somewhat similar to the undress uniform of a Prussian officer; this was buttoned and secured around the waist with a belt. On his head he wore a blue cloth cap made like a German fatigue cap. A very handsome Macinaw blanket, slightly ornamented with paint, was thrown over his person. His son, whose features favored those of his father, wore a dress somewhat similar, except that his coat was parti-colored, one-half being made of blue and the other half of scarlet cloth. He wore a round hat with a plated silver band and a large cockade. From his neck were suspended several silver medals, doubtless gifts to his father. The lad appeared to be a great favorite of Waneta's, who seemed to indulge him more than it is the custom of the Indians to do. As soon as we were seated the chief passed his pipe around, and while we were smoking two of the Indians arose and uncovered the large kettles which were standing over the fire and emptied their contents into a dozen large wooden dishes, which were placed all around the lodge. These consisted of buffalo meat boiled with tepsin, and also that vegetable boiled without the meat, in buffalo grease, and finally the much esteemed dog meat, all of which were dressed without salt."

The travelers partook of the buffalo meat heartily, and fearing to give offense, ate sparingly of the dog meat, which they were unanimous in declaring was "among the best meat that we had ever eaten. It was remarkably fat, sweet and palatable." They noted that the Indians treated the bones of the dog with great reverence, and after feasting upon the flesh carefully cleaned the bones and buried them as a testimony that no disrespect was meant to the dog in having eaten it.

In August of that year (1823) Colonel Leavenworth, having punished and reduced the Rees for their hostility to General Ashley's men, Waneta removed his home from the Elm River to the Missouri, at the mouth of the Warreconne[224] (Beaver Creek, Emmons county, North Dakota), where he set up a protectorate over the Rees and Mandans, exacting tribute from them in horses, corn and furs, in consideration of protecting them from the Dakotas.[225] On July 5, 1825, he met the Atkinson-O'Fallon treaty making expedition at the mouth of the Teton (Fort Pierre), where he signed the treaty regulating trade as a member of the Sioune band,[226] and on August 17th of the same year he met Captain Clark and General Lewis Cass at Prairie du Chien, where he signed the treaty fixing the tribal land boundaries as a Yankton.[227] It is probable that the tribal designation in both cases is an error on the part of the treaty writer.

In 1832 Catlin met him again at Fort Pierre and painted his likeness, and he still wore the bear's claws.[229] He continued to be supreme upon the upper Missouri, without rival or compeer, the traders regarding him as one who could be trusted because it was policy to be at peace with the whites, but placing no confidence in his friendship or integrity. They characterized him as brave, skillful and sagacious as he was artful, grasping and overbearing. He died in 1848.[230]

Red Thunder, the father of Waneta, was himself a man of a good deal of force, but his prominence was overshadowed by the fame of his renowned son. After his return from the war of 1812, acting under the advice of his brother-in-law, Colonel Dickson, Red Thunder, or Shappa, the Beaver, as he was called by the Chippewas, undertook to negotiate a peace between the Dakotas and their Chippewa enemies. He found it somewhat difficult to get in speaking distance of his enemies in order to establish peace negotations, but after some failures

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[224]Keating, July 23, 1823.

[225]McKinney & Hall, Vol. I, 110. Donaldson's Catlin, 55. Rev. John B. Renville.

[226]Idem.

[227]Indian Treaties, etc., 1826, page 341.

[229]Smithsonian Report, 1885. page 55.

[230]McKinney & Hall, Vol. I, pages 110-12.

he struck upon an effectual plan. In one of his earlier forays he had taken a young Chippewa girl captive, who by this time had become his favorite wife. This wife he mounted upon his fleetest horse, and giving her his peace pipe sent her to her relatives with the message that upon a certain early date he would come and smoke with them in peace and good will. At the same time the Dakotas of the Mississippi established relations with the eastern Chippewas, and peace was establshed all along the Dakota frontier. After making peace with the Chippewas in the west a game of ball was played between the young men of the two nations for a large stake. It was hard, indeed, for these people to associate without fighting, and one of the young Dakotas soon picked a quarrel with a Chippewa and batted him over the head with a ball stick, and the fracas was fast becoming serious, when Waneta seized the Dakota who had begun the trouble and administered to him a severe whipping and restored peace.

All of the Chippewas were now pacified except Flatmouth, to whom the pipe had been sent, but he mistrusted the sincerity of the Dakotas. So instead of attending the council he went off upon a hunt, suspecting that the Dakotas had some deep design of treachery beneath their protestations of friendship. He camped one night on Ottertail Creek at the outlet to the lake, when he discovered a war party of 400 Dakotas under the lead of the false Shappa, just in time to evade them.

The Dakotas, however, went on, and the next day killed two cousins of Flatmouth's, near Leaf Lake, but lost three warriors in the fight. Flatmouth, exasperated and desperate at the loss of his relatives and the treachery of the Dakotas, set about to raise a large war party to avenge their death. His war pipe and war club were carried by fleet messengers from village to village and the braves sprang to arms at his call. While he was assembling his men a messenger came from Shappa, who was at a trading post of his brother-in-law, Robert Dickson, on the Red River, denying all participation in the late war party and deploring its work, and inviting Flatmouth to meet him at the trading post to make a peace. Flatmouth chose thirty of his best men and set out for the post, where he found four Frenchmen in charge. The next day Shappa arrived with only two men in his company. The Chippewa warriors were

for making an end of him forthwith, but Flatmouth ordered them to desist. He refused to smoke with Shappa and took good care that he did not escape. Shappa knew that his end was near. All night the rain poured and the thunders bellowed, and through the storm the death song of the Yanktonais was heard. In the morning the Chippewas waited until Shappa and his men left the shelter of the post, when they captured them and took them out on the prairie, out of sight of the post, where they shot them down and cut off their heads. In addition to their scalps they secured Red Thunder's English medal, which they considered a great trophy. Dickson was furious when he learned of the death of Red Thunder, and threatened the Chippewas with the direst calamity which can befall them, the withdrawal of all traders, but of course he was unable to make good his threat. From that time until his death Waneta persistently took toll of the Chippewas in requital of his father's death, and he lived to be amply revenged.*

*In the main the foregoing story is condensed from the History of the Chippewas, by William W. Warren, 5 Minn., chapter 32. The story is modified by the narrative of Rev. John B. Renville, August 10, 1901. Warren fixes the date, by inference, before the war of 1812, but Renville was positive that it occurred after the war, in which he says that Red Thunder took part. Keating agrees with this statement. See his journal for July 23, 1823. It was probably in 1817.

CHAPTER X

The Little Crow Dynasty—Four Little Crows Known to History—Chatan Wakoowamani, American Made Chief, Described by Schoolcraft—Liked by Forsyth—Talks of Indian Warfare—Not a Dangerous Pastime—Mr. Pond's Figures—Little Crow Goes to Washington with Taliaferro—Signs Treaty of 1825—Dies About 1827—Succeeded by His Son, Big Eagle—Industry of Big Eagle—Good Example—Sons Killed by Chippewas—Leaves Their Corpses to be Scalped—Meets with Fatal Accident—Parting Admonition to His Son Taoyatiduta, Little Crow, Jr.

Little Crow was the name of a dynasty rather than of a man. For what period of time it had been the designation of the chief of the Kaposia band of Dakotas can not be ascertained. We only know that there was a Little Crow who visited the English in Canada during the Revolution, but that is about all that the record divulges of him. He was the father of that Little Crow so much in evidence in recent pages of this history and whom Pike made head chief of the Dakotas.

The personal name of this latter Little Crow was Chatan Wakoowamani, meaning "Who walks, pursuing a hawk." He continued in office until his death at about 58 years of age in 1827, or thereabouts. He was succeeded by his son, Wamde Tanka, meaning "Big Eagle," who was chief until some time in the middle forties, when his death resulted from an accidental gunshot wound and he was followed by his son Taoyatiduta, meaning "his red people," who was the Little Crow of the war of the Outbreak.*

After the resumption of peaceful relations with the Americans following the war of 1812 Chatan Wakoowamani, Little Crow, was still the official chief of the Dakotas, having been given that distinction by Lieutenant Pike in 1806, and not with-

*Dr. Riggs, 6. Minn. 137.

Little Crow

standing his disloyalty he was still permitted to enjoy the honor, which in any event was wholly nominal, for as yet the government had taken no hand in the internal concerns of the tribes and they continued to conduct their affairs according to their own traditions and customs.

When Major Forsyth came up in the fall of 1819 to make the presents promised in the Pike treaty of fourteen years before, he found Little Crow at Kaposia and says: "His independent manner I like. I made him a very handsome present, for which he was very thankful and said it was more than he expected."[231] In his report to Governor Clark, Forsyth further says: "I found the Little Crow a steady, generous and independent Indian. He acknowledged the sale of the land at the mouth of the St. Peter to the United States and said he had been looking every year since the sale for the troops to build a fort, and he was happy to see us now, as the Dakotas would have an agent near them. I mentioned to Little Crow the barbarous war that existed between them and the Chippewa and if there was not a possibility of bringing about a peace between the two nations. He observed that a peace could easily be made, but said 'it is better for us to carry on the war in the way we do than to make peace,' because, he added, 'we lose a man or two every year, but we kill as many of the enemy during the same time. If we make peace the Chippewa will overrun all of the country between the Mississippi and Lake Superior and have their villages on the banks of the Mississippi itself. In this case the Dakotas will lose all of their hunting grounds on the northeast side of the river. Why then, should we give up such an extensive country to save the life of a man or two annually? I know it is not good to go to war, or to make too much war, or against too many people; but this is war for land which must always exist if the Dakota Indians remain in the same opinion which now guides them.'" Forsyth adds: "I found the Indian's reason so good that I said no more to him upon the subject."[232]

Little Crow's assertion that the Dakotas did not lose more

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[231]Forsyth's journal, August 24, 1819, 3 Minn. 153.

[232]Forsyth's letterbook in Wisconsin Historical Collections, 3 Minn. 165.

than a man or two a year in their constant warfare against the Chippewas will strike the unsophisticated reader as an absurd proposition, but that he did not underestimate the loss is borne out by abundant testimony. Forsyth himself relates this circumstance, which is in point: "When I arrived at Little Crow's village he told me that a party of fifty of his young men had gone off to war five days before and he expected them back in a few days. After my arrival at St. Peters I was informed that the war party had got back and reported that they fell in with two Chippewas, at whom the whole fifty fired at one time killing one and wounding the other, who got behind a tree, and there the fifty left him."[233] The Rev. S. W. Pond, the well known missionary, came among them in the early thirties and learned their language and lived in close association with them for many years. He kept a careful account of the casualties resulting from their warfare from 1835 to 1845, at a time when they were constantly at war, giving the date of the occurrence in each instance and the place where the fight took place. These wars were not against the Chippewas alone but were against the Sacs and Pottawatomies as well. During this period the Santee Dakotas killed and wounded 129 of their enemies and lost in killed and wounded eighty-eight of their own people. This report includes men, women and children killed upon both sides, about seventy of the enemy killed by the Dakotas being women and children.[234]

In summing up this record Mr. Pond says: "What I have here given is sufficient to show the nature and ordinary results of Indian warfare as carried on in Minnesota. The Indians spent a good deal of time at war, but their attempts to kill their enemies were not often very successful. A very large majority of war parties returned without scalps and of such parties I have kept no record. Small parties were usually more successful than large ones as they could move with more celerity and secrecy. If the party was small it generally withdrew precipitately after striking a single blow, or after the enemy was alarmed, whether it had succeeded in taking a scalp or not. If the party was a strong one and supplied with provisions, it might after

[233]Forsyth, 3 Minn. 162.

[234]Rev. Samuel W. Pond, "Indian Warfare in Minnesota," 3 Minn. 129.

killing one or more, wait a while for an attack, but it was not the practice of the Indians, after taking one or more scalps to go on farther in quest of more, or to remain in the enemy's country after being discovered. No matter how many were in a war party, nor how far they had traveled in pursuit of an enemy, if a single scalp was taken it was not considered a failure. Dakota war parties were seldom led by the chiefs, though they sometimes accompanied them. They were led by individuals who claimed to receive their commission by revelation from some superior being, who commanded them to make war and promised them success. When such a leader offered himself the warriors could do as they pleased about following him. If they had confidence in his ability or credentials he could raise a large party. If not he could get few followers. His office lasted only during the time of the expedition. Sometimes a few young men started off to look for scalps without the usual formalities and without a leader. Such small, unauthorized parties were as likely to be successful as any.

"It will be seen that the Indians seldom fought sanguinary battles. They had no desire to fight where the forces on both sides were nearly equal. If two war parties met, as they sometime did the meeting was accidental. In such cases there might be a little skirmishing, but seldom severe fighting. It was not their custom to look for armed men who were prepared to receive them. Since I have lived at Shakopee the Chippewas killed a Dakota as he was fishing in the river near my house. The event was immediately known, but though this was a strong band, much stronger than any war party of the Chippewas was likely to be, they did not venture to attack them. The Chippewas spent the night not far from here and though the Dakotas followed them a little way the next day they were careful not to overtake them. At another time two men went over the river to hunt and one of them soon returned and reported that his companion had been killed very near here by the Chippewas, yet they all waited twenty-four hours before they ventured to bring home the dead body. In both cases they were afraid of being drawn into ambush by a strong body of the enemy. When a Dakota was killed at Lake Harriet I was there a few moments after he was killed and saw in the tall grass the trail of the Chippewa leading to a small cluster of

young poplars. There were no tracks leading from the grove and all knew they were there. We afterwards learned that they remained there until dark. I urged the Dakotas to try to kill them, but though there were as many as fifty armed Dakotas, they refused to go near them.

"Indeed, Indians consider it foolhardiness to make an attack where it is certain some of them will be killed. Bloody battles were seldom fought by them except when the party attacked rallied and made an unexpected resistance. They occasionally performed exploits which only brave men would undertake and often fought with desperate valor in self defense or in defense of their families."[235] Governor Cass' party which was out exploring the western portion of the territory of Michigan for the purpose of becoming better acquainted with its Indian tribes and agricultural and mineral resources, came up the lakes to Duluth and crossed over to the Mississippi and down that stream to Fort Snelling, where Colonel Henry Leavenworth was with a detachment of troops laying the foundations of the fort in the autumn of 1820.[233] The party visited Little Crow at his village of Kaposia on the site of St. Paul. Two members of the party kept journals of the expedition; the noted Henry R. Schoolcraft who became a celebrated authority upon the Indian tribes, and James Doty, private secretary to Governor Cass. Schoolcraft says: "Here is a Sioux (Dakotah) band of twelve lodges and consisting of about two hundred souls, who plant corn on the adjoining plains and cultivate the cucumber and the pumpkin. They sallied from their lodges upon seeing us approach and manifested the utmost satisfaction at our landing. LePetit Corbeau, (French for Little Crow) was the first to greet us. He is a man below the common size but brawny and well proportioned; and although rising of 50 years of age retains the looks and vigor of 40 There is a great deal of fire in his eyes, which are black and piercing. His nose is prominent and has the aquiline curve, his forehead falling a little from the facial angle, and his whole countenance animated and expressive of a shrewd mind. We were conducted into his cabin, which is spacious, being about

[235]Idem.

[233]Doty papers, 13 Wis. 212. Niell, 325.

sixty feet in length and thirty in breadth; built in a permanent manner of logs and covered with bark. Being seated he addressed Governor Cass in a speech of some length in which he expressed his satisfaction in seeing him there and said that in his extensive journey he must have experienced a good many hardships and difficulties and seen a good deal of the Indian's way of living. He said he was glad that the governor had not, like a good many other officers and agents of the United States who had lately visited the region, passed without calling. He acquiesced in a treaty just made with the Chippewas. He then adverted to a recent attack of a party of Fox Indians upon some of their people towards the sources of the river Minnesota, in which nine men were killed. He considered it a dastardly act, and said if that little tribe should continue to haunt their territory in a hostile manner they would at length drive him into anger and compel him to do as he did not wish."[237] Doty says: "Two miles further, (below Carver's cave) is the Little Crow's village. It has twelve lodges, ten of them substantially built. The Little Crow was absent but a talk was held with the chiefs found there and some presents made."[238] The reader is permitted to choose between the two accounts. It is likely that Doty is correct, and that Schoolcraft interpolated a description of Little Crow which he obtained at another time. From other accounts, Schoolcraft's description of his personal appearence is correct. In 1824, so much trouble had arisen between the tribes about trespassing upon each other's territory, which appeared to be due to the fact that there was no definite boundary, Major Lawrence Taliaferro determined to take a delegation of Dakotas to Washington and if possible arrange for a convention of all of the interested tribes and agree upon boundary lines. He consequently gathered up a company of Dakotas, including Little Crow, Wapasha, Waneta, and Marcpee. As usual the traders were opposed to the visit and when they arrived at Prairie du Chien the dealers prevailed upon Wapasha and Waneta to refuse to proceed further. Little Crow brought them again into line by declaring that "you may do as you please. I am no coward, nor can my

[237] Schoolcraft, August 2, 1820. Niell, 326.
[238] Doty papers, 13 Wis. 212.

ears be pulled about by evil counsels. We are here and should go on and do some good for our nation. I have taken our father here (Taliaferro) by the coat tails and will follow him until I take by the hand our great American father." They then went on and after visiting President Monroe were induced by their relative, William Dickson, to go on to New York. There they called upon some of the notables and when they came away Little Crow had a fine double barreled shot gun. Taliaferro asked him where he obtained it and he replied that it was given him by the Rev. Samuel Peters, for signing a paper. Peters claimed to own the assignment of Carver's land grant and he thus attempted to get Little Crow to confirm the grant. He promised to send him a keelboat load of goods the next year.[239]

Little Crow was highly respected by his own people and had great influence with all of the Dakotas, though hereditarily he was inferior to Wapasha.[240] He was exceedingly anxious that the Dakotas should rely upon the products of the soil rather than the precarious fruits of the chase, and he set them a good example by laboring industriously in his own field.[241] After his death, the date of which I am unable to accurately determine, but which occurred about 1827, he was succeeded by his son, Big Eagle, who was at once designated as Little Crow, by both whites and Indians. He appears to have greatly resembled his father in habit and temperament and to have pursued his policy toward the whites. Nothing of great moment occurred during his administration, which lasted for about twenty years. He signed the treaties of 1830 and 1837. There were no disturbances with the whites during his incumbency. He accompanied General Sibley on his hunting trips to the neutral strips in 1839 and 1840. On May 11, 1841, two of the sons of Little Crow, who were with a war party hunting Chippewas on the St. Croix, were killed near the Falls. The Chippewas were driven off with the loss of one man killed and another wounded, and the bodies of the Kaposians were not mutilated. When Little Crow learned of the death of his favorite boys he gathered up all the family treasures of wam-

[239]2 Minn. 109.

[240]Reminiscences of Henry H. Sibley, 3 Minn. 251.

pum and silver and taking his double barreled rifle, of which he was very proud, he made a forced march to the place where the boys had fallen. He had their faces carefully washed and painted, placed new clothing upon them, plaited their hair and covered them with ornaments. He then placed their bodies in sitting positions, supported by trees, and depositing his gun by their sides left them there. A few days later some of the Chippewas returned, scalped them and carried off the gun and valuable ornaments. After some time Little Crow again visited the Falls of the St. Croix and gathered up the bones of his sons and brought them home, where he gave them decent burial. When asked for an explanation of his conduct, he said: "I opposed the formation of the war party, but my sons were so bent upon avenging the death of some relatives who had been killed by the Chippewas that I withdrew the objection. My two sons joined the party and were killed. While I grieve deeply at their loss they fell like brave men in battle and the enemy was entitled to their scalps. I wished the Chippewas to know by the treasures lavished upon their bodies that they had slain the sons of a chief."[241]

Shortly after this event while lifting a loaded gun from a wagon at his village, the piece was discharged and he was severely wounded. He sent word of his accident to General Henry H. Sibley, who taking the post surgeon from Fort Snelling, went at once to Kaposia. When the doctor had examined the wound he told him that it was extremely dangerous and probably fatal. The old man smiled and said he was aware of it and that he would not live through the following day. He then sent for his son Taoyatiduta (Little Crow, Jr.) and directed that only General Sibley, the doctor and Alex. Farebault should remain. When the young man entered, Little Crow told him to seat himself and listen attentively to his words. He told him that it had not been his intention to make him chief; that though he was the oldest son he had very little good sense and that he was addicted to drinking and to other vicious habits. "But," said he, "my second son, upon whom I had intended to bestow the chieftainship, has been killed in battle by the Chippewas and I can now do no better

[241] Idem.

than to name you as my successor." He then proceeded to give him counsel as to his future course in the responsible position he was about to assume as the leader of the band which would have reflected no discredit upon a civilized man similarly situated, though he made no allusion to the subject of religion. After referring to the differences existing between the whites and Indians he told his son that the Dakotas must accommodate themselves to the new state of things which was coming upon them. The whites wanted their land and there was no use in contending against the superior force. The Dakotas could only hope to be saved from the fate of other tribes by making themselves useful to the whites by honest labor and frank and friendly dealings in their intercourse with them. "Teach your people to be honest and laborious," continued he, "and adopt such of the habits of the whites as will be fitted for their change of circumstances, and above all be industrious and sober and make yourself beloved and respected by the white people. Now my son I have finished all I had to say to you. Depart to your own lodge, remembering my final admonitions, for tomorrow I shall die." Turning to the white men he told them he hoped they would help his son and befriend him and then shaking hands with them bade them farewell. He died the next day.[242] A sketch of his son and successor, Taoyatiduta, follows the war of the Outbreak in this history.

[242]Idem.

CHAPTER XI

The Wapashas—A Long Line of the Name—Wapasha of the Revolution—Wapasha of 1812—Serves the English—A Man of Sense and Modesty His Son Joseph—Other Indians of Note—Tamaha, the One-Eyed Sioux—His Loyalty to the Americans—Redwing, Another Dynastic Name—Shakopee, Whose Name Means Six.

Wapasha is a time-honored name among the Dakotas. It signifies Red Leaf,[243] and is said to have been the distinguishing title to a line of chiefs in the same family from time immemorial. The first we know of this name was that old Wapasha who traveled down to Quebec to offer himself as a vicarious sacrifice for the offense of Ixatape, the Dakota who had murdered the trader known as the Mallard Duck.[244] Soon after this we find him in the English service in the Revolutionary war, and especial distinctions being shown him upon his arrival at the post at Mackinaw; Del'eyster, the commandant, even going to the extreme length of composing a poem of unspeakable meter and worse discourse:

Hail to the chief! who his buffalo's back straddles,
When in his own country, far, far from this fort;
Whose brave young canoe men here hold up their paddles,
In hopes that the whizzing balls may give them sport.
Hail! to great Wapasha!
He comes, beat drums, the Sioux chief comes.

They now strain their nerves till the canoe runs bounding
As swift as the Solen goose skims o'er the wave,
While on the lake's border a guard is surrounding
A space where to land the Sioux so brave.

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[243]Waba, warpe, wahpe, wakpe, different forms of the same word, meaning leaf, combined with sha, meaning red; Wapasha, the red leaf.

[244]Niell, 229.

Hail! to great Wapasha!
Soldiers! your triggers draw!
Guard! wave the colors and give him the drum.
Choctaw and Chickasaw,
Whoop for great Wapasha;
Raise the portcullis, the King's friend has come.[245]

This is a little severe upon him, but he should have been a revolutionary patriot if he wished to escape embarrassing attentions.

This rousing reception occurred on June 6, 1779, and it appears that there was a large assemblage of Choctaws, Chickasaws and Chippewas there to witness the honors heaped upon the old chief, whose heroism in the starving time had made so deep an impression upon the English officers that they spared no pains to do him honor.

The next year he was at Prairie du Chien with Captain Langlade, where he said he had been sent to take the furs which the English traders had gathered there, lest they be plundered by the Americans.[247] He was a half Chippewa.

I find no other trace of old Wapasha the first after this, and it is probable that he died within a short time, for he was at this time advanced in years. He was succeeded as chief of the Wakpekutes and recognized leading chief of the Santees by his son, Wapasha II, who was not a soldier but a great civil ruler. His home was at the Dakota village of Keoxa, located on the site of the present city of Winona. It is not certain, but it is probable that his father lived there before him. The first information we have relating to Wapasha II was when Pike was returning from his exploration of the upper Mississippi in the spring of 1806. He evidently missed seeing this chief when he went up the previous autumn, and learning of his influence, desired to see him and induce him to go down to St. Louis, but after waiting all day at his village, the chief, who was out on a hunt, failed to come in, so he went on to Prairie du Chien, whence Wapasha followed him the next day. Pike wanted to find the man among the Dakotas who pos-

[245]Published by DePeyster at Dumfries, Scotland, 1812. One of Burns' poems is addressed to this same DePeyster. Niell, 229.

[247]Niell, 230.

Wapasha II

sessed the best qualifications and the most influence, to confer upon him the title of chief of the Dakota tribes, having in mind the Santees only. When Wapasha arrived he had a long private talk with him on the evening of Sunday, April 24th, and the chief took the subject under consideration. The next day he sent for Pike and they engaged in another long and interesting conversation, in which Wapasha told him of the civic polity of the Dakotas and of the jealousies existing among the chiefs, and though he knew it would occasion some hard feelings among the other chiefs, he did not hesitate to declare his opinion that Little Crow possessed more good sense than any other Dakota and he thought his appointment would be more generally acceptable than that of any other.[248] This was a really remarkable display of modesty, for the Indian is prone to claim large ability and to aspire to any honors which are in the way to be conferred.

His course in joining fortunes with the British in the war of 1812 has been followed in previous pages. We recall that he was at Prairie du Chien in 1814 and 1815, and that he desired to take the punishment of a party of his own people who had rebelled against his authority into his own hands, but was restrained by Captain Bulger. After the war he continued loyal to the Americans and lived to an extreme old age, enjoying the respect of both whites and Indians. In 1819 Major Forsyth visited him at Winona and says of him that he is the principal chief of all the Dakotas. "This man is no beggar, nor does he drink, and perhaps I may say he is the only man of this description in the whole Sioux nation." Forsyth made his biggest talk to Wapasha, explaining that the appearance of the large number of soldiers was not intended as a menace to the Dakotas, but for their advantage. The fort would protect the Dakotas from their enemies and afford them a free blacksmith shop. He explained that they must carry their complaints against the government, their enemies or against their own people to the colonel at the fort, and he would secure satisfaction for them. He took pains to impress upon him the power of the United States and to remind him that since he had been disloyal in the war that very good things would be

[248] Pike's journal, April 20, 24, 1806.

expected of him now. Referring to the anticipated troubles through the Selkirk settlement, he warned him against "the bad birds that come from that quarter. When they tell you, or want to tell you anything which you think is bad, put your fingers in your ears." After sundown Wapasha came down to the boat to visit Forsyth and conversed upon many subjects.[249]

Many anecdotes have come to us of Wapasha. Catlin met him in 1835 and painted a likeness of him. He had but one eye. Bishop Whipple relates of him: "On one occasion the Dakotas had killed one of our Ojibways near Gull River. On my next visit to their country I said to their head chief, 'Wapasha, your people have murdered one of my Ojibways and yesterday you had a scalp dance in front of our mission. The wife and children of the murdered man are asking for him. The Great Spirit is very angry.' Wapasha drew the pipe from his mouth and blowing a cloud of smoke into the air, said: 'White men go to war with their brothers and kill more men than Wapasha can count in all the days of his life. Great Spirit looks down and says: 'Good white man; he has my book; I love him and will give him a good place when he dies.' Indian has no Great Spirit book. He wild man. Kill one man; has scalp dance; Great Spirit very angry. Wapasha don't believe it.'"

Speaking of Wapasha's name Judge Flaudrau says: "It occurs to me that we have an illustration that original names are passing away in our own state and city. We have a county of Wabasha, a city of Wabasha and in St. Paul a Wabasha street. All of these names come from an Indian chief whom I knew very well and highly respected. * * * His name was Wapasha, not Wabasha. Wapa means a leaf, a staff and a bear's head; sha means red. So his name meant either Red Leaf, Red Staff or Red Bear's Head. We always thought it meant the Red Leaf. This corruption between Wabasha and Wapasha is not of much importance, but it is well while we can to get things right. It amounts to about as much as Thompson with a 'p,' or Thomson, without a 'p.'" Judge Flandrau did not settle in Minnesota until 1855, so that it is apparent that he was still living after that date.

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[249]Forsyth, August 13, 1819.

He left as his successor a son, Joseph Wapasha, who still is living with the Santees in northern Nebraska.

Tamaha,[251] the one eyed Sioux, is another Indian whose fame was developed in the war of 1812. We have already learned something of his action. He was a member of Wapasha's band of Dakotas, and was born on the site of Winona in 1775. His name means the Rising Moose and is pronounced Tah-mah-haw, but owing to his great admiration for Lieutenant Pike, to whom he constantly alluded, the Indians, with a humor worthy of the modern punster, changed the last syllable from "haw" to "hay," which made his name signify "the pike." Because of his admiration for Pike and the "good paper" given him by that officer, he refused to join his people in support of the British in 1812 and made his way to St. Louis, where he was employed by Governor Clark as a scout. He returned to Prairie du Chien with the Americans in 1814 and continued with them until Fort Shelby was taken by the British, when he returned with the garrison to St. Louis.

That autumn he was again dispatched to the Santees, going up the Missouri to the James and thence across the country to Prairie du Chien, where he was imprisoned by Major Dickson in an attempt to extort from him American secrets. He bore the trials with great fortitude and absolutely refused to reveal any information. Being released, he spent the winter among the camps of his own people, inciting them to loyalty to the Americans, and in the spring returned to Prairie du Chien just as the British were abandoning Fort McKay, having first raised an American flag over it and then set it on fire. Tamaha at some risk of life rushed into the post and rescued the flag. He then returned to St. Louis to report to Governor Clark, who as a reward for his fidelity gave him a commission as head chief of all the Sioux Indians. He remained at St. Louis until after the great council at Portage des Sioux, but his name does not appear among the signers of the treaties of peace and friendship negotiated there, probably for the reason that it was not considered appropriate for an Indian who had been so conspicuously loyal to be required to join in such a treaty. He soon re-

[251] 1 S. D., note 22, page 103.

Tamaha

paired to his people[252] upon the upper Mississippi and became the head man of a band of Redwing's Dakotas and for a time settled upon the upper Iowa, where the hunting was good, and from there he came to the Mississippi to meet Forsyth and Leavenworth in 1819. While he was entitled to a full share of the presents due under the Pike treaty of 1805, he accepted a little powder and whisky as his share, saying that it was better to give the blankets to the Indians at the Minnesota, as they were most in want,[253] a bit of consideration of the necessities of others not usual among the Dakotas. When he was leaving St. Louis Governor Clark gave him a captain's uniform and a stovepipe hat, which he treasured as long as he lived and wore upon all special occasions.[254] He moved up to the neighborhood of Hastings, where he was dubbed by the traders "The Old Priest," and being a great talker it was his pride to the day of his death to recite the stories of his patriotic valor during the war and to exhibit the Pike good paper and the commission and medal received from Governor Clark.

He died at Wabasha, Minnesota, in April, 1860, aged 85 years. The recital of the facts of his history is probably the best commentary upon his character. He seems to have been especially loyal in his friendships, and that spirit actuated his course. It is not to be presumed that he had any comprehension of the principles involved, but that he had a real admiration for Lieutenant Pike and afterwards for Governor Clark cannot be doubted. It is noteworthy that his allegiance to the Americans did not in the least militate from his popularity with the majority of his tribe, who supported the English. Here is indicated a peculiar trait of Dakota character; the absolute freedom of opinion permitted among them. Every member of the tribe is accorded the privilege of thinking and speaking as he pleases.[255] Tamaha was a man of fine physique, and but for the loss of an eye, which was destroyed while engaged in a

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[252]It is possible that the band of Wapasha's people who rebelled during the war and who were called "Americans," were the band of Tamaha. See the story of the trial and execution of Chunska, page 90. this volume.

[253]Forsyth, August 10, 1819.

[254]Niell, 287.

[255]Dodge, Drake, Belden, Riggs.

game of lacrosse, at Wing Prairie (Winona), in his boyhood, he was a handsome Indian. He was exceedingly strong and noted among his people for feats of strength and endurance.[256]

Redwing, also known as Tatankamane,[257] or Walking Buffalo, was another chief of prominence in those days and who accompanied Little Crow and Wapasha in most of their pilgrimages, but who was a man of less consequence and character than either of the others. His village was at the head of Lake Pepin, on the west bank of the Mississippi. He was a son of a chief of the same name who was conspicuous in the Pontiac wars and in the Revolution.[258] Redwing was at Michilimacinac in 1812, at Fort Meigs in 1813 and at Prairie du Chien until the end of the war. He signed the treaties of peace and friendship at Portage des Sioux in 1815 and the boundary treaty at Prairie du Chien in 1825.[259] His daughter married Crawford, the Scotch trader, and her daughter was the mother of Charles Crawford and Gabriel Renville, the well known Sissetons.[260]

Shakopee, whose name means "six," was another head man of the war of 1812 period. His home was on the St. Peter's or Minnesota River at the Little Rapids, where his name is still preserved in the name of the thriving town which has been built there. He appears to have been a bluffing, bullying fellow of low character. He signed the treaty of peace and friendship of 1815 and the boundary treaty of 1825. In 1819 Shakopee met Forsyth at the mouth of the Minnesota and was exceedingly insolent. Major Forsyth says of him: "I did not like the countenance of Mr. Six, nor did I like his talk. I gave him the remainder of my goods, yet the Six wanted more. Not having any more, he had to do without. I found on inquiring that Mr. Six is a good-for-nothing fellow and rather gives bad counsel to his young men than otherwise."[261] He had a son called Little Six, who was among a party of Dakotas who in violation of a treaty just negotiated with the Chippewas massacred five of the Chippewas under the walls of Fort Snelling in 1825, and being apprehended by Colonel Snelling, was with

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[256]3 Minn. 150.

[257]Indian Treaties and Laws, 1826, page 280.

[260]Niell, 327. Reminiscences of H. H. Sibley, 3 Minn. 173.

[261]Forsyth, August 26, 1819.

his companions turned over to the Chippewas for punishment. They were compelled to run the gauntlet and all five were killed.[202] A grandson, also called Little Six, was the most hideous monster in the outbreak of 1862 and paid the penalty of his deviltry on the gallows at Mankato.

Other chiefs of the period were Peneshon, who took his name from his grandfather, a French trader who at a very early date settled near the mouth of the Minnesota; the White Bustard, who lived near Peneshon; the Arrow, who lived near Mankato, and Killiew, the Eagle, who lived a little further up the Minnesota. They did little to distinguish themselves and no distinctive record of their doings has come to us.

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[202]Mrs. VanCleve's Reminiscences of Fort Snelling, 3 Minn. 81.

CHAPTER XII

Major Long's First Expedition up the Mississippi, 1817—Witnesses Bear Dance at Winona—Wazzacoota's Romances—Lover's Leap—Tragedy of the Falls—The Two Redwings—Little Crow's Village—Topographical Survey of Mississippi from Prairie du Chien to St. Anthony.

In July, 1817, Major Stephen H. Long, having completed a reconnoisance of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, made with a view of determining the feasibility of constructing a military road to the west by connecting those streams by a canal, found himself at Fort Crawford, Prairie du Chien, with a six oared skiff, and learning that the Indians of the upper Mississippi were not likely to make him any trouble, he determined to go up to St. Anthony's Falls and sketch and meander the course of the river, and make a general topography of the shores and note such points as were suitable for military purposes. He set out on July 9th, with a crew of seven soldiers and an interpreter named Roque, who subsequently became well known as a trader. Roque was a Dakota half breed and could not talk English, nor could Major Long speak French, so he found it necessary to employ a Mr. Hempstead, a resident of Prairie du Chien, a Connecticut Yankee, to go along and convert the half breed's French into the vernacular. He also took along two grandsons of Captain Carver's, who had come out from New York to investigate the alleged claim of their grandfather to the large tract of land adjacent to the Falls of St. Anthony, making twelve men in the party. The Dakotas and the Foxes were as usual at war, and the first day they passed a small war party of Dakotas camped on the west bank, who ran up the stars and stripes as soon as they saw the boats coming up stream. They did not stop to visit them but some young warriors came out in a canoe and were given a present of

some tobacco and whiskey. They did not encounter any other Dakotas until they reached Winona, where they found Wapasha's village, but the old man was not at home. The Indians displayed two American flags and fired a salute. The "folks at home" were well versed in the amenities of the occasion, and upon seeing the boats land, at once assembled and seated themselves in a circle for a council. Major Long made a talk and Wazzacoota, the second chief, volunteered to go with him up the river and the offer was accepted. When Long arrived at Winona he interrupted a bear dance, which is the ceremony by which the coming to manhood of a young warrior is celebrated, and the major's journal describes the ceremony in detail. "There was a kind of flag made of a fawn skin dressed with the hair on, suspended to a pole. Upon the flesh side of it were drawn certain rude figures indicative of the dream which it was necessary the young man should have dreamed before he could be considered a proper candidate for this kind of initiation; with this flag a pipe was suspended by way of a sacrifice. Two arrows were stuck up at the foot of the pole, and fragments of painted feathers, etc., were strewed about the ground near it. These pertained to the religious rites attending the ceremony, which consist of bewailing and self mortification, that the good spirit may be induced to pity them, and succor their undertaking.

"At the distance of two or three hundred yards is an excavation, which they call the bear's hole, prepared for the occasion. It is about two feet deep and has two ditches about one foot deep, leading across it at right angles. The young hero of this farce places himself in this hole to be hunted by the rest of the young men, all of whom on this occasion are dressed in their best attire and painted in their neatest style. The hunters approach the hole in the direction of one of the ditches and discharge their guns, which were previously loaded for the purpose with blank cartridges, at the one who acts as the bear; whereupon he leaps from his den, having a hoop in each hand and a wooden lance; the hoops serving as forefeet to help him in characterizing his part and the lance to defend him from his assailants. Thus accoutered he danced around the place, exhibiting various feats of activity, while the other Indians pursue him and endeavor

to trap him as he attempted to return to his den, to effect which he was privileged to use any violence he pleased with impunity against his assailants, and even to take the life of any of them. This part of the ceremony is repeated three times that the bear might escape from his den and return to it again from three of the avenues communicating with it. On being hunted from the fourth or last avenue, the bear must make his escape through all of his pursuers and fly to the woods, where he is to remain through the day. This, however, is seldom or never accomplished, as all of the young men exert themselves in order to trap him. When caught he must retire to a lodge erected for his reception in the field, where he is secluded from all society through the day, except one of his particular friends, whom he is allowed to take with him as an attendant. Here he smokes, or performs other rites which superstition has led the Indians to believe are sacred. After this ceremony is ended the young Indian is considered qualified to act any part as an efficient member of their commuunity. The Indian who has had the good fortune to catch the bear and overcome him when endeavoring to make his escape to the woods is considered a candidate for preferment and is on the first suitable occasion appointed the leader of a small war party in order that he may have a further opportunity to test his prowess and perform more essential service on behalf of the nation."

The next of the Dakotas encountered, was a nephew of Wapasha's whom, Wazzacoota informed them, was to succeed the old man as chief. Wazzacoota had by this time taken overmuch whiskey and he persisted in standing up in the boat and singing. Occasionally he would harangue a mythical audience in a loud voice, telling who he was, where he was going and the distinguished company he was in. Wazzacoota told them the story of Winona, the Indian girl who committed suicide by jumping from "Lover's Leap" into Lake Pepin, rather than marry an Indian she did not love. This was the first narration of the story to white men and Major Long wrote it out in full. Wazzacoota represented that he remembered the circumstance. He said some of the Dakotas of Wapasha's band were going down to Prairie du Chien. Among them was a young girl who had formed a

strong attachment for a warrior, who entirely reciprocated her views, but her family had made other arrangements. They had contracted an alliance with another man and on the day the party arrived at Lover's Leap the marriage was to take place. They stopped to get a pigment found there to paint themselves for the ceremony. The girl unnoticed slipped away from the party and a few moments later appeared at the top of the hill above the precipice and from there she administered to her family "a piece of her mind" and though they relented and implored her to refrain from the rash act she sang the death song and threw herself from the eminence. The story in detail with all of the romance Wazzacoota was able to weave about it appears in the journal for July 14th. That day they passed the village of Redwing, Jr., and the next day that of old Redwing, but as the wind was favorable they did not stop but resolved to do so on the return. It is noteworthy however that Young Redwing set up as chief of a band while his father still lived. Little Crow was away from home, but he gives him a bad name, as "the most notorious beggar of all the Sioux on the Mississippi," a distinction usually accorded to Redwing. Long further says: "One of their cabins is furnished with loop holes and is situated so near the water that the opposite side of the river is within musket shot range from the building. By this means Little Crow is enabled to exercise command of passage over the river and has in some instances compelled traders to land with their goods and induced them probably to bestow presents to a considerable amount before he would suffer them to pass. The cabins are a kind of stockade buildings and of a better appearence than any Indian dwellings I have before met with."

Long reached the Falls on the 17th and enters in his journal a very long story told him by Wazzacoota of a romantic tragedy which occurred at the Falls and "which his mother witnessed with her own eyes." More reliance might be placed upon Wazzacoota's entertaining romances, had they not been in some degree discounted by Major Long's relation of the effect produced upon him by imbibing the "commissary." The story was of a very prominent young chief who was happily married and was the father of two children. His domestic relations were especially felicitous, but his success

as a warrior and hunter was such that his people felt that he was not doing justice to himself nor to his nation by skimping along with only one wife, and as they had obligingly picked out another helpmeet for him and brought her to him he espoused her and took her home. The first wife was naturally indignant and went back to her father's tipi, and a few days later painted herself and her children, took them with her in a canoe above the falls, where in view of the tribe she let the craft drift over the falls. It will be observed that Wazzacoota* does not tell these as tribal traditions, but as actual events occurring within his own experience, or of that of his mother. After examining the site where Fort Snelling was soon after built Major Long returned down river and reached Prairie du Chien on July 26, 1817.[263]

*This man's name was undoubtedly Wizikute, meaning Pineshooters, being the same as that of the man who made the map for Father Hennepin 140 years earlier.

[263]Major Long's journal from July 17 to 26, 1817, 2 Minn. 9, et seq.

CHAPTER XIII

Summary of Events Following the War—Robert Dickson Again in Trade—The Selkirk Colony—Leavenworth Lays Foundation of Fort Snelling—Forsyth Pays an Old Debt to the Dakotas—The Redwings not Liked—High Opinion of Wapasha and Little Crow—Leavenworth's Attempt to Make Peace Between Dakotas and Chippewas—Visit of Cass—Reconnoissance from Council Bluffs to Snelling—Killing of Poupin and Andrews—Iron Friend and His Father Surrender—Waneta's Conspiracy Revealed—War with the Crows—Joseph Renville's Columbia Fur Company—Trade on the Missouri—Ree War—New Treaties Contemplated.

After the close of the war of 1812 Robert Dickson found his fortunes wrecked and he came out onto the upper Minnesota about Big Stone Lake and engaged in trade in a smaller way than he had formerly done. His presence in that locality excited the Americans to believe that he was encouraging the Dakotas to hostility against the new government, but the record does not bear out their theory.[264] It is probable he was giving his attention strictly to business at this time. Manuel Lisa resigned his position as government subagent to the Sioux in 1817 but continued in the trade.[265] The records for the period from, 1815 until 1819, relating to the Dakota country, are very meagre. That they were supplied with

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[264]Niell, 291. Dickson's memorial praying for a court of inquiry, dated at Quebec, November 2, 1815, after reciting his services throughout the war, says: "That your memorialist, after having been superseded in his appointment by order of that officer (Colonel McDonell), after having been put under arrest and detained as a prisoner in the island of Michilimackinac, has without any trial or investigation been dismissed in a most ignominial manner from his majesty's service, and has been thrown upon the world without provision or support, at the end of three years of most zealous, active (and your memorialist presumes to believe), most useful services, with his character traduced and his prospects destroyed." 16 Mich. 379.

[265]Chittenden, 289.

trade both from the Mississippi and Missouri and that they resumed their old time wars with the Chippewas and the Sacs and Foxes is about all that is now known.

As early as 1812 Lord Selkirk began his settlement in the lower Red River valley but it does not appear to have aroused much interest among Americans until about 1819, when the western Indian agents began to get wrought up over it and to conceive that it was not only a menace to American trade with the Indians within our own borders, but that indeed it was fraught with deeper portent and that the integrity of our domain was itself threatened.[266] This agitation lead to activity in the war department, and remembering Pike's treaty for a military post site and government factory at the head of navigation upon the Mississippi, Colonel Henry Leavenworth, then stationed at Detroit, was ordered to proceed to the mouth of the Minnesota and there establish a military post, which it was intended should hold the Indians to our allegiance, abate their intertribal wars, insure their trade, and above all offset the pernicious influence of the Selkirk movement.[267] It is unnecessary to add that the influence of the Selkirkers was quite overestimated and the motives behind it entirely misapprehended.

Leavenworth received his orders to proceed to the Mississippi from John C. Calhoun, secretary of war, on February 10, 1819, and soon thereafter proceeded by way of Macinaw and the Fox River route to Prairie du Chien, where he detached garrisons for small posts at the Prairie and at Rock Island, and with the remainder went on to the mouth of the Minnesota, where he arrived in September. They built mud plastered log huts for the winter. Leavenworth had with him ninety-eight men, and a few days later was joined by 120 recruits.[268] On the trip from Prairie du Chien he was accompanied by Major Thomas Forsyth, Indian agent for the Sacs and Foxes, who had been sent up by the government to pay the Dakotas the two thousand dollars' worth of presents stipulated to be paid for the Fort Snelling military reservation by the treaty made by

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[266]Niell, 290.

[267]Niell, 319.

[268]Forsyth's journal, 3 Minn. 140, et seq.

Pike fourteen years earlier.[269] It is probable that had the government been more prompt in meeting this obligation, that the history of the war of 1812, as related to the western Indians, might have been written upon different lines. Fourteen years is a long time, even for a Sioux Indian, to wait.

When Forsyth arrived at Prairie du Chien on July 5th he was met by Wapasha and also by a son of Redwing's, each accompanied by their bands. Wapasha made a fine impression upon the major but the heir of Redwing, he considered a worthless beggar. On the 8th of July a young Menomonee, becoming insanely jealous of one of the young Dakotas, stabbed him, near the fort. The younger element among the Dakotas siezed the belligerent Menomonee and binding him hand and foot set a watch over him, but when the affair came to the attention of Wapasha he gave the Menomonee a blanket and other clothing and then made him and the Dakota he had stabbed eat out of a single dish in token of forgiveness and friendship. Major Forsyth became utterly disgusted with the insolence of the begging Redwing youth and abruptly left him as they were sitting in council. Before they left the Prairie, old Redwing himself arrived and proved to be as much of a beggar as his son. Redwing told Forsyth some things that indicated that there was some foundation to the Carver claim to lands east of the Mississippi, but his story was not authenticated. On the 10th of September, when about sixty miles above Prairie du Chien, they stopped to confer with Tamaha, "the one eyed Sioux," who had come over from his village, then on the upper Iowa, to meet the expedition. They visited Wapasha at Winona on the 14th and had a long talk with him, which is reported at another place. On the 19th they conferred with Redwing, who was much pleased to receive presents withheld from him at the Prairie. Forsyth takes pains to say: "His son is exactly what I took him to be—a trifling, begging, discontented fellow." On the 21st they reached old Little Crow and were much pleased with him. He was highly gratified with the generosity with which he was supplied with presents, but in fact, owing to his proximity to the location where it was proposed to build the fort, he was given rather more than

[269]Idem.

his proportionate share of the goods. As we have seen he did not take much stock in the benevolent intentions of the government so far as effecting a peace with the Chippewas was concerned. On the 24th four bands from up the Minnesota came to meet them and the remainder of the goods were distributed among them, but there were all too little to satisfy their demands. In fact Major Forsyth had the delicate task of satisfying about four thousand Dakotas with two thousand dollars' worth of goods, and as Lincoln used to say "they spread on pretty thin." These bands from up the Minnesota were those of Peneshon, The White Bustard, Shakopee and the Arrow. Forsyth notes that upon his return down the river when near Winona, he met "Mr. Robertson ascending the river to winter in the River St. Peters."[270] This gentleman was the father of Thomas A. Robertson, the accomplished Sisseton interpreter. He was a Scotch nobleman, who having met with disappointment in political affairs came to America and buried himself in the wilderness. Very little is known of his story. Robertson was an assumed name, to hide his identity. That much he told his sons upon his death bed. He was about to reveal to them the story of his life but death closed his lips as he began the narrative. Colonel Leavenworth was too busy getting ready for the winter to give much attention to his neighbors, the Dakotas, that fall of 1819, but the next spring he took the matter up and induced the Dakota bands to agree to a peace with the Chippewas, and he started a large delegation of them into the Chippewa country to negotiate a treaty. They made twenty-three camps between the Minnesota and the point where they turned back, not having come upon the Chippewa.[271] It is evident that they had not traveled very fast. Before turning back they wrote a letter to the Chippewa, which they left upon a high pole. A few days later General Cass and his party coming down the river, stopped to hunt at this point and found the letter. It was a piece of birch bark, on which was marked with the point of a knife, the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers, the American camp, the

[270]Idem. Narrative of Thomas A. Robertson, told the writer at Sisseton Agency, August 10, 1901.

[271]Doty's journal, 13 Wis. 215.

journey of the Dakotas, a few Chippewas and the leaders of the two bands shaking hands. It was shown to the Chippewas who were accompanying Cass down to the military post and they readily understood its meaning. Cass reached Leavenworth's camp on the 30th of July and the next day about 300 Dakotas were gathered up about the fort and a peace treaty made between them and the Chippewas, but the Dakotas were very indifferent about the proceeding, and some of them refused to smoke the peace pipe after the treaty was signed.[272]

A week before General Cass arrived from the north at Leavenworth's post Captain Talcott and Lieutenant Douglas had arrived there, direct across country from Council Bluffs, the object of their trip being to determine the practicability of building a road connecting the two points.[273] About September, 1820, Colonel Josiah Snelling relieved Colonel Leavenworth at the Minnesota and continued the construction of the post, which was named in his honor, Fort Snelling.[274] During the summer of 1820, a party of Sissetons killed, near Council Bluffs, on the Missouri, Isadore Poupin, a half breed, and Joseph Andrews, a Canadian, two men in the employ of the Missouri Fur Company. As soon as the intelligence reached the agent, Major Taliaferro, at Fort Snelling all trade with the Dakotas was interdicted until the guilty were surrendered. To be deprived of blankets, guns, powder, tobacco and other necessaries was a calamity too serious for even the stoicism of the Sissetons, and they assembled in council at Big Stone Lake to consider the matter.[275] Colin Campbell, a well known and ubiquitous frontiersman, was present and advised them to promptly turn the miscreants over to justice and so relieve the tribe from hardship. Masakoda, the Ironfriend, and another young man came forward and announced themselves guilty of the crime and willing to surrender themselves. At that juncture the aged father of the Ironfriend stepped forward and offered himself as a substitute for his guilty son. The council deemed this a good arrangement and accordingly the Ironfriend

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[272]Idem.

[273]Idem.

[274]2 Minn. 105.

[275]Idem.

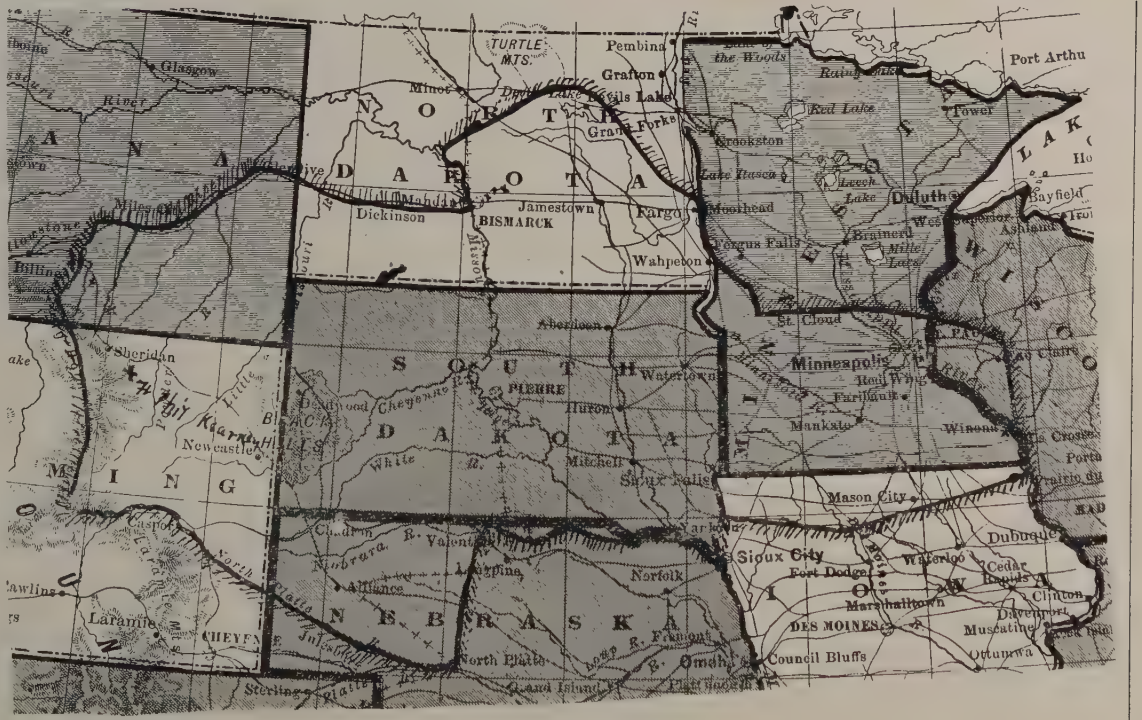
and his father, accompanied by a company of relatives and friends, started for the new fort the next day, arriving there on November 12, 1820. When near the fort they stopped and chanted the death dirge, and blackened their faces and gashed their arms. The hands of both Masakoda and his father were secured with throngs and then to show their contempt for pain, large splinters of oak wood were thrust through the flesh above their elbows. They then formed a procession, a Sisseton leading, carrying an English flag, followed by Masakoda and his father, the whole company following singing the death song. As they approached the fort Colonel Snelling came out to meet them. Taking the flag, it was placed upon a fire kindled for the purpose and consumed. Masakoda then gave up his English medal, and himself and father surrendered. The old man was held as a hostage and the son sent to St. Louis for trial. When he arrived there no one appeared against him and after some time he was released. He started to follow up the Missouri to his home but was shot and killed by a settler down in Missouri.[276] The other murderer stabbed himself to death while his friends were bringing him down to the fort.[277] About this time Waneta, the Yanktonais chief, learned of the military enterprise and came down to look it over. He was still an "Englishman," and hostile to everything American. He hung about the post for some time and finally concocted a plan to massacre the garrison, but in some way Colonel Snelling got an inkling of his purpose and placed him under arrest. His British flags and medals were taken from him and destroyed and he was forcibly "naturalized upon the spot." His warriors in their mortification gashed their flesh with their knives, but from that time Waneta was friendly to the Americans.[278] The next year Waneta alarmed the Pembina settlers by the massacre of the Chippewas near that point.[279] In this same year of 1822 a terrible war raged among the trans-Missouri Indians. The Tetons and Cheyennes joined in a

[276]Idem. Also letter of Colonel Snelling to War Department, November 13, 1820. Niell, 329.

[277]2 Minn. 106.

[278]Niell, 328.

[279]Drake, Book V, 135.



Sioux Territory 1822

campaign against the Crows, the Rees and the Mandans. The Tetons and their allies caught the Crows in an ambush and struck them a blow so severe that they never wholly recovered from it. The number of casualties of course cannot be known, but the Crow loss must from all accounts have been enormous.[280] This victory extended the Dakotas' country west from the Little Missouri to the Yellowstone and the Big Horn. During this year the newly organized Columbia Fur Company, of which Joseph Renville, the half-Dakota captain and interpreter to the English was one of the leaders, built a strong central depot for their trade at the head of Lake Traverse and also built several branch establishments on the Missouri; one at the mouth of the James, Fort Lookout and Fort Tecumseh.[281] The American Fur Company also built Fort Kiowa, near Lookout, eight miles north of Chamberlain, and the Missouri Fur Company was operating Fort Recovery on American Island.[282] It is probable that all of these companies had subsidiary posts in the interior. All of these posts were exclusively for the Dakota trade and in the spring of 1823 the Rocky Mountain Fur Company also entered the region and built Fort Brasseau at the mouth of White River.[283] The unpleasantness between the Dakotas and the Rees continued and a war party of the latter in the spring of 1823 had come down into the Dakotas' country and boldly attacked Fort Recovery but had been compelled to withdraw with the loss of one or more killed.[284] On the 2d of June the Rees at Arickara had attacked and massacred twenty-three of General William H. Ashley's men enroute to the Yellowstone and in August Colonel Leavenworth came up from Council Bluffs with 220 men to punish them for their treachery. Seven hundred fifty men of the Oohenopas, Uncpapas and Blackfeet Sioux joined him in the enterprise, and under Joshua Pilcher, who had succeeded Manuel Lisa as the manager of the Missouri Fur Company, and who was also a sub-agent for the Dakotas. The conduct of the Dakotas was

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[280]The Conquest, 405.

[281]Chittenden, 323.

[282]Chittenden, 952.

[283]1 S. D., note 16, page 250.

[284]Chittenden, 207.

not at all praiseworthy in this campaign, but it is believed they were influenced to obstruct the military by Joshua Pilcher and Colin Campbell, the man who was with the Sissetons in 1820 and who was at this time Pilcher's interpreter to the Dakotas. This campaign is described in so minute detail in the first volume of the collections of this Society that it is only referred to here for the purpose of keeping the order of events before the reader, who is referred to volume I of the Collections of the South Dakota Historical Society for the full account and all of the official correspondence.

As might have been expected the peace between the Chippewas and the Dakotas was of short duration and the Sacs and Dakotas, too, were at war and a bad situation generally existed in the Indian country. These conditions led Governor Clark to plan two campaigns for treaty making with all the tribes looking to a better understanding between the Indians and the whites and between the various tribes themselves. It was proposed to devote the summer of 1825 to these objects and the campaign up the Missouri was placed under the direction of General Henry Atkinson, commanding the right wing of the western department of the army, and Doctor Benjamin O'Fallon, nephew of Governor Clark and sub-agent for the Missouri tribes, while the Mississippi campaign fell under the immediate direction of Governor Clark, and Governor Lewis Cass.

CHAPTER XIV

The Treaties of 1825—Taliaferro, Indian Agent—Takes Dakotas to Prairie du Chien—Beautiful Entry of Flotilla of Canoes—Opposition of Traders—The Boundary Treaty—Its Provisions—Famous Dakotas Sign—Trade and Intercourse Treaties on Missouri—Personnel of Expedition—Treaty of Fort Lookout—Treaty of Fort Tecumseh—Waneta Signs—Other Signers—Visit to Medicine Rock—Fourth of July at Pierre—Success of the Treaty Enterprise—British Shut Out from American Trade.

When Colonel Leavenworth went to the mouth of the Minnesota, in the autumn of 1819, he was accompanied by Major Lawrence Taliaferro, as agent to the Dakotas and the latter continued in this position for twenty-one years, having the absolute confidence of the Indians and the government alike. He had been a lieutenant of the regular army, but had resigned at the request of President Monroe, who was a friend of Taliafarro's family, to accept the arduous position. From the beginning he found himself opposed by both the military and the traders, but his standing, with the administration was such that in spite of all conspiracies for his discomfiture he was reappointed six times and finally resigned. When word came that Governors Clark and Cass would meet the various tribes of Indians at Prairie du Chien, in the summer of 1825 Taliaferro rounded up three hundred eighty-five Santees, being headmen from all of the bands from the Mississippi and the Minnesota and Big Stone Lake, and took them to the Prairie du Chien. Arriving at the Painted Rock, a short distance above that post, he stopped and allowed his Indians to make their most elaborate toilets. They were all in small canoes and when the gorgeous dresses had been donned he again embarked them, having in the meantime decorated the canoes, which were dressed up in regular columns, and the grand entry was made with drums beating, many flags flying and with incessant discharges of

small arms. It is doubtful if a more picturesque demonstration has been any where made than was that brilliant flotilla of nearly two hundred canoes sweeping down the Mississippi. Governor Cass had already arrived and during the period of a few days awaiting the arrival of Governor Clark, Schoolcraft. then agent of the Chippewas at Sault Ste. Marie, and the fur traders, who were there in large numbers, made life as burdensome for the Dakotas' agent as it was possible for those ingenious gentlemen to do. They were determined to break him down because of his interference in schemes to secure recognition for large rights in the coming treaty.[285] The Yanktons were involved at this time in war with the Sacs and Foxes and refused to come to Prairie du Chien, lest they fall into some ambush of their enemies while enroute.[286] Governor Clark arrived and on the 19th of August the treaty, after a vast deal of bargaining, map studying and cross questioning, was completed and signed.

Section one, provides for a general peace between all of the tribes. Section two, defines the line separating the Sacs and Foxs and the Dakotas as follows: Commencing at the mouth of the upper Iowa, on the western bank of the Mississippi and ascending the said Iowa River to its left fork; thence up that fork to its source; thence crossing the fork of the Red Cedar River in a direct line to the second or upper fork of the DesMoines River; thence in a direct line to the lower fork of the Calumet River (Rock River emptying into the Big Sioux), and down these streams to the juncture with the Missouri. The Yanktons not being present, the portion of the line from the DesMoines to the Missouri was not to be considered as settled until the Yanktons consented to it. The Iowas agreed to the line above described, they having some sort of joint claim with the Sacs and Foxes, and the Otoes not being represented and it being acknowledged that they too had some sort of right in the premises that their right, whatever it might be, should not be affected by the treaty. The foregoing mentioned provision for the Iowas being comprised in section three and that for the Otoes in section four. Sec-

[285]Taliaferro, 6 Minn. 207.

[286]The Conquest, 405. Article 2, treaty of 1825.

tion five, defined the line dividing the territory of the Dakotas and the Chippewas as follows: Beginning half a day's march below the falls of the Chippewa River (Wisconsin), thence to the foot of the falls in the Red Cedar; thence to the standing Cedar on the banks of the St. Croix, a day's paddle in a canoe above the head of Lake St. Croix; thence passing between the two lakes called by the Chippewas, Green Lakes and by the Sioux, "the lakes they bury the eagles in," to the "standing cedar the Sioux split," thence to Rum River at the mouth of a small stream called "Choaking Creek," a long day's march from the Mississippi (six miles below Cambridge), thence to a point of woods that projects into the prairie a half day's march from the Mississippi, (seven miles southwest of Princeton) thence in a straight line to the mouth of the first river that enters the Mississippi on its west side above the mouth of Sac River, (crossing at Sauk Rapids,) thence up said little river to a small lake at its head, thence in a straight line to a lake at the head of the Prairie River, which is supposed to enter the Crow Wing River on its west side, (a point seven miles directly west of Alexandria) thence in a direct line north to the Ottertail lake portage, thence from Ottertail Lake to a point on Buffalo River half way from its mouth to its source, (eighteen miles east of Moorhead,) thence down the said Buffalo River to the Red River. The eastern boundary of the Dakotas' territory is described in the same section as beginning at the mouth of the Upper Iowa, extending across to a point two or three miles from the east bank of the Mississippi and follows the bluffs north, crossing Badaxe River to the mouth of Black River and thence to the point on Chippewa River, a half day's march below the falls. The line dividing the Sioux and the Chippewa was surveyed by S. L. Bean in 1835. Section six, described the line dividing the Chippewas and the Winnebagoes, and section seven bounded the Winnebagoes' territory. Section eight related to the Menomonees and section ten to the Ottawas and Pottawatomies of Illinois. Section eleven, all of the tribes acknowledged the general controlling power of the United States and also acknowledged the several military and halfbreed reservations. Section eleven provided that a council should be held with the Yanctons in 1826 to secure their agreement to the line in northwestern Iowa and section twelve for a council of the

Chippewas for the purpose of explaining the treaty to them. Section thirteen provided that no tribe should hunt outside of their own territory without first obtaining the consent of the other tribes interested. Section fourteen, provided that if any two of the tribes should get into difficulty the other tribes should intervene.

The treaty is signed on the part of the Dakotas by twenty-six headmen and chiefs, among whom are many well known men, including Wapasha, Little Crow, Sleepy Eyes, Waneta, Redwing, Shakopee, Peneshon and Tatankamana. Probably other men of renown are there but it is difficult to identify names from the crude manner in which they are written.[287]

The council over Major Taliaferro returned his Dakotas to Fort Snelling and their homes but several died during the time from natural causes, chiefly due to a change of diet.[288]

The expedition under General Atkinson and Major O'Fallon in 1825 was outfitted at St. Louis and set off up the river on March 20th and arrived at Fort Atkinson, sixteen miles north of Omaha, on April 19th, and remained there almost a month, finally getting away on May 14th. There were in the expedition four hundred seventy-six men and among the officers were Colonel Leavenworth, Majors Kearney, Langham and Ketchum; Captains Armstrong, Riley, Mason, Gaunt Pentland, Kennerly, and Culbertson; Lieutenants Harris, Swearinger, Wragg, Greyson, Waters, Holmes and Doctor John Gale. It will be observed that most of these officers accompanied the Leavenworth expedition against the Ree Indians at Arickara two years earlier. They were embarked in eight keel boats, called the Beaver, Buffalo, Elk, Mink, Muskrat, Otter, Raccoon and White Bear. Besides the usual equipment of paddles, poles, cordelles, sails, etc., each of these boats was equipped with a set of paddle wheels operated by hand power. Forty of the men went on horseback and went by land but constantly keeping in touch with the boats. Edward Rose, Colin Campbell, the Durions, William Gordon and other well known frontiersmen were interpreters to the Dakotas. The whole purpose of the expedition was to impress the Indians

[287]Indian Treaties and Laws, 1826, page 363.
[288]Taliaferro, 6 Minn. 208; 2 Minn. 111.

with the power of the government. Its first council in the Dakota country was held at Fort Kiowa, on the west side of the Missouri eight miles above Chamberlain, South Dakota, where they arrived on the 18th of June and met there certain of the Yanktons, Yanktonais and Tetons, the interpreters having been sent ahead to call them in to meet the commission. On the 20th a military demonstration was made for their benefit. The brigade was reviewed by General Atkinson and staff on horseback. The display was very fine, the troops being in fine order and the impression on the Indians was excellent. The council was then organized and the credentials of the chiefs examined.[289] At this point a few words as to the authority of chiefs and headmen to make treaties binding upon the tribe may be in order. "The Dakotas fully recognized among themselves chieftainship by heredity. This, however, was frequently set aside and to a greater or less extent depended upon the ability of the individual to make good his claim. Delegation of power to make treaties, went with the selection of their headmen and these headmen came to be such, by gradual growth of influence, rather than by specific election. I do not think this power is ever delegated so as to prevent the leading men from voting in councils held. All men who are invited to such councils have a vote. Everybody, however, is not invited; only those of recognized influence. Invitation to councils is made by the chief and his personal advisors, who are responsible for the initiative, who 'make the council,' in the terms of the vernacular."[290]

To state the proposition again, the tenure of office of the chief of any of the Dakota tribes, whether he be hereditary or elective, depended upon the force of character of the individual, but rarely was a man strong enough to control the

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[289]Chittenden, 608. Most of the matter relating to this expedition, except the body of the treaty, with its signatures, is taken from Captain Chittenden's account. The only copy of the journal of the expedition in existence is in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society, and has not come under the view of this writer. The story of the Fourth of July celebration is taken from a mutilated copy of a story secured by the writer with a miscellaneous collection of Americana from Robert Clark & Co. The writer cannot be identified.

[290]Letter of Rev. Thomas L. Riggs to writer, March 14, 1904.

action of his people without calling into his cabinet the other strong men of his nation, but when he had "made his council" and called in the strong men of all the bands and after mature deliberation a course of action was determined upon, that action was final and the tribe adopted it readily as the policy of the whole people. A treaty made upon any other basis was of little effect. Thus it was that the commissioners found it highly important, as a preliminary to any negotiations, to satisfy themselves that the chiefs and headmen who appeared before them were in fact the acknowledged leaders of the tribes or bands they assumed to represent. Failure to do this in some subsequent negotiations, as we shall learn, led to some serious and even tragic results. Being satisfied that the headmen present were in fact duly empowered to treat, the convention was drawn and duly signed on the 22nd day of June and was in the following form:

Article 1. It is admitted by the Teton, Yankton and Yanctonies bands of the Sioux Indians that they reside within the territorial limits of the United States and acknowledge their supremacy and claim their protection. The said bands also admit the right of the United States to regulate all trade and intercourse with them.

Art. 2. The United States agree to receive the said Teton, Yancton and Yanctonies bands of Sioux Indians into their friendship and under their protection, and to extend to them from time to time such benefits and acts of kindness as may be convenient, and seem just and proper to the president of the United States.

Art. 3. All trade and intercourse with the Teton, Yancton and Yanctonies bands shall be transacted at such place or places as may be designated and pointed out by the president of the United States through his agents, and none but American citizens, duly authorized by the United States, shall be admitted to trade or hold intercourse with said bands of Indians.

Art. 4. That the Teton, Yancton and Yanctonies bands may be accommodated with such articles of merchandise, etc., as their necessities may demand, the United States agree to admit and license traders to hold intercourse with such tribes or bands, under mild and equitable regulations; in consideration of which the Teton, Yancton and Yanctonies bands bind themselves to extend protection to the persons and the property of the traders and the persons legally employed under them, whilst they remain within the limits of their particular district of country. And the said Teton, Yancton and Yanctonies bands

further agree that if any foreigner, or other person not legally authorized by the United States, shall come into their district of country, for the purposes of trade or other views, they will apprehend such person or persons and deliver him or them to some United States superintendent, or agent of Indian affairs, or to the nearest miliary post, to be dealt with according to law. And they also further agree to give safe conduct through their country to all persons who may be legally authorized by the United States; and to protect in their persons and property all agents or other persons sent by the United States to reside temporarily among them.

Art. 5. That the friendship which is now established between the United States and the Teton, Yancton and Yanctonies bands should not be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, it is hereby agreed that for injuries done by individuals no private revenge or retaliation shall take place, but instead thereof complaints shall be made by the parties injured, to the superintendent, or agent for Indian affairs, or other person appointed by the president; and it shall be the duties of said chiefs as aforesaid to deliver up the person or persons against whom complaints are made, to the end that he may be punished agreeably to the laws of the United States. And in like manner if any robbery, murder or violence be committed upon any Indian or Indians belonging to said bands, the person or persons so offending shall be tried and if found guilty shall be punished in like manner as if the injury had been done to a white man. And it is agreed that the chiefs of the said Teton, Yancton and Yanctonies bands shall to the utmost of their power exert themselves to recover horses or other property which may be stolen or taken from any citizen or citizens of the United States by any individual or individuals of said bands; and the property so recovered shall be forthwith delivered to the agents or other persons authorized to receive it, that it may be restored to the proper owner, and the United States hereby guarantee to any Indian or Indians of said bands, a full indemnification for any horses or other property which may be stolen from them by any of their citizens; provided that the property so stolen cannot be recovered, and that sufficient proof is produced that it actually was stolen by a citizen of the United States. And the said Teton, Yancton and Yanctonies bands engage, on the requisition or demand of the president of the United States, to deliver up any white man resident among them.

Art. 6. And the chiefs and warriors, as aforesaid, promise and engage their band or tribe will never, by sale, exchange or gift, supply any nation or tribe of Indians, not in amity with the United States, with guns, or ammunition or other implements of war.

Done at Fort Lookout, near the three rivers of the Sioux pass, this 22d day of June, A. D. 1825, and of the independence of the United States the forty-ninth.

This treaty was duly signed on the part of the United States by "H. Atkinson, br. gen. U. S. Army," and "Benj. O'Fallon, U. S. agt. Ind. aff.," and on the part of the Yanktons by the following chiefs and head men: Mawtosabekia, the well known Smutty Bear; Wacanohignan, the Flying Medicine; Wahhahginga, the Little Dish; Chaponka, the Mosquito; Etakenuskean, the Madface; Tokaoo, the One that Kills; Ogatee, the Fork; Youiasan, the Warrior; Wahtakendo, the One Who Comes from War; Toquinintoo, the Little Soldier; Hasashah, the Iowa. On behalf of the Tetons: Tatankaguenishquignan, the Mad Buffalo; Mahtokendohacha, the Hollow Bear; Eguemonwaconta, the One that Shoots at the Tiger; Jaikankane, the Child Chief; Shawanon, or Oetekah, the Brave; Mantodanza, the Running Bear; Wacanguela, the Black Lightning; Wabelawacan, the Medicine War Eagle; Campeskaoranco, the Swift Shell; Ehrakachekala, the Mad Hand; Japee, the Soldier; Hoowagahhak, the Broken Leg; Cechahe, the Burnt Thigh; Ocawseenongea, the Spy; Tatankaseehahueka, the Buffalo with the Long Foot; Ahkeechehachegalla, the Little Soldier.[201]

These names were of course written before the Dakota language had been systematized in its orthography and the meaning of the words are consequently more or less obscure, but there is a vast improvement in the phonetic spelling of them, over the efforts of Lewis and Clark in the same direction. There are no signers who are designated as Yanktonais and it is probable that such as were present signed with the Yanktons. It is probable that the Tetons were in the main Brules and Oglalas, though that is not certain. The assembled tribes were given an exhibition of fireworks in the evening which made even a more profound impression than did the guard mount earlier in the day. The Indians, too, made a good impression upon the commissioners, who say, "These tribes deport themselves with gravity and dignity, while they displayed a quality of taste in their dress which did great credit to their untutored view of things." They were eight days in passing from Fort Kiowa

[201]Indian Treaties and Laws, 1826, page 363, et seq.

to Fort Pierre, and enjoyed some sport hunting elk and buffalo upon the islands of the river, but did not come in contact with any of the Indians until the mouth of the Teton and Fort Tecumseh was reached. The Oglalas were awaiting them, but the "Siounes" had not yet come in. It is clear that the commissioners did not have a very comprehensive idea of the tribal divisions of the Dakotas. The bands called Siounes they divided into the Siounes proper, who signed at Fort Tecumseh (Pierre), and the Siounes of the Fireheart band, who signed several days later at the Hidden Creek, the latter, from the fact that the commissioners at this place visited Medicine Rock, is identified as the Little Cheyenne at Forest City. These Siounes were manifestly Cut Head Yanktonais, a fact revealed by the signature of Waheneta, (Waneta) the Rushing Man, head chief of the latter band.[292] When the Fourth of July arrived the commissioners resolved to give the Dakotas a manifestation of genuine "down east" patriotism by providing them a typical celebration. Colonel Leavenworth was made officer of the day, orations were delivered by the commissioners and Lieutenant W. S. Harney, who thirty years later was to win distinction upon that same soil, read the declaration of independence, a salute was fired in the morning and at noon the Oglalas made a feast of the flesh of thirteen dogs "boiled in seven kettles much done," to which the officers were invited. The remainder of the day was spent in games, races, etc., and in the evening a fine display of fireworks. On the 5th a regular military review took place, which "struck the Indians with great awe and on the 6th after the treaties had been signed, Lieutenant Hotness threw six shells from the howitzer, which exploded handsomely and made a deep impression upon the savages." The treaty made here was in all respects the same as the one made with the Tetons, Yanktons and Yanktonais and was signed on the part of the Siounes by Waheneta, the rushing man; Cahrewecaca, the crow feather; Marasea, the white swan; Chandee, the tobacco; Okema, the chief; Towcowsanopa, the two lance; Chantawaneecha, the Noheart; Hehumpee, the one that has a voice in his neck; and Numcahpah, the one that knocks down two.

[292]Same, page 278.

On the part of the Oglalas: Tatuncanashsha, the standing buffalo; Healongga, the shoulder; Matoweetco, the full white bear; Wanarewagshego, the ghost boy; Ekhahkasappa, the black elk; Tahtongishnana, the one buffalo; Mahtotaongca, the buffalo white bear, Naganishgeah, the madsoul. On July 7th at 9 o'clock in the morning, the expedition having first started most of the cavalry back to Fort Atkinson, set out for the upper tribes. "The exhibition was beautiful." The wind being fair, the boats put off in regular succession, under sail and under the wheels, and ran up a stretch of nineteen and one half miles in view of more than three thousand Indians who lined the shore." They were five days reaching "Hidden Creek," where on the 12th the same treaty was signed by the Siounes of the Fireheart band as follows: Chautapata, the fireheart; Wahcontamonee, the one that shoots as he walks; Keahashapa, the one that makes a noise as he fires; Matocokeepah, the one that is afraid of the whitebear; Hotoncokeepah, the one that is afraid of his voice; Womdishkiata, the spotted war eagle; Chalonwechakota, the one that kills the buffalo; Carenopa, the two crows; Careatunca, the crow that sits down; Tokeawechacata, the one that kills first.

A separate, but similar treaty was made with the Uncpapas at Arickara, on the 15th, and was signed by Matochegallah, the little white bear; Chasahwaneche, the one that has no game; Tahhahneha, the one that scares the game; Tawomeneeotah, the womb; Mahtowetah, the whitebear's face; Pahsalsa, the Arickara: Hahahkuska, the white elk.[293]

This completed their work with the Dakotas. It will be observed that of the sixty-two Dakota chiefs and headmen who signed the three treaties five bore the name of "Buffalo" in some form or other and the ingenious secretary to the commission devised four differing methods of spelling the word Tatanka, which is the Dakota equivalent for the name. Eight others were of the "Bear" family and four methods of spelling Mato, which means bear, were found. The expedition went on to the Yellowstone, making treaties with all of the tribes which could be reached, and returning passed through the Dakota country with-

[293]Idem.

out noteworthy incident so far as relations with the Indians were concerned.

This was one of the most successful enterprises in which the government had engaged among the Indians since the explorations of Lewis and Clark. It established fair trade relations between the Americans and all of the American Indians and effectually shut the British out of our field, for it is a somewhat remarkable fact that though the Missouri River country had been ours for twenty-two years and the Mississippi region for forty-nine, the English had enjoyed the greater portion of its rich trade up to this time.

CHAPTER XV

Fort Snelling Fails in Its Purpose of Preserving Peace Between Dakotas and Chippewas—Massacre under Its Walls—Arrest of the Miscreants—The Chippewas' Revenge—The Story of Joseph Snelling—Comment by General Sibley—Snelling Blameworthy—Indian Stoicism Exemplified.

Instead of lessening the disasters of Indian warfare, the building of Fort Snelling in the heart of the Indian country and upon the line dividing the ranges of the Dakotas and the Chippewas, had the direct effect of vastly increasing the horrors of that warfare. Depending upon the protection of the military, both tribes brought their women and children into the disputed territory, where before the coming of the soldiers they would never have dared expose them, and it soon developed that the fort afforded no protection to the children of the forest against the savagery of their hereditary enemies, who made treaties of peace only to thereby gain better opportunity for butchery.[204]

At the break of day on May 28, 1827, Flatmouth, the celebrated Chippewa chief, arrived at Fort Snelling. He was accompanied by seven warriors and women and children, making a party of twenty-four in all. They asked Colonel Snelling and Mr. Taliaferro for protection and were told to camp within musket shot of the walls of the fort and so long as they were under the United States flag they would be safe. That afternoon they were visited by a Dakota whose home was at Shakopee, whose name was Tooponca Zeze, and eight young warriors, among whom was the elder Little Six, a son of Old Shakopee's. They were cordially received by Flatmouth and a feast of meat, corn and maple sugar was spread in their honor, and after a hearty meal they engaged in pleasant conversation and

[204]Rev. S. W. Pond, "Indian Warfare in Minnesota," 3 Minn. 137.

smoked the peace pipe. They remained as guests of Flatmouth until 9 o'clock in the evening, boasting of their exploits, coquetting with the Chippewa women, in every way exhibiting the most friendly relations, when they rose to go. Passing out of the tipi one of the Dakotas held the flap of the tent back with his foot while the other eight each discharged their guns among the party with whom they had just been visiting. There were nine persons in the tent and eight of them were seriously wounded, at least two of them fatally. One of the spent bullets barely missed the head of Captain Cruger,[295] who was spending the evening in a social company at the home of Major Clark,[296] near by. The outbreak created great alarm among the Chippewas as well as in the garrison and Major Clark was at once dispatched to go to the nearest Dakota village and round up and bring in as many Dakotas as could be secured. The Chippewas were brought within the gates and the wounded taken to the hospital. Thirty Dakota warriors were brought in and committed to the guardhouse. It was found that everyone of the eight bullets fired into the Chippewa lodge had taken effect and that the wounds were of the most ghastly character. The bullets had been chewed until they were rough and as the occupants of the lodge were all reclining, with their feet toward the door, most of the bullets took effect in the limbs and ploughed awful and ragged furrows through the flesh. One girl was killed outright, one man was mortally and one seriously wounded, being shot through both ankles and made a cripple forever. The others were women and children and were more or less injured. At dawn the next morning the military conveyed the wounded Chippewa on litters to the guard house, where the imprisoned Dakotas were paraded before them and they readily identified two of them as being of the band of murderers. Colonel Snelling at once turned these two over to the Chippewas to be dealt with as they saw fit. Little

[295]For sketch of Captain Cruger, see note 31, 1 S. D. 252.

[296]Major Nathan Clark came to Fort Snelling with Colonel Leavenworth in 1819. He was born at Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1789. He served with credit in the war of 1812. He was father of the well known frontiersman, Malcolm Clark, and of Mrs. Charlotte VanCleve, who has written relating to the events of that period at Fort Snelling (see 3 Minn. 77).

Soldier, one of the Chippewas, whose wife had been seriously wounded, bound their arms and then fastened them together at the elbows of one arm and they were taken out to a rise of ground a quarter of a mile from the fort. One of them set up the death song and carried himself with great courage but the other was stricken with consternation. They were told to run for their lives and were not slow to obey the mandate. The six remaining Chippewa warriors stood with guns in hand, but waited until their victims were thirty yards away before they raised them. Then the six muskets rang out and the two Dakotas dropped dead. An eye witness thus described what followed:[297] "Instantly the prairies rang with the Chippewas' **cry de joie** and the executioners rushed toward the corpses with their knives bared and yelling like fiends. Twice and thrice did each plunge his weapon into the bodies of the prostrate foes and then wipe their blades on their faces and blankets. One or two displayed a ferocity which those only who saw, can entirely realize. They drew their reeking knives through their lips and exclaimed with a smack that they had never tasted anything so good. An enemy's blood was better than even firewater. The whole party then spat upon the body of him who had feared his fate and spurned it with their feet. They had not tasted his blood. It, they said, would have made their hearts weak. To him who had sung his death song they offered no indignity. On the contrary they covered him with a new blanket." They then returned to the fort but Colonel Snelling told them the bodies must not be left there but must be disposed of and they returned to the slaughter ground and took the two enemies by the heels and dragging them to the edge of the bluff, which at that point is one hundred feet high, pitched them over into the Mississippi and they were not again seen. Among the Dakotas detained in the guard house was an old man named Eagle's Head, who was the uncle of one of the young men who was shot, and he was greatly agitated. After the execution he sent for Colonel Snelling, and told him that his

[297] Written by William J. Snelling, son of Colonel Snelling, the commandant. Young Snelling was 23 years of age at this time. Four years earlier he was guide and interpreter to the Long expedition to Pembina, and was thoroughly conversant with the Dakota language and character.

nephew had been enticed into the mischief by Tooponca Zeze, who was a very bad man belonging to Shakopee's band, who were a very bad people, constantly getting the Dakotas into trouble, and that they should be punished for their conduct. If he was permitted to go he would return the next day with at least two more of the murderers, whom he would turn over to him for punishment. Colonel Snelling took him at his word and let him go. He left Fort Snelling upon the forenoon of May 29th promising to be back by sunset of the 30th upon pain of being given up to the Chippewas. At daylight the next morning he was at the lodge of "The Englishman," father of Tooponca Zeze, where he found the latter lately arrived and boasting of his exploits. With that lack of ceremony by which an Indian is permitted to enter any place, however private, without announcement of any kind, Eagle Head walked into the lodge of "The Englishman" and catching up Tooponca's boast declared: "You have acted like a dog, and so have you," turning to another of the assasins who was present, "Some one must die for what you have done and it is better that your lives should be taken than that others should die for your folly. There are no worse men than you in our nation. Go with me like men, or I will kill you where you sit." Saying this he cocked his gun and drew his tomahawk from his belt. No resistance was offered him. Eagle Head, though not a chief was a man of great influence, and he was surrounded in this camp by his sons and sons-in-law and other relatives. Tooponca at once arose and offered his arms to be tied, handing Eagle Head a cord to be used for that purpose. When he had been secured he requested his father to thrust splinters through the muscles of his arms that the Americans might know that he did not care for pain. His father complied without uttering a word in protest. The other man seemed stupified by terror. He submitted passively and when all was ready, Eagle Head took up his gun. "Now start and walk before me, for you must die at the American fort at sunset and it is a long distance." It was about sixty miles. At sunset they were at the fort, when Colonel Snelling gave Eagle Head his liberty and a fine present. By this time the excitement had drawn all of the Dakotas of the neighborhood about the fort. The condemned Indians distributed their property among their relatives. Tooponca was

a man of splendid physique, almost a perfect model, but his companion had a harelip and was hideous to look upon, and likewise had a reputation as a thief, a vice not common among Indians.

When the prisoners were turned over to the Chippewas Flatmouth protested that the law was fully satisfied. That two of their people had been killed and that they had taken two lives in return, and he feared if they took more lives that the Dakotas would revenge themselves upon them and that his people were weak and unable to protect themselves against Dakota fury; but Little Soldier, a dwarfish, thickset fellow, very promptly declared if the chief was scared he was not, that Tooponca had the previous year slain his brother, and that his wife was now lying at the point of death. These fellows deserve to die and they shall die. He indicated to the prisoners that they were to march. Tooponca at once struck up the death song:

I must die, I must die,
But willingly I fall.
They can take from me but one life;
But I have taken two from them.
Two for one, two for one, two for one.

The Split Lip, on the contrary was overcome with fright. He piteously begged for his life. He did not deserve to die, for he had killed no one. Tooponca, however, indignantly disputed him and called him a cowardly and lying old woman. When they arrived at the place of execution they were given thirty yards and Split Lip fell dead at the first discharge, and the throng that bound them together was cut off by a bullet and Tooponca had reached one hundred fifty yards before a shot from Little Soldier's gun brought him down. After this all of the Dakotas left the neighborhood of the fort for a long time, but gradually their hostility wore away and they returned.[29n]

[29n]The foregoing account of this sorry affair is chiefly based on the narrative of William J. Snelling, and is in substantial agreement with Niell, 393, and with Charlotte O. VanCleve's story. Mrs. VanCleve was 8 years of age at the time and was a witness to the dreadful spectacle. (See 3 Minn. 76.) General Henry H. Sibley, writing in 1856 (1 Minn. 474), gives quite a different version. General Sibley says: "During the night they (Chippewas) were fired upon by a small number of Da-

kotas and two of their party wounded. Colonel Snelling was informed of the outrage and on the following morning he paraded his men under arms, marched toward the prairie, where a large number of Dakotas were assembled, and seized some of the principal men as hostages for the surrender of the guilty parties, and placed them under guard. During the next day three of the young men said to have participated in the night attack were brought in and surrendered up. They were immediately turned over to the Chippewas, who put them to death in the presence of the troops, and two days after a fourth having also been surrendered, met a like fate. * * * It subsequently appeared that but two out of the four were really guilty. One of the men had sacrificed himself to shield his brother, who was a mere boy, and the other was not of the attacking party. The excitement which was produced by the unusual proceeding was prodigious, not only among the Dakotas, but among their white friends in the country. The commandant was charged with unjustifiable haste in the summary execution of innocent men, and for a short time there was a fair prospect of Indian war. Colonel Snelling justified the steps he had taken on the ground that the American flag had been insulted by the violence offered to Indians under its immediate protection, and it was his duty to punish the offenders.

"As a mere question of policy there is no doubt that Colonel Snelling committed a grave error in sacrificing four Dakota lives as an atonement for the wounding of two Chippewas, both of whom recovered. True, the severity of the measure tended to prevent future outbreaks of a like kind in the immediate vicinity of the fort, but it also excited a far deeper feeling of exasperation in the minds of the Dakotas against their hereditary enemies, the Chippewas, and a spirit of revenge against the soldiers, both of which found vent in blood. Many a Chippewa scalp was torn from the reeking head by the friends of the victims, which but for their unhappy fate would have remained where providence placed it, and a number of American soldiers, supposed by their officers and comrades to have shamefully deserted their colors, had in reality been ruthlessly slain and their bodies concealed by Dakota hands. Several such cases were brought to light in after years by the traders and avowed by the Indians themselves. * * * Joseph R. Brown was at Lake Traverse when the Dakotas were delivered to the Chippewas for execution, and on his way back he narrowly escaped death at Lac qui Parle, Traverse des Sioux and Six's village, it being the avowed intention of the friends of the victims to destroy him."

In his report to the War Department Colonel Snelling says: "On the evening of May 28, 1827, at Fort Snelling, a party of Sioux, after visiting the Chippewas and partaking of their hospitality, without the least provocation, fired upon and wounded six men, one woman and a girl about 8 years old, two of them mortally."

CHAPTER XVI

Dakotas Threaten Hostilities—A Severe Winter—Many Sissetons Perish —Wakpekutes Move to Cannon River—Trading Post on the Elm—Wapasha Sells Timber—Gibson Loses His Cattle—Missionary Reconnoissance—Boundary Treaty of 1830—Taliaferro Again Defeats Traders—The Neutral Strip Reserved—Sissetons Massacred by Sacs—Black Hawk War—Wapasha Takes a Hand for the Government—Follows and Destroys Black Hawk's Refugess—General Atkinson Justly Reproached—Catlin Visits the Dakotas—Comment upon His Work and Reliability

That there was some real hostility among the Dakotas as the result of the affair at Fort Snelling was at once made manifest. In June two keelboats passing up the river with supplies for Fort Snelling were stopped by Wapasha's people and the boats taken possession of by hostile Indians, but the boatmen, though not armed, succeeded in bluffing them off and got away without violence. Hostile demonstrations were also made at Redwing's and Little Crow's villages but they reached the fort without loss. On their return down the river Wapasha's Dakotas were dancing the war dance.[299] There does not appear to have been any open warfare, but as General Sibley says, an outbreak was imminent and it is likely the Dakotas took the lives of at least one white man and one Indian for every Dakota executed at Fort Snelling:

The winter of 1827 was one of unusual severity and a party of thirty lodges of Sissetons passing from one hunting ground to another, near Lac qui Parle, were caught in a blizzard on the open prairie without food or fuel. The storm raged three days They dispatched some of the strongest men to the trading house at Lac qui Parle for supplies and Renville sent them four Canadians with food, but so much time was lost in coming and

[299]Niell, 396; 2 Minn. 117.

going that when they reached the camp almost the entire population was dead. The survivors were subsisting upon the flesh of their fellows. One woman became insane and committed suicide at Fort Snelling in the spring.[300] The Wakpekutes had established themselves on the Cannon River in 1828 and Alexis Baily built a trading post there for their convenience,[301] That year, Colin Campbell, acting for the Columbia Fur Company, established a trading post for the Cut Heads, Waneta's band, on Elm River, South Dakota, outfitting it at Fort Tecumseh.[302] That year, also a new attempt was made to cut pine timber on the Chippewa under a permit granted by Wapasha, who claimed the region, but without the government sanction. Major Taliaferro therefore stopped it, to the disgust of the lumbermen and of Wapasha, who was to receive a thousand dollars per year for the privilege.[304]

An attempt to drive cattle to Fort Snelling for the use of the garrison proved a failure that summer of 1828. Samuel Gibson started from Missouri with a large herd and missing his way abandoned his cattle out near Lac qui Parle, where they were rounded up by Joseph Renville and afterwards sold for the benefit of the drover, by order of Major Taliaferro.[305]

In 1829 the first attempt was made to establish Protestant missions among the Dakotas. On the 1st of September Revs. Alvan Coe and Jedediah Stephens arrived at Fort Snelling. Major Taliaferro gave them much encouragement and tendered them the use of the old grist mill at St. Anthony's Falls for a station and also of the farm opened up by the government at Lake Calhoun. They carefully examined the field, preached several times at the fort and conversed with the Dakotas, but concluded not to attempt a permanent settlement at that time.[306]

The boundary established between the Sacs and Foxes and

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[300]2 Minn. 114.

[301]2 Minn. 118.

[302]Story of Solomon Twostars, related to writer August 10, 1901, corroborated by John B. Renville, same date. Both of these witnesses fixed the date from the year that Waneta moved to the Missouri, leaving his brother, Red Thunder, with a considerable band, on the Elm.

[304]2 Minn. 119; 3 Wis. 216.

[305]2 Minn. 119.

[306]2 Minn. 120; 6 Minn. 126.

the Dakotas by the treaty of 1825 had not proven the successful barrier its projectors anticipated. In fact it was the direct cause of increased warfare and bloodshed. Hitherto the line between the territory of these tribes had been somewhat indefinite, so that it was not always easy to determine a trespass, but with a definite line established, it was the easiest thing in the world for a tantalizing Indian, bent on mischief, to provoke a trespass from his neighbors, so that the fighting was almost continuous and the reprisals and counter reprisals taken by the tribes were becoming a serious drain upon them. By 1830 a new plan was developed by some of the brilliant minds in the Indian department. It was proposed to assemble the Indians in council and secure from them a cession of a strip of land forty miles wide separating the two nations, and this, it was thought, would present a sure enough, impassible barrier. Forty miles to stop Indians who but recently had tramped down to Drummond's Island to tell the English officers what they thought of their conduct![307] Accordingly Colonel Zachary Taylor, in command at Fort Crawford, (Prairie du Chien) was instructed to call the Dakotas and the Sacs and Foxes together there in July, 1830, and Colonel Taylor sent word to Major Taliaferro to bring down his Dakotas. Taliaferro in turn sent Colin Campbell express to the Wakpekutes, Wahpetons and Sissetons. As Campbell proceeded up the Minnesota he found the Indians enthusiastic for the enterprise but upon his return he discovered that a change had come over the spirit of their dreams. The traders had decided to oppose the new treaty and had turned the Dakotas against it. They made the Dakotas believe that if they went to Prairie du Chien they would be turned over to the Sacs and Foxes in revenge for certain Indians of that tribe who had been killed in their forays,[308] as the young men were turned over to the Chippewas in 1827. After a good deal of persuasion, however, Taliaferro was able to secure a respectable delegation and proceeded down the river.[309] While enroute to this convocation a party of Dakotas and Menomonees who were not of Taliaferro's delegation but were going down on their own

[307]Note 202, ante.
[308]6 Minn. 210.
[309]Idem.

account, fell upon a camp of Foxes upon an island in the Mississippi and killed eight of them. In consequence of this massacre the Foxes would not take part in the treaty making.[310] Before the Indians met, Colonel Taylor went down to St. Louis and left the negotiations to Captain Clark and Major Willoughby Morgan.[311] After the usual amount of bargaining, counciling and explaining the Dakotas ceded to the government a strip twenty miles wide adjoining the treaty line of 1825 and the Sacs and Foxes, a like strip twenty miles wide adjoining the said treaty line. These united strips were known as the neutral belt, which was extended from the Mississippi to the Missouri. By this treaty too, the Santee half breeds were give a reservation fifteen by thirty-two miles in extent on the west bank of Lake Pepin and the Yankton half breeds got an interest in a reservation ten miles square at the mouth of the Kansas River.[312] The Santee half breeds never occupied their reserve and later relinquished it to the government for $50,000,[313] and the Yanktons relinquished their rights in the Kaw reservation very soon afterward.[314] In consideration of the cession the Dakotas were to receive annuities as follows: The Sioux of the Mississippi two thousand five hundred dollars; the Yanktons and "Santies" three thousand dollars for ten successive years at such place or places on the Mississippi or Missouri Rivers as the tribes might indicate, either in money, merchandise or domestic animals at the option of the Indians, and if merchandise was given them it was to be furnished carriage paid at the wholesale price in St. Louis. The government in addition agreed to furnish a blacksmith to the Mississippi River bands and one to the Yanktons, for the period of ten years, together with all necessary tools and agricultural implements to the amount of four hundred dollars annually. The Yanktons not being fully represented it was provided that if they should sign the treaty then they were to be bound by it. They did sign at Fort Tecumseh, (Pierre) on the 13th of October following.

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[310]Niell, 400.

[311]6 Minn. 210.

[312]18 Eth., Part 2, 727.

[313]Idem.

[314]18 Eth., Part 2, 762. Treaty of Bellevue, October 15, 1836.

In addition the government agreed to provide for the education of the children of the tribes, and paid over to them at the time of the signing five thousand, one hundred and thirty-two dollars' worth of merchandise. On behalf of the M'dewakantons the treaty was signed by Wapasha, Little Crow, Big Thunder and twenty-three others. Mazamanee and eight others signed for the Wakpekutes; Sleepy Eyes and Hotomanee for the Sissetons; Smutty Bear and twenty-two others for the Yanktons. Among the Yankton signers were Chaponka, who had signed the treaties of 1815 and 1825, and Hazassa or Hisayu, who signed the treaty of 1825.

While Major Taliaferro and his Indians, including Little Crow, were down at Prairie du Chien a nephew of Little Crow's, with fifteen or twenty young men from Kaposia, seized upon the opportunity to go off upon a raid against the Chippewas and at the Falls of the St. Croix killed Michael Cadotte, a half breed trader, and three or four Chippewas.[315] In July, 1831, a raiding party of forty Sacs crossed the neutral belt and attacked a party of Sissetons on the headwaters of the Cannon River. The circumstance indicates the efficacy of the new treaty.[316] That summer Major Taliaferro made a trip to Big Stone Lake and convened the Sissetons, Wahpetons and Wakpekutes at Traverse des Sioux to explain to them the terms of the treaty of the previous year, which being made in a somewhat irregular way required to be ratified by the tribes. He had a letter from General Jackson to the Indians, in which he said, "Let us smoke the same pipe and eat out of the same dish. War is hurtful to any nation. Keep the seven fires of your nation in peace and good order and I will try and do the same with the twenty-seven fires of my nation. Make your wants known to your faithful agent and you will hear from your true friend speedily." The Indians promptly ratified the treaty, in spite of the action in opposition by the traders.[317]

At about the time that Major Taliaferro, on the Minnesota, learned of the massacre of the Sissetons by the Sacs, Wapasha and a large party of his people appeared at Fort Crawford. A

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[315] 2 Minn. 124.
[316] 2 Minn. 116.
[317] 6 Minn. 213.

band of Wapasha's Dakotas had been out on the Red Cedar hunting when they came upon the trail of the Sacs and followed it until they came to the battleground. They had hurried to Fort Crawford to tell the news, but it does not appear that the military took any action to punish the Sacs and the Dakotas themselves were left to revenge their relatives in the old fashioned way, which matter of business was promptly attended to by them.[318]

That fall the Black Hawk troubles were already on and before spring the Winnebago country was in a state of wild excitement. Sub-agent Burnett, at Prairie du Chien, under direction of General Atkinson, undertook to raise and arm the Indians of the locality on behalf of the government, with good success. Wapasha promptly tendered his warriors to assist in destroying his long time enemy,[319] nevertheless while the attention of the military was directed Black Hawkward, he seized the occasion to hurry off a band of his young men to take a fall out of the Chippewas, in the Menomonee country.[320]

The Dakotas did not get into the Black Hawk campaign until the very close of the enterprise and spent some time scouting along the river to prevent Black Hawk's people from crossing and thus escaping the military. After the battle of Bad Axe had practically destroyed the enemy, a small remnant of women, children and old men managed to cross the river to the west side. Wapasha was set upon the trail of these refugees, by General Atkinson, and he overtook them and relentlessly destroyed them. Scarcely one escaped. General Atkinson was justly reproached for this needless cruelty.[321]

During that summer the Yanktons found the corpse of a white man near the second fork of the DesMoines River, near the present town of Dakota, Iowa. He was a tall, light-haired man dressed in blue coat, black silk vest and gray pantaloons. They found twenty dollars in money and a gold watch upon his person, which they carried and delivered to Alexander Farebault, the trader. The body never was identified.[322]

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[318]2 Wis. 246.

[319]Idem.

[320]Idem.

[321]2 Wis. 414. Black Hawk's Autobiography.

[322]2 Minn. 125.

While the events as above narrated were transpiring among the Santees the Yanktons and Tetons were pursuing the even tenor of their way, trading peaceably on the river, at the James, Fort Lookout and Fort Pierre, hunting the buffalo, trapping the beaver, drinking the abominable whiskey spirited into the country by the traders,[323] and diverting themselves by an occasional foray against the Pawnees, Poncas, Crows, Rees, Mandans, and even the far off Arapahoes. Only the faintest intimation of these wars come to us, without definite information of the battles, where fought, or how eventuating. They were either horse stealing enterprises or else intended to revenge the death of some warrior slain by the enemy in the last previous bout.

On May 22, 1832, George Catlin, the artist, arrived at Fort Pierre, having come up river on the steamboat Yellowstone to somewhere near the Niobrarah, when with Fontenelle, the trader, and a party of hunters he tramped across to the fort. He spent some time there and painted likenesses of many prominent Dakotas. Catlin was an enthusiast who was easily imposed upon and the reports he gives of the importance of the men he painted are not verified from other sources. His coming and his pictures, were, however, an event in the lives of the Dakotas, second only to the appearance of the steamboat. Pierre Chouteau, Major Sanford, sub-agent for the Missouri River Indians, and Kenneth McKenzie were present and the Dakotas gave them a dog feast with much ceremony, presided over by One Horn, the head chief of the Minneconjous, who with becoming seriousness had assured Catin that the Dakotas were divided into forty-one tribes, each having its chief, but that he occupied the exalted position of head chief of all of these tribes. The ceremony on this occasion was similar to that participated in by Lewis and Clark upon the same ground, twenty-eigth years earlier.[324]

One circumstance of Catlin's visit to Pierre, if true, is noteworthy. It must be premised however with the statement that the Fort Pierre journal for the period makes no reference to it, nor does any contemporaneous writer. Catlin's story is given for what it is worth:[325] Catlin says that when he was going up

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[323]Chittenden, chapter IV.

[324]Note 126, ante.

[325]Catlin's story of the dog, written at the pipestone quarry. The

river and waiting for the arrival of the Yellowstone, which he had left hung up on a sand bar near the Niobrarah, he was painting the likeness of Little Bear, a chief of the Uncpapas, when Shonka, a surly chief of the Sans Arcs, who was watching the operation and observing that it was a profile likeness, showing but half of the face, said with a sneer that Little Bear was half of a man. "Who says that?" asked Little Bear slowly. "Shonka says it," was the reply, "and Shonka can prove it." "At this", says Catlin, "Little Bear's eyes, which he had not moved, began to steadily turn, and slow as if on pivots, and when they were rolled out of sockets till they fixed upon the object of contempt, his dark jutting brows were shoving down in trembling contention with the blazing rays that were actually burning with contempt the object that was before them. 'Why does Shonka say it?' 'Ask the painter. He can tell you; he knows you are but half a man; he has painted but one half of your face and knows the other half is good for nothing.' 'Let the painter say it and I will believe it; but when Shonka says it let him prove it.' 'Shonka said it and he can prove it,' By this time the disputants and all of the Indians were violently angry and the principals were flinging opprobrious epithets at each other. Little Bear had rather the best of it, for Shonka's reputation was not savory and the sympathies of the Indians were with Little Bear, and when the latter gave a shot that raised a derisive laugh at the expense of Shonka the latter left the studio in high dudgeon. Little Bear resumed his sitting until the likeness was completed when he started for his own tipi, which was near by, but he was intercepted by Shonka, who demanded an explanation, but Little Bear was not disposed to recant anything

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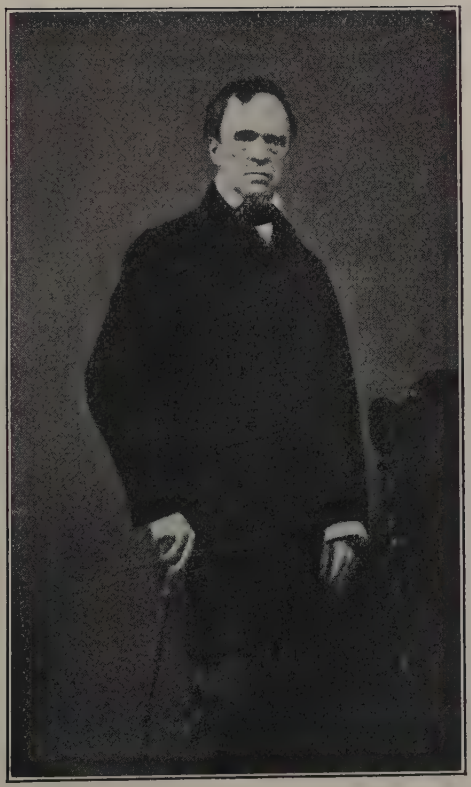
writer, after a careful examination of the writings of Catlin and comparison with known and established facts and dates, is forced, most reluctantly, to the conclusion that he was utterly reckless in his statements. Usually his stories are founded upon something of fact, but they are so exaggerated and contorted as to be only with great difficulty identified. This recklessness appears to have been his habitual method. A day was a week, a week "some months" in his way of speaking, and little and trivial events are magnified into stupendous affairs. Another circumstance which detracts from the value of his work was his habit, more or less true of all artists, of examining the form rather than the matter of things.

he had said. Both parties then started for their arms and a moment later appeared before Little Bear's door, where they drew and fired at the same instant but Little Bear's shot did not take effect, but Shonka's carried away all of that part of Little Bear's face which had not appeared in the likeness, 'carrying away one half of the jaws and the flesh from the nostrils and corner of the mouth to the ear, including one eye, and leaving the jugular vein exposed."

In a moment the community was in an uproar. The friends of Shonka crowded about him to protect him, while the friends of Little Bear were out for blood. "Arrows flew and bullets whizzed until Shonka was far out of sight upon the prairies." On the next day Little Bear died and was given honorable burial by Laidlaw, the Bourgeois, assisted by Catlin and Chouteau; and Catlin endeavored to square himself with the Indians, who regarded him as the cause of the trouble, by giving liberal presents to Mrs. Little Bear and to the head men. On the day of the burial the Yellowstone steamed on up river and Catlin got away without trouble. "While I was gone the spirit of vengeance pervaded nearly all of the Dakota country in search of Shonka, who evaded pursuit. His brother, however, a noble and honorable fellow, esteemed by all who knew him, fell in their way in an unlucky hour and they slew him." The excitement kept up and the more they considered the proposition the more they felt that Catlin was responsible for their woes, and after deliberation in council they determined if they could not find and kill Shonka that they would take it out of Catlin. In one of their councils an Uncpapa said: "The blood of two chiefs has sunk into the ground and a hundred bows are bent to shed more. On whom shall we bend them. I am a friend of the white man, but there is one whose medicine is too strong. He was the death of Little Bear; he made only one side of his face; he would not make the other; the side that he made was alive; the other was dead and Shonka shot it off. How is this? Who is to die?' Torn Belly, the Yankton, agreed with the Uncpapa that Catlin's medicine was too strong. That he had done much harm. Little Bear's brother spoke in the same strain, but Catlin was defended in the council by Tohkieto, the principal warrior of the Yanktons, but in the end they resolved that if Shonka was not caught Catlin must die. This was the



George Catlin

Fort Pierre, 1832

welcome news given the painter upon his return to Fort Pierre, by Laidlaw, on the 14th of August. He remained over one day and left down river on the 16th. He does not appear to have been molested. It would seem that had there been any serious foundation for the story some minute would have been made of it in the post journal. In all probability the occurrence is grossly exaggerated.[326]

In 1835 Catlin was again among the Dakotas, visiting the Mississippi, painting the likenesses of Wapasha, Walking Buffalo, better known as Redwing II, and Little Crow. In 1836 he again came up the Mississippi and thence passed up the Minnesota and visited the Pipestone quarry, being accompanied from his trading post upon the Redwood by Joseph La Framboise. He enlarges upon an affair which occurred at the post of LeBlanc (Provencelle), at Traverse des Sioux. General Sibley says that he exaggerates this story though he did have some trouble. It seems that a band of Wakpekutes were gathered at the trader's and offered some objections to the white men visiting the quarry and they made a big talk about their rights in the quarry. One Indian in expressing his views gesticulated pretty violently very close to Catlin's face, but young LeBlanc told him if he repeated the offense he would knock him down and that put an end to the obstruction. The gist of the talks made there was in laudation of the English, for the benefit of Mr. Wood, who was an Englishman and Catlin's traveling companion. After visiting the quarry they returned to St. Louis by way of Fort Snelling, no incident having occurred affecting the Dakotas during the trip. That year the Fort Pierre traders were represented at the annual round up of the Sioux on the James River by William Dickson, the son of the red headed Scotch major, Robert Dickson.[327]

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[326]General Sibley in 1 Minn. 481.

[327]Fort Pierre journal for April 7 and 13, 1832.

CHAPTER XVII

Coming of the Missionaries—Revolution in Methods—The Pond Brothers —Dr. Williamson and Family—Mr. and Mrs. Stephens—The Ponds Near the Fort—Williamsons Settle at Lac qui Parle—Discouraging Beginnings—Arrival of the Riggs'—Translation of the Bible and Making of the Grammar and Dictionary—Laying Deep and Broad Foundations—Swiss Missionaries—The Methodists under Dr. Brunson—Rev. S. W. Pond's Record of Indian Wars from 1835 to 1845.

With the spring of 1835 a new element entered into the lives of the Dakotas which was far reaching in its influence and eventually changed the entire atmosphere for very many of them, and yet is the most potent instrumentality in their slowly evolving civilization. We refer to the establishment and maintenance of Protestant missions among them. The courage, self sacrifice and unchanging devotion of the men and women who made and maintained this plant are no whit less than were those elements in the old Jesuit and Franciscan fathers who brought the story of salvation to them two centuries earlier. There was this radical difference in method. The old fathers sought to Christianize them without civilizing them. The Protestants sought from the first to inculcate ideas of cleanliness, industry, thrift; to educate, to clothe and civilize; at the same time touching their hearts with the truths of Christian teaching. It was a field filled with tares and thorns, the soil was not fecund, but the missionaries were faithful, patient, long suffering, undaunted by difficulties and the end of the second generation finds the Dakotas a Christian nation and generally living after civilized models.

The reconnoisance of Revs. Alvan Coe and Jedediah Stevens in the fall of 1829 has already been mentioned.[328] In the spring of 1835 Mr. Stevens, accompanied by his wife, returned to

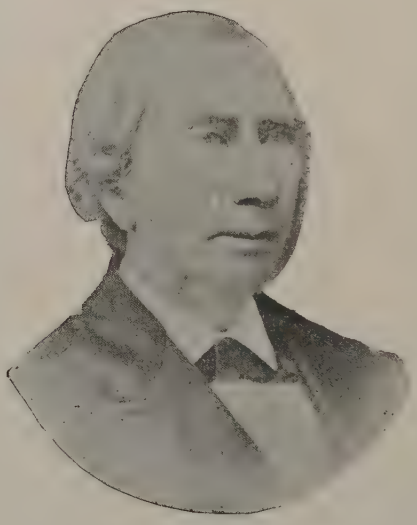
[328]Note 328, ante.

Fort Snelling and to take up the work there, and found that in the spring of 1834 Revs. Samuel W. and Gideon H. Pond, acting independently of any of the missionary societies, had come to Fort Snelling and settled down to missionary work among the Dakotas at Lake Calhoun, where they erected a log house for a home and a mission station. At about the time of their arrival, Dr. Thomas S. Williamson had arrived upon an exploring tour in the interest of the American board, and returning to his home in Ohio, brought out his wife and one child and his wife's sister, Miss Sarah Poage and Alexander Huggins with his wife and child, and they arrived at Fort Snelling at about the time of the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Stevens in the spring of 1835. Co-operation among the three parties from the beginning assisted in the work and enlarged its usefulness. Mr. and Mrs. Stevens decided to settle at Lake Harriet and the Ponds helped them to erect their buildings there. They at once established a boarding school, which for several years was successfully conducted by a niece.[329]

At the invitation of Joseph Renville, the Williamsons went to Lac qui Parle in June and established their mission on the north side of the Minnesota near the lake. In 1836 Gideon H. Pond also was sent to Lac qui Parle, to assist Mr. Williamson, while Samuel Pond remained at the Fort Snelling mission. On June 1, 1837, Rev. Stephen Return Riggs, accompanied by his young and accomplished wife, arrived at Fort Snelling and spent the summer there at the Stevens home and in the autumn went to Lac qui Parle.

The Lac qui Parle mission was destined to be much the more permanent and useful. The personal equation doubtless had most to do with this result, but there were other contributing causes. At the Fort Snelling mission the Dakotas there were the most advanced in civilization of any of the nation, but their wars with the Chippewas resulted in the massacre of two of their number by the Chippewas in 1839, near the mission, and for this the Dakotas retaliated by entering the Chippewa country and killing a large number of women

[329]The story of the missions is in the main taken from the writings of Dr. Riggs. "Mary and I," "Dakota Taku Wakan," "Protestant Missions," 6 Minn. "Dakota Missions," 3 Minn.



Rev. Stephen Return Riggs

and children. After this, anticipating that the Chippewas would attempt to revenge themselves upon them, the Dakotas feared to remain about the mission, and they were compelled to abandon the work. Mr. Stevens became farmer for Wapasha's band at Winona, and Mr. G. H. Pond farmer for the Lake Calhoun band, both in the government employ.

At Lac qui Parle, however, matters went more satisfactorily. Before the arrival of Mr. Riggs, Mr. Williamson had organized a native church with seven members, and within five years it numbered forty-nine. The missionaries at once set to work to reduce the Dakota language to writing and in a short time had translated some of the books of the New Testament and persisted in this laborious undertaking until a Dakota bible, a large Dakota dictionary, a Dakota Pilgrim's Progress, some hymn books and other literature in the Dakota tongue resulted. It was not all smooth sailing.

In the spring of 1838 a party of Chippewas under Hole in the Day came down upon the mission Indians and killed eleven of them in a camp near the Chippewa River. Mr. Pond assisted the Indians in burying their massacred relatives. The next spring Eagle Help, a headman and warrior of the Lac qui Parle Indians, resolved to lead a party against the Chippewas to revenge the killing of these persons, and the missionaries earnestly advised them against the enterprise. To reward the whites for thus meddling in their affairs they butchered several head of the mission cattle. From that period there was a division among the Indians and the heathen fellows made life difficult for the mission people, and for the Dakotas who became Christians and attended school and took up industrial pursuits.

During the winter of 1838-39 Dr. Williamson returned to Ohio to secure the printing of the first books in the Dakota tongue, and when he returned in the spring he brought Miss Fanny Huggins with him to assist in the work. It was decided at this time to undertake some industrial education and several spinning wheels and a loom were procured. They grew flax and wool and manufactured a good deal of yarn and cloth, in which work the Indian women became more or less proficient. The Dakotas were utterly ignorant of the gospel of soap, and had never heard of washing a garment. Mrs. Riggs, a lady

nurtured in refinement and untrained in such work, was unable to abide the filthy habits of these women and she took upon herself the task of instructing them in the art of washing clothing as well as in personal cleanliness. It was a slow task, but after a time washing became a fad among them and Mrs. Riggs had the great satisfaction of seeing her flock become the cleanest of people. The Indians about this mission were of the Wahpeton band. Something of the manner of living there may be interesting. The mission was a large log house. The lower story was occupied by Dr. Williamson for his home and a large room containing a fireplace was used for several years for church and school purposes. There were three rooms above, in the largest of which, 10x18 feet, the Riggs made their home. Everything was primitive. Mr. Riggs improvised a bedstead, they had a small cookstove but no stove furniture, but were enabled to borrow from the Indians a kettle and pan. Neither Mr. or Mrs. Riggs had any training in housekeeping, nor other labor, neither could milk a cow, and Mr. Riggs states that at first it took them both to accomplish this feat. Joseph Renville was the trader for the Columbia Fur Company, and he had a stockaded post called Fort Adams at first and later Fort Washington. He threw all of his vast influence with the Dakotas in favor of the missionaries. The village at Lac qui Parle contained about four hundred persons and among the very first to give their countenance and support to the mission were the young men of the soldiers' lodge, who were induced to do so through the influence of Mr. Renville. The Indians readily took to reading in the Dakota language, but it was slower work to get them interested in the English, yet from the first it was the plan to use the Dakota only as a step toward the English. During the first year Alfred L Riggs, the well known missionary to the Santees, near Springfield, South Dakota, was born, and Rev. John P. Williamson, who is still doing the Master's work as missionary to the Yanktons, was born at Lac qui Parle three years earlier, that is in 1835. After five years spent by the Riggs and Williamsons working together in reducing the Dakota language to writing, it was felt that sufficient progress had been made so that they could divide their effort to better advantage to the natives, so Mr. and Mrs. Riggs established a new mission at Saint Peter

Miss Sarah Poage had become the wife of Rev. Gideon H. Pond, and they, in company with Mr. Pond's brother, at about the same time established a new mission eight miles up the Minnesota above Fort Snelling.

In 1836 a missionary society in Basle, Switzerland, sent out Daniel Gavin and Samuel Denton as missionaries to the Dakotas. Mr. Gavin located with Wapasha's people at Trempealeau, and Mr. Denton and his wife at Redwing. In 1839, Mr. Gavin married Miss Lucy Stevens, the teacher at Lake Harriet, so that in the early forties there were five missions among the Santees, all doing reasonably satisfactory work. From 1837 to 1839 the Methodists, under the charge of Rev. Alfred Bronson of Prairie du Chien, undertook a mission at Little Crow's village. He established his work with a considerable force of helpers, among whom were David King and family, a farmer and his family, George Copway, John Johnson and Peter Marksman, T. W. Pope, James G. Whitford and Hiram DeLap. While here Mr. Bronson went up to Hole in the Day's camp and rescued a Dakota woman who was taken captive at Lac qui Parle. In 1839 Mr. Bronson was taken ill and the conference was not satisfied with the results of the work. In those days Methodism carried things by storm, and when a genuine protracted meeting spirit did not seize upon the Dakotas as the result of the work of the missionaries the conference deemed the enterprise unprofitable and the mission was abandoned.[330] During this period of the planting of the missions the Dakotas were experiencing their usual diversions in the way of wars with the Chippewas and Sacs and Foxes.[331] In June, 1835, a party of Chippewas coming down the Mississippi upon a peaceable mission to Fort Snelling were waylaid by a party of Dakotas and one of them killed. In March, 1836, Redwing's people killed one Chippewa. About the same time Jack Frazer, a Redwing halfbreed, killed a Sac Indian. In 1837 thirteen Wakpekutes were killed by the Sacs. In the

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[330]Idem; also "Western Pioneers," the autobiography of Rev. Alfred Bronson, D. D., 2 Vols., 1872-1879.

[331]What follows relating to the Dakota wars at this period is taken in the main from Rev. Samuel W. Pond's "Indian Warfare in Minnesota," 3 Minn. 129, et seq.

spring of 1838 a Dakota of Wapasha's band was killed on the Chippewa River in Wisconsin by the Chippewas. A war party followed the murderers and killed five of them. In the spring of 1838 Rev. Gideon H. Pond, then at the Lac qui Parle station, went out with a party of Wahpetons on a hunting trip. They were encamped not far from the present city of Benson, Minnesota.[332] There were a half dozen families in the party It was April, the streams were flooded and the weather cold Game did not appear as expected and they were reduced to the most scanty fare. On this account the party divided, Mr. Pond going with Roundwind and his relatives, leaving three lodges with eleven persons. That night old Hole in the Day appeared to the three remaining lodges. He was accompanied by ten warriors and said he had come to make peace. Though starving the Dakotas killed two dogs and made a feast for their visitors and all laid down for the night, but at midnight the Chippewas arose and killed all the Dakotas, except one woman, who eluded the destroyers and secluded behind a tree watched the murder and mutilation of her people. The next morning she sought Roundwind's party, and accompanied by Mr. Pond they went to the massacred camp and buried the dead. In July of that year Hole in the Day visited Fort Snelling and stopped at Patrick Quinn's, a mile from the fort. to visit Mrs. Quinn, who was a Chippewa. The Dakotas living about the government farm at Lake Calhoun heard of his arrival and started off to kill him, but Major Taliaferro persuaded them to turn back by giving them permission to kill him if they could catch him on his road home. Two of the Dakotas, however, were relatives of the Wahpetons who were killed at Benson in the spring and they hid near Quinn's house to catch him as he left. When he came out he had traded clothes and ornaments with one of his warriors and the warrior was killed by mistake and another one wounded, but Hole in the Day escaped. In retaliation for this, two stepsons of the Chippewa who was killed came down the next summer and killed the son of the chief of the Calhoun band. A few days before this last mentioned event several bands of the Chippewas from the Mississippi, Mille Lacs and the St. Croix had

[332] "Mary and I," 69.

been at Fort Snelling upon business, having their women and children with them, and it was at once surmised that the boys who killed the chief's son had remained behind for the purpose and that the parties would loiter along waiting for them to overtake them. The boys belonged to Hole in the Day's band and the Dakotas concluded that he would be watching out for them should they attempt to follow his trail, but that those from the St. Croix and Mille Lacs would not be on their guard, so they decided to follow the two latter named parties. The agent had given them permission to retaliate if any of their people were killed and they moved away before the military could interfere. The able bodied men of the Shakopee, Goodroad, Eagle Head and Calhoun bands assembled at St. Anthony's Falls and orders were given to take no captives, as in that case the military would make them give them up. By daylight on the Fourth of July they had overtaken the Mille Lacs band, but kept themselves concealed until the hunters had gone off for the morning hunt, when they fell upon the old men and women and children and killed seventy of them. They lost several men of the attacking party. The Dakotas say that when they raised the war whoop the Chippewas did not seem to realize their danger but stood awhile with their burdens upon their backs, gazing upon their pursuers as if they did not know what to make of them. Most of the young women escaped, the Dakotas being too much exhausted by their forced march to overtake them.

The Kaposians had followed the Chippewas of the St. Croix and come upon them while enjoying a drunken carousal, but after killing twenty-five of them the Chippewas seemed to sober up and repulsed their assailants with a good deal of loss. In the two expeditions the Dakotas killed one hundred persons, seventy-five of whom were women and children, and lost twenty-three men in the enterprises.

In March, 1840, seven Dakotas from Redwing killed a Chippewa woman and her two sons. On July 17th Longfoot, a Dakota, and his wife were killed by the Chippewas at Mendota, and the Pottawatomies killed two Dakota women and carried off two children into captivity, from the Blue Earth near Mankato Wapasha killed two Chippewas but lost two warriors to them that year. On April 8, 1841, three Chippewas came down the

Mississippi in a canoe which they left between the falls of St. Anthony and Minnehaha, and hid themselves in the night, in some bushes on the bank of the river, near a foot path about a mile above the fort. The next morning as Kai-bo-kah, a Dakota chief, was passing by the place in company with his son and another Indian, the Chippewas killed the son and fatally wounded the chief. Rev. S. W. Pond heard the shots and was on the spot before either of the men died and saw the Chippewas running away, loading their guns as they ran. May 11th of that year two of Little Crow's sons belonging to a war party against the Chippewas on the St. Croix, were killed. This story in detail is related by General Sibley in the biographical sketch of Little Crow in this volume. On May 16th a large war party of Dakotas from about Minneapolis and St. Paul reached Lake Pokegama where they killed two Chippewa girls and lost two of their own men in the operation. In July a war party from Little Crow's band killed one Chippewa at the mouth of the St. Croix. In the course of the summer five Dakotas went out against the Pottawatomies and all of them were killed. In retaliation for this the Wakpekutes from about Fort Ridgely killed thirteen Pottawatomies, and about the same time the Wahpetons from Lac qui Parle lost three of their men to the Chippewas.

The operations of 1842 resulted in the killing of a Chippewa and the loss of a warrior to the Kaposians in March, and an attack upon Kaposia by the Chippewas in June in which ten men, two women and a child were killed. In this fight the Chippewas lost four men. The Chippewas this year killed a Sisseton at Lake Traverse. In 1843 the Chippewas killed a Dakota child at Kandiyohi in April and two men at the ford of the Chippewa near Lac qui Parle, and at about the same time the Dakotas killed a Chippewa on Rum River and lost one of their own men.

From this record it will be seen that if the warfare was not especially sanguinary it was at least very continuous. What is most noteworthy is that a large portion of the attacks and killings were directly under the guns of Fort Snelling.

CHAPTER XVIII

A New Treaty and Another Victory for Taliaferro—Wisconsin Pine Lands Relinquished—Nicollet and Fremont Visit the Pipestone Quarry—Sibley's Hunting Party on the Neutral Strip—Police Regulations Very Strict—Power of the Soldiers' Lodge—A Perilous Night in Camp—Nicollet and Fremont at Fort Pierre—Fremont Offered a Wife—Hunting Party on the Cheyenne.

By 1837 a strong demand had arisen for the right to cut pine lumber on the Chippewa river. This lumber was needed by the villages growing up on the Mississippi and St. Louis and after long consideration the government, upon the advice of Major Taliaferro, determined to buy the lands from the Indians. It was owned by the Chippewas upon the upper Chippewa above the falls and below the falls by the Dakotas, as provided in the boundary treaty of 1825. Major Taliaferro was accordingly instructed to organize a full and well authorized delegation of Dakotas to go to Washington and treat for the cession of these lands. While the lands were particularly claimed by Wapasha's band, all of the Santees claimed some right in them and the delegation was selected to represent all of the Santee bands.[333] Before they started away the Chippewas were assembled at Fort Snelling and a treaty made with them directly by General Dodge, the commissioner of Indian affairs.[334] The Dakotas were present to watch the proceeding and secure pointers to be used for their benefit in

[333]These claims to the lands on the part of all the tribes grew out of the former residence of the western bands on the lands in joint occupation with the M'dewakantons. When the westerners emigrated they did not relinquish any existing right, though they claimed for themselves all newly conquered territory. Thus the Tetons down to the treaty of 1868 continued to claim a joint interest in all of the other lands of the Dakotas to the Mississippi and beyond.

[334]Major Taliaferro's autobiography, 6 Minn. 189.

their own subsequent negotiations. The traders, as usual, opposed the treaty, but were determined that if it was made that all of the debts owing to them by the individual members of the tribes should be deducted from the amounts due the tribes, and paid directly to them. From that date forward the Indian trade has been to a large extent carried along upon the proposition that of the Indian did not pay, that the government sooner or later would do so. In consequence Indian credit has been reasonably good with the traders.[835]

It was not an easy matter to get rid of the Chippewas after the treaty was signed without a clash between them and the Dakotas, but it was accomplished. Then the traders announced that no Indians should be permitted to go to Washington unless a guarantee was first given that the debts of the Dakotas to the traders should be paid before the distribution of any money to the Indians. Taliaferro refused to permit such a guarantee to be made, but securing a steamboat he marched his delegation to the landing and upon the boat the moment the vessel touched the wharf and was gone before the astonished traders could get their wits together. Little Crow, Redwing, Wapasha and Etuzepah were among the delegates, who numbered thirty-five in all. They made a prosperous trip and Secretary of War Poinsett introduced them to the president. General Sibley, Alexis Bailey, Joseph La Framboise, Francois LaBathe, the Farebaults and others were on hand to protect the interests of the traders. The treaty finally agreed upon was signed in Dr. Laurie's church at Washington on September 29, 1837, and was reasonably satisfactory to all parties concerned. Except the small military reservation at Fort Snelling and the neutral strip, it was the first time the Dakotas had actually sold and parted title with any of their lands. The treaty was a very brief and explicit one and was in the following form:

Article 1. The chiefs and braves representing the parties having an interest therein cede to the United States all their land east of the Mississippi River and all their islands in the said river.

Art. 2. In consideration of the cession contained in the

[835] Writer's interview with John B. Renville, August 10, 1901.

preceding article, the United States agree to the following stipulations on their part:

First—To invest the sum of $300,000 in such safe and profitable state stocks as the president may direct, and to pay to such chiefs and braves as aforesaid, annually forever, an income of not less than five per cent thereon; a portion of such interest, not to exceed one-third, to be applied in such manner as the president may direct, and the residue to be paid in specie, or in such other manner and for such objects as the proper authorities of said tribes may direct.

Second—To pay the relatives and friends of such chiefs and braves as aforesaid, having not less than one quarter of Sioux blood, $110,000, to be distributed by the proper authorities of said tribes upon principles to be determined by the chiefs and braves signing this treaty and the war department.

Third—To apply the sum of $90,000 to the payment of the just debts of the Sioux Indians interested in the lands herein ceded.

Fourth—To pay the chiefs and braves as aforesaid an annuity for ten years of $10,000 in goods, to be purchased under the direction of the president and delivered at the expense of the United States.

Fifth—To expend annually for twenty years for the benefit of Sioux Indians, parties to this treaty, $8,250 in the purchase of medicines, agricultural implements and stock, and for the support of a physician, farmers and blacksmiths, and for other beneficial objects.

Sixth—In order to enable the Indians as aforesaid to break up and improve their lands, the United States will supply as soon as practicable after the ratification of this treaty, agricultural implements, mechanics' tools, cattle and other such articles as may be useful to them, to an amount not exceeding $10,000.

Seventh—To expend annually for the term of twenty years the sum of $5,500 in the purchase of provisions to be delivered at the expense of the United States.

Eighth—To deliver to the chiefs and braves signing this treaty, upon their arrival at St. Louis, $6,000 in goods.

Art. 3. This treaty shall be binding upon the contracting parties as soon as it is ratified by the United States.

It was ratified and proclaimed in force on June 15, 1838. The only faction not satisfied were the Farebaults, who endeavored to have their claim to Pike's Island at the mouth of the Minnesota confirmed, or in lieu thereof to have $10,000 allowed to them from the treaty money. It will be recalled that Colonel Leavenworth, without authority, had attempted to grant this island to Mrs. Pelagie Farebault in 1819, and it was

due to differences between himself and Taliaferro, the agent, about this attempted grant that the latter secured the substitution of Snelling for Leavenworth at Fort Snelling in 1820. The government refused to recognize the claim of the Farebaults and they attempted to prevent the Indians from signing the treaty. When it came time to sign, Alex. Farebault, a half Dakota, bolted from the room, expecting that his Indian relatives would follow him, but Taliaferro was able to hold them and secured their signatures. The grant gave up all of the lands claimed by the Dakotas east of the Mississippi and all of the islands in that stream.

The home trip was successfully accomplished, arriving at Fort Snelling on November 10th, but a few days before the river closed. On the way up the river the boiler of the steamboat, the Rolla, exploded, and one of the Dakotas was killed.

The next spring Taliaferro went down the river and purchased a large number of horses, cows, oxen and farming utensils as provided for by the treaty. He also provided a number of blacksmiths' outfits and blacksmiths so that each of the principal camps of the Dakotas should be supplied.

The government set out W. L. D. Ewing of Illinois and Colonels Pease and Sperin of the army as disbursing agents of the cash to be paid over. That there should have been trouble between them and Taliaferro was inevitable and they preferred charges against him, but he was sustained by the department.[330]

In 1835 Prof. Joseph N. Nicollet, a French scholar, mathematician, astronomer and geographer, arrived at Fort Snelling, having a sort of commission from the government to examine and map the upper Missisippi valley, and he spent the four succeeding years in that employment, the last two of which were under the direction of the war department. His work had little to do with the Dakota Indians save that he explored and mapped most of their territory. In 1838 Mr. Nicollet was accompanied by John C. Fremont, and together they went out from St. Paul and visited the pipestone quarry and mapped the eastern portion of South Dakota, being guided in the trip by a party of Indians and halfbreeds from Lac qui Parle, among whom were Joseph Renville, Jr., and Louis

[330]Major Taliaferro's autobiography.

John C. Fremont

Freniere. They returned from the "Undine" country, as Mr. Nicollet designated southwestern Minnesota and eastern South Dakota, to the Renville establishment at Lac qui Parle, where no effort was spared to assist them and afford them amusement. Of Joseph Renville, Sr., Fremont says: "The head of the Renville family is a border chief. Between him and the British line is an unoccupied region of some seven hundred miles Over all of the Indian tribes that ranged these plains he had a controlling influence; they obeyed him and his son (Joseph), who is a firm looking man of decided character. Their goodwill was a passport over all that country. Our stay here was made very agreeable. We had an abundance of milk and fresh meat and vegetables. * * * To gratify us a game of lacrosse was placed with spirit and skill by the Indians. Among the players was a halfbreed of unusual height, who was incomparably the swiftest runner among them. He was a relative of the Renvilles and seemed to have some recognized family authority, for during the play he would seize an Indian by his long hair and hurl him backward to the ground to make room for himself, the other taking it as a matter of course."[337] Toward fall they returned to Fort Snelling. At this place General Sibley, then a young man, made a hunting party for young Fremont's diversion and taking the whole of Little Crow's village, men, women and children, they set out for the neutral strip in northern Iowa, where the deer hunting was exceptionally good. It was agreed in advance that Mr. Nicollet was presently to drift down to Prairie du Chien and Fremont was to join him there. Besides Sibley and Fremont there were Alex. Farebault, William H. Forbes and a couple of Canadians in the party. The trip was not an agreeable one and by the time they reached the hunting grounds Fremont had had enough of it, so that Sibley accompanied him to Prairie du Chien. The next year Sibley got up a hunt upon a bigger scale and as he gives a good many details of the Dakota life not found elsewhere, his story will be quite fully given.[338]

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[337]Fremont's Memoirs, 35-38.

[338]Reminiscences of Henry H. Sibley, 3 Minn. 355. General Sibley is mistaken in the date. 1838 is correct. Sibley has evidently forgotten that Fremont accompanied Nicollet in the expedition of 1838, and that it

At the outset, in October Sibley made a feast to which all of the warriors of the neighboring villages were invited. For this feast he contributed two oxen and a large quantity of corn. The response was very general indeed. After the feast an old man was sent around to announce the object of the gathering. Several hundred small sticks, painted red were then produced and offered for the acceptance of each grown warrior. It was understood that whoever received one of these sticks was solemnly bound to be one of the hunting party under penalty of punishment by the soldiers. One hundred fifty men accepted and were thereupon declared to be duly enrolled. These men at once separated from the main body of Indians and selected ten of the bravest and most influential young men to act as soldiers, having absolute control of the movements and authorized to punish any infraction of the rules promulgated for the government of the camp. These soldiers soon announced that six days later the buffalo skin lodges would be pitched on a designated spot in the rear of Mendota, and that there must be no default in appearing upon the part of any one. The interval was employed in preparations. At the appointed time all were present, but one family, the head of which refused to proceed. Five of the soldiers at once set off for his home, twelve miles distant, and in a few hours returned with the fellow's lodge and appendages packed on the backs of horses, himself and family following with downcast eyes. The soldiers kindly let him off without further infliction, but warned that a second attempt to evade his obligation would result in summary punishment. He gave them no more trouble. The Indians started ahead but Sibley overtook them on the Cannon River and placed himself, like the Indians, under the control of the soldiers. The place for the camp was selected by the soldiers and at the close of each day the limits of the following day's hunt would be announced by the soldiers, designated by a stream, grove or other natural object. The limits of each day's hunt was about ten miles ahead of the proposed camping place, and the soldiers each morning went forward and stationed themselves along the line to detect and punish any one who attempted to pass it. The

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was in that year and not when coming over from Fort Pierre that pipestone quarry was visited.

reason for the adoption of this rule was that in a large camp the young men, unless restrained, would run over the country for a great distance in advance and frighten away the game so that a supply of food would with difficulty be obtained from that source. The penalty attached to the violation of the rules of the camp was discretionary with the soldiers. In aggravated cases they would punish the offender unmercifully. Sometimes they would cut the clothing of a man or woman entirely to pieces, slit down the lodges with a knife, break kettles and do other damage.* "I was made the victim upon one occasion," says Mr. Sibley, "by venturing too near the prohibited boundary. A soldier hid himself in the long grass until I approached sufficiently near, when he sprang from his concealment, gave the soldier's whoop and rushed upon me. He seized my fine double barreled gun and raised it in the air as if with the intention of dashing it against the ground. I reminded him that guns were not to be broken because they could be neither repaired or replaced. He handed me back my gun and then snatched my fur cap from my head, ordering me back to camp where he said he would cut down my lodge in the evening. I had to ride ten miles on a cold day bareheaded, but there was no recourse, as it is considered disgraceful in the extreme to resist a soldier in the discharge of his duty. When I reached the lodge I told Farebault of the predicament in which I was placed. We concluded the best policy was to prepare a feast for the soldiers to mollify them. We got together all of the best things we could muster, and when the soldiers appeared in the evening we went out and asked them to appease their hunger in our lodge. The temptation was too strong to be resisted. They entered and soon devoured all that had been provided for them We then filled their pipes and presented each of them with a plug of tobacco, at the same time intimating that as they had been well treated, it would not be kind to have our beautiful white lodge cut into ribbons. They agreed not to interfere with it, and kept their word. The soldier who had worn my fur cap during the day returned it to me, but I did not venture to

*See Hennepin's "A New Discovery," page 187. The law of the chase was the same in 1680.

make use of it until it had undergone a long process of fumigation."

The view presented by so large a body of Indians on the march was rather imposing. Each family was possessed of one or more ponies, and these animals were attached to poles, one end of which was fixed on each side of the saddle like the shafts of an ordinary vehicle, while the other end trails on the ground; there being a sort of basket made of interlaced leather thongs attached to the poles, upon which were placed the skin lodge and others of the heavier articles, with a young child or two on top of the load. The horses were led by the women, the elderly men taking the lead, while the other members of the family old enough to walk assumed their appropriate places in the procession. One family followed another in single files, so that the procession was extended to a great length. When they arrived at a stream requiring to be crossed the women were expected to carry over the baggage on their shoulders. These streams are generally rapid, but seldom more than waist deep, except in seasons of high water. It was a favorite amusement for the young men to station themselves along the banks when the crossing was in progress and make impertinent allusions to the ankles of the women and girls. The mothers and other female relatives of the young girls, excessively enraged at such freedom of observation, made it a point to drive off the intruders by a heavy discharge of sticks and stones. When the camping place was reached the ponies were unloaded and turned out to graze, poles cut and the lodges raised in an incredibly short space of time by the women, the men meantime, or such of them as were not engaged in hunting, quietly smoking their pipes. The man's business is to furnish the inmates of his lodge with food and clothing, and the woman must do all of the rest. In fact a woman would feel ashamed to see her husband performing any of the labor or drudgery about the camp.

When the Big Woods on the Red Cedar in the neutral strip were reached a permanent winter camp was made. The lodges were surrounded by a stockade and outside of this a chevaux de frise was constructed from the sharpened ends of the tops of the trees from which the logs were cut. In the fort the women and children were left in comparative security under a guard of the old men who were too infirm to hunt. Continuing

his story General Sibley says: "I left the camp one morning to 'still hunt' in a direction different from that taken by the Indians I was successful and returned to my lodge bearing upon my shoulders the greater part of a young buck. I soon ascertained there was quite a commotion in the camp. One of the women came to inform me that all of the men except five old fellows who could not travel had gone down to the forks of the Red Cedar, more than forty miles distant, where they intended to remain and hunt for three or four days, and she further said a strange Indian had been seen behind a tree outside of the camp, taking observations. This information startled me not a little for I at once suspected that a scout had been sent forward by a war party of Sacs and Foxes to reconnoiter preparatory to an attack upon the camp. Seizing my rifle and followed by my two huge wolf dogs, my constant companions, I sallied forth and examined the spot where the Indian was said to have been seen. As there was snow on the ground a trail could easily be followed. There was no mistake about it, for there was the moccasin track of a man, and from appearances he had but recently left the place. I followed the trail for nearly two miles, when it occurred to me if I should overtake the stranger I would have no right to shoot him, and it was by no means certain he would surrender without a fight. I therefore abandoned the pursuit and went back to the camp with a foreboding that it would be attacked during the night. I called the five old men together and explained to them the condition of things and that the salvation of the women and children depended upon their vigilance and courage; that the night must be spent in watching. They assented to my suggestions and we all made such preparations as were in our power to meet the threatened assault. There was one main entrance, which I determined to hold in person, with the assistance of a half-breed boy, the Canadians having been dispatched to a trading house below for needed articles. The four small entrances were to be guarded by the old men, who were passably well armed. Taking our stations we awaited the denouement of the affair. About 8 o'clock in the evening the women reported having seen men moving in the woods on the side of the camp. I forthwith mustered all hands and directed a general discharge of firearms in the direction, so as to produce an impression that we were

on the alert and had more men in camp than there really were. I fired five shots from my double barrelled gun, rifle and pistols and all of the others followed suit so that there was quite a respectable display of force. No other alarm was given until 3 o'clock the next morning, when every one of the numberless Indian dogs in the encampment set up a barking and made a rush to the outside of the stockade. I firmly believed that the decisive moment had arrived and so thought all of the tenants of the lodges, for the old men began to sing their dismal death songs, the women screamed and the children cried, so that together with the howling and barking of the dogs there was such a concert, of anything but harmonious sounds, as never before greeted the ears of a civilized being. I sent the boy to still the tumult if possible, telling him to say to them that their loud demonstrations of fears were certain to invite an attack. The quadrupeds and bipeds were finally silenced and I must confess that I was rejoiced when the dawn appeared. I went forth at sunrise to examine the surroundings and found in the snow the tracks of many moccasined feet, and followed the broad trail to the place where the enemy, some fifty or sixty in number, had tied their horses to the trees. They probably were deterred from the attack by the strength of the defences and the certainty that they could not effect an entrance without the loss of more men than they were willing to sacrifice. I selected a bright looking Dakota boy fifteen years old and asked him if he was man enough to follow the trail of the hunters to the forks and he replied proudly, that he was. 'Hasten then,' said I, 'and tell the men to return without delay.' He sprang away at a rapid rate and communicated my message to the hunters, and shortly after midnight of the same day we heard gladly, their guns at intervals, telling us of their approach. The distance accomplished by the boy in eighteen or twenty hours, going and coming was considerably over eighty miles. I reproached Little Crow (Big Eagle), who was of the party, for the recklessness displayed by him in leaving so large a number of women and children in an enemy's country in an unguarded camp. He acknowledged it was very foolish to do so and promised that such carelessness should not be repeated. In the morning a number of the fastest runners were dispatched on the enemy's

trail, but they were too well mounted and had too long a start to be overtaken."

In that year of 1839, Messrs. Nicollet and Fremont came up the Missouri to Fort Pierre, where after some weeks of preliminary work they explored and mapped the country from the Missouri to the James and north to Devils Lake, coming back down the Sheyenne and across the coteau to Big Stone Lake and Lac qui Parle and thence to Fort Snelling. This year Louis Freniere and William Dickson were their guides, accompanied by a considerable number of Lac qui Parle Wahpetons, including Joseph Renville, Jr., and his family.[339] A large village of Yanktons were encamped near Fort Pierre while Nicollet and Fremont were there, and after some preliminary exchanges of courtesies a visit to the village was arranged. On the way the explorers were met by thirty of the principal chiefs mounted and riding in a line. They were conducted to the village and treated with great ceremony. They were given the conventional feat. Fremont, who always had an eye to the ladies, says the girls were noticeably well dressed, wearing finely prepared skins, nearly white, much embroidered with beads and porcupine quills, dyed many colors, and stuffs from the trading posts completed their dress. Having made the customary presents which ratified the covenants of good will and free passage over their country, the chiefs escorted the visitors back to the fort.

A few days later one of the chiefs came to Fort Pierre bringing with him a pretty girl handsomely dressed. Accompanied by an interpreter he came to the room opening upon the court where the scientists were employed with their sketch books and maps and formally offered her to Mr. Nicollet as a wife. This placed the Frenchman for a moment in an embar-

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[339]Interview by the writer with Mrs. Joseph Renville in the summer of 1900, and again on August 10, 1901. Mrs. Renville, a full blood Sisseton, was at the latter date still living near Sisseton agency. She accompanied Nicollet and Fremont upon the trips of 1838 and 1839. Though far advanced in years, her mind was perfectly clear and she was highly intelligent and very interesting. Her recollections, both of these expeditions and of other matters relating to the Dakotas, were very valuable, covering in her own life and that of her parents more than one hundred years.

rassing position, but with ready and crafty tact he explained to the chief that he already had a wife and that the great father would not permit him to have two, at the same time suggesting that Fremont had no wife at all. This put Fremont in a worse situation, but being at bay he replied that he was going far away and was not coming back and did not like to take the girl away from her people. That it might bring bad luck but that he was greatly pleased with the offer and to prove it would give the girl a suitable present. Accordingly an attractive package of scarlet and blue cloths, beads and a mirror was made up and they went away, the girl apparently quite satisfied with her trousseau, and he with other suitable presents made him. While the matrimonial conference was in progress the girl, well pleased, composedly leaned against the door post.

While going up toward Devils Lake Nicollet and Fremont left the James at the north end of Sand Lake and reached the highland between that stream and the Cheyenne, when they found themselves in a vast herd of buffalo and presently Freniere brought into camp three Indians, who informed them that there was a large camp of Dakotas on the Sheyenne preparing for a surround, and they realized at once that it would be extremely hazardous to proceed, for they might frighten away the buffalo. Freniere was immediately dispatched to camp to request the chiefs to indicate what route they could travel without disturbing the game. The chiefs sent back a pressing invitation for them to come down and visit them at their camp. The encampment consisted of three hundred lodges of Yanktons, Yanktonais and Sissetons, out to make meat. There were two thousand persons in the outfit. A feast was at once provided for the visitors and the courtesy was reciprocated by inviting all of the chiefs to feast with the white men. "The chiefs sat around in a large circle upon buffalo robes or blankets, each provided with a deep soup plate and a spoon of tin. The first dish was a generous pot au feu, principally of fat buffalo meat and rice. No one would begin until all of the plates were filled. When all was ready the feast began. With the first mouthful each Indian silently lay down his spoon, and each looked at the other. After a pause of bewilderment the interpreter succeeded in

having the situation understood. Mr. Nicollet had put among our provisions some Swiss cheese and to give flavor to the soup a liberal portion of this had been put into the kettles. Until this strange flavor was accounted for the Indians thought they were being poisoned but the cheese being shown them an explanation made, confidence was restored and by the aid of several kettles of water well sweetened with molasses and such other tempting delicatessen as could be produced from our stores the dinner party went on and terminated in great good humor and general satisfaction.

"The next day they made their surround. This was their great summer hunt when their provision of meat was made for the year, the winter hunting being in small parties. The meat of many fat cows was brought in and the low scaffolds upon which it was laid to be sun dried were scattered over all of the encampment. No such occasion as this was to be found for the use of presents and the liberal gifts distributed through the village heightened their enjoyment of the feasting and dancing which was prolonged through the night. Friendly relations established, we continued our journey."[340]

The Dakotas quite understood the degenerating influences of incestuous marriages and as most of the persons in any one band were related these summer visits among the tribes were encouraged to offer opportunities to the young people to marry outside their own bands.[341]

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[340]Fremont's Memoirs, 49.

[341]Sitting Bull's Memoirs, Sports Afield, January, 1904. The annual meeting of the Dakotas upon the James River was more for the purpose of bringing the young men and women of the different bands together than for any other purpose.

CHAPTER XIX

Missionary Visits to Fort Pierre—Dr. Riggs and Mr. Huggins Hold Service There in 1840—Adventure With Hostile Indians on the Way—Dr. Riggs' Estimate of the Dakota Population—Father Ravoux Visits Fort Pierre and Fort Vermillion—Killing of Drover Watson—Military Expedition Against Sissetons—Death of Joseph Renville—Sketch of His Career—Removal of the Winnebagoes to the Reservation Between the Sioux and Chippewas.

In the autumn of 1840 Rev. Stephen R. Riggs and Alexander Huggins set out upon a missionary reconnoisance to the Missouri river. They traveled with a horse and cart and accompanied a band of Indians who were going out to the Dakota country for their fall hunt. The horses, women, children and dogs were all heavily laden with kettles, various articles of clothing and corn for provisions until they should reach the buffalo. "In consequence," says Dr. Riggs, "our marches were extremely short, only about six or eight, or at the most ten miles per day, and that was sufficiently long enough for the most of our party. The little girls, some of them just able to toddle along through the grass, were obliged to carry packs, while their brothers, often much larger than they, carried only bows and arrows and at will sported along the way. Often these little ones came into camp weary, but such is native elasticity, that, no sooner had they thrown down their packs, than they were ready for their sports again.[342]

"We had agreed with the chief, Thunderface (Itewakinyan), to continue with them in their slow marches until we had reached the valley of the James River, from which we were to have a guide to Fort Pierre. Traveling thus slowly was somewhat tedious, but it gave us abundant opportunity to examine the country and become acquainted with those who composed our

[342]Missionary Herald, January, 1841.

party. We knew we were with those reputed to be the greatest thieves and the most vile mouthed of the nation. The last we found true to a greater extent than we had supposed. The former unenviable distinction they may still hold, but as we had cast our lot with them and placed ourselves under the protection of the chief of robbers we lost nothing by them. Before we started they had repeatedly told us that the Dakotas on the Missouri were so bad that the best we could hope for was to escape with our lives. They would most certainly plunder us of our horses and other things. This was not so. From a thread to a shoe lachet we lost nothing by theft.

"On the sixth day after leaving home, when we were encamped at Chanopa,[343] the old residence of Thunderface and his band, we heard that one of his younger brothers meditated evil against us. He is a most malignant man and has for a long time been jealous of his elder brother. He had left Lac qui Parle before we did and spending some weeks at Big Stone Lake, had proceeded across to met our party before we entered the buffalo region. The two encampments were now some ten miles apart when a messenger came to our camp and told us that Kanikanpi, the younger brother, had declared he would break up our cart and kill our horses besides doing other mischief to his brother and others of the party. He had sometime last summer forbidden our making this tour. He had some difficulty with Mr. Renville in trade and now his old jealousy of his brother was renewed, by knowing we were going under his convoy. This news produced no little anxiety in our camp. They all professed to believe that Kanikanpi would do as he had said. Some advised our return, but we did not think it our duty to do so until we had seen the threat actually put into execution. In this state of things Thunderface agreed to change his first plan and send two young men with us from the place we then were a few miles beyond Chanopa. The next morning we arose before day and passed on by the camp of Kanikanpi and on our return as he had passed to the north of our course we saw him out."

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[343]Two Woods Lakes, near Altamont, Deuel county, South Dakota. At that date Joseph LaFramboise kept a trading store there; 6 Minn. 247. These lakes were the home of Old Limping Devil in the early part of the century, and afterwards of White Lodge.

The first day after leaving Thunderface, and while likely in the upper Sioux valley, they came upon the buffalo and one of the guides killed one.[344] This set the Indian blood wild and it was with great difficulty that they could be induced to go on. They crossed the James at Armadale and reached Fort Pierre in safety, where they found Colin Campbell in charge. Campbell gave them a kind welcome and much information. He estimated the total strength of all of the Tetons at 13,000, of the Yanktons at 2,400 and the Yanktonais at 4,000, which from modern counts seems to have been a very accurate approximation. To this the Santees were added at 5,500, making the total strength of the Dakotas in 1840 about 25,000 souls.

They endeavored to ascertain the feeling of the Indians in regard to establishing a mission among them. There were about 500 Yanktons and Tetons about the fort and they appeared to be much interested in the project. On a Sunday Dr. Riggs preached and Mr. Huggins sang hymns to them in the fort. This was undoubtedly the first formal religious service on the Missouri River above the Sioux River.[345] Long Buffalo,[346] a Teton, was particularly impressed and called upon Dr. Riggs repeatedly to learn more of his teachings. They were, too, interested in learning to read and write, but would not send any of their young people so far away as Lac qui Parle to attend school. Dr. Riggs recommended that the board establish a mission in the neighborhood of Fort Pierre, but either the right man or else the means was not forthcoming and nothing was done, and it remained for the son of Dr. Riggs, not yet born at the time of this visit, to go to that locality thirty-three years later and establish the first Protestant mission, and at this writing that son, the honored president of this society, has maintained the mission so established for thirty-one years.[347] The trip back to Lac qui Parle was uneventful.

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[344]Sacred Cow was the name of this guide.

[345]Jedediah Smith made a prayer at the mouth of the Grand River, South Dakota, June 2, 1823. 1 S. D. 247.

[346]Dr. Riggs did not have much faith that Long Buffalo and his people comprehended the purpose of his mission. He thought his interest was largely curiosity, together with a desire to show off.

[347]Rev. Thomas L. Riggs, son of the older missionary.

About 1841, Father Ravoux had established a Catholic mission for the Indians at St. Paul and the soldiers at Fort Snelling. He was under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Dubuque. The latter upon a visit to St. Louis met some of the Missouri River traders there who had half Indian children in the wilderness They implored him to send them a priest and Father Ravoux was dispatched across the country to Fort Pierre in the summer of 1842, where he baptized many children. He traveled in company with a party of Santees who took him to visit Sand Lake, on the James River, and at that point and possibly others enroute he celebrated mass. In 1845 he made a similar excursion to Fort Vermillion, and for the same purpose.[348] Father Ravoux, still living (1904), devoted his years of usefulness to the elevation of the Dakotas, being particularly useful to them in the trying period following the outbreak of 1862.

In 1844 a drover named Watson with cattle for Fort Snelling fell in with a party of Sissetons, who took possession of the stock and in the skirmish which ensued Watson was killed. Troops were dispatched from Fort DesMoines to punish the murderers, but Captain Allen, becoming confused, strayed off to the northwest and reached the Sioux River near Lake Kampeska. He got his bearings, reached the Sissetons on the Minnesota and arrested the guilty members of the tribe, but subsequently allowed them to escape. He lost a good many of his horses and finally reached Fort Snelling, not having made a very brilliant campaign.[349]

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[348]Memoirs of Father Augustine Ravoux. Western Missions and Missionaries, 57.

[349]Niell, 472. Interview with John B. Renville, 1901, and Joseph La Frambois, Jr., 1900. Joseph LaFrambois, Jr, son of the old trader and a daughter of Chief Walking Day, a Sisseton, and brother to Sleepy Eyes, was born at the headwaters of the DesMoines in 1829. His home is at Veblen, on the Sisseton reservation. He is an intelligent man and possesses an excellent memory. August 1, 1900, I visited LaFrambois at his home, in company with Hon. Harry Morris of Sisseton, and secured some information from him. That autumn LaFrambois was called to Sioux Falls as a witness in the United States court, and while there I had many long talks with him and drew out an invaluable fund of information. Being prompted by suggestions from my library, which was at hand, he was able to throw a vast deal of light upon obscure points in northwestern history.

The next year Captain Summers was sent with a company of dragoons, from Fort Atkinson, Iowa, to drive the Pembina halfbreeds from the buffalo ranges of the Dakotas. The trespasses of these halfbreeds had long been a source of irritation between the Sissetons, Wahpetons, and Yanktonais and their northern neighbors. He reached Traverse des Sioux on June 25th and a few days later held a council with the Wahpetons at Lac qui Parle. The Wahpetons informed him that the troubles with the halfbreeds were their own business and they did not want Uncle Sam to interfere. On the 5th of July another council was held with the Sissetons, who likewise opposed the soldiers' right to meddle in their affairs. Three days later another council was held with another band, when three of the murderers of Watson walked in to take part in the council. They were at once arrested, causing great excitement. Summers went on up to meet the halfbreeds, but accomplished nothing. On his return to Traverse des Sioux he found some of the horses and mules which Allen had lost the previous year. He arrested the Indians in whose possession they were and took them down to Fort Snelling, where they were confined for a time and then released.[350]

In March, 1846, Joseph Renville, the famous halfbreed interpreter, died at his home at Lac qui Parle.[351] He was a remarkable man in every way. In fact he possessed but one quarter white blood. His services to the missionaries were of incalculable value; indeed without him the station at Lac qui Parle could not have been maintained. He was born at Kaposia in 1779. He first came into prominence as guide to Pike in 1805,[352] and later entered the service of Dickson for the British in the war of 1812. He was the official interpreter to the Sioux and to him was intrusted the recruiting of the Dakotas for that war. He was present at Forts Meigs and Stephenson, and to his courage and moderation the good conduct of the Indians is largely due. In 1814 and 1815 he served at Prairie du Chien and that summer attended the Dakotas at Portage des Sioux. As a reward for his services he was given a captain's commis-

[350]Idem.
[351]Niell, 473; 1 Minn. 104.
[352]Pike's journal.

sion and half pay by the English, but as the retention of these favors would require him to live without the United States and away from his own people he promptly resigned them and engaged in trade. In 1822 he had accumulated a good estate and was the leader in the powerful Columbia, which met the great American company upon its own grounds and compelled it to in effect give up its business in western Minnesota and upon the upper Missouri to it. At the time of the arrangement with the American in 1828, Renville withdrew from the company and established an independent business at Lac qui Parle, where he spent the remainder of the years of his life, bearing the esteem and affection of all who met him, white or red. It is noteworthy that no traveler ever came into the sphere of his influence, the boorish Featherstonehaugh excepted, who did not write of the genial character, hospitality and helpfulness of this distinguished mixed blood. In 1834 Dr. Williamson met him at Prairie du Chien, and he at once, upon learning of the intentions of the good man to establish a mission in the Dakota county, urged him to settle among the wild Indians surrounding his trading post at Lac qui Parle. The next year he met the doctor at Fort Snelling and conducted him to his trading post and rendered him every assistance in getting settled. Himself and family were the first to unite with the struggling mission church and his tongue translated the bible into the Dakota language.

Featherstonehaugh describes him as "a dark, Indian looking man, showing no white blood, short in stature, with strong features and coarse black hair." If this is a correct likeness of the man he was greatly different from his son, Rev. John B. Renville, who was spare, light, for an Indian, and one of the gentlest characters it has been the fortune of this writer to meet.

Joseph Renville possessed a strongly religious nature, and though reared without religious instruction, he had heard enough to convince him it was the right way and he sent away and procured what was probably the first bible in the state of Minnesota. He was fortunate in securing an edition printed in Geneva in 1558 and containing a preface in Latin by John Calvin. Unfortunately it was burned in the mission house in Lac qui Parle. Long before the missionaries came, Renville took

his Indian bride to Prairie du Chien that they might be regularly married by a Christian minister.

Owing to the continued and unregulated sale of liquor at St. Paul a very bad state of affairs grew up among the Indians there, and after the chief had been shot almost to death, by his brother, in a drunken row, that worthy sent a request for missionaries to be sent to him and in 1847 Dr. Williamson came down and established a mission there and remained there, except for a short period while he acted as post surgeon at Fort Snelling, until the Indians disposed of their lands and removed up the Minnesota.[353]

After the Black Hawk war the government gathered up the remnant of the Winnebagoes and established them upon the neutral strip in northern Iowa, but the location was not satisfactory and in 1846 a new treaty was made with them by which they gave up the Iowa home and were to be set up on a reservation about Long Praire in western Minnesota. This plan was not agreeable to the Winnebagoes, who felt that they would in the new location fall victims to the Chippewas and they preferred to go to the Missouri. It was the plan of the agent, J. E. Fletcher, assisted by Hon. Henry M. Rice to move them to their new home in a flotilla of canoes up the Mississippi, but the Indians demurred and could not be started. Their belongings were loaded in wagons to be hauled to the river, but the Indians threw them out as fast as they could be loaded. Finally a detachment of troops were brought up from Fort Atkinson, and the Indians made ready for battle, but a feast was provided for them which for the time overcome their belligerent propensities. They agreed to march across to the river at Winona. When they arrived there they bought the prairie upon which Winona stands from Wapasha and expressed their determination not to proceed a step further. Wapasha joined forces with them and they made war speeches, prepared for battle and worked themselves into a frenzy. Mr. Rice boarded a steamboat and hurried off to Fort Snelling for help. Captain S. H. Eastman, came down with a company of infantry and a delegation of Wahpetons, who adroitly invited the Win-

[353]Niell, 480. "Mary and I," Dakota Mission, 3 Minn. 122. 1 S. D. 126.

nebagoes to come up to be their neighbors, but really to serve as a bumper between themselves and the Chippewas. After a good deal of counciling and nerve trying bluffing, seventeen hundred of the Winnebagoes were induced to go to the new location, while the remainder scattered into their old haunts in Wisconsin, where, without a reservation and in defiance of several attempts of the government to remove them, they remain to this day. For his part in the performance Wapasha was arrested and lodged in Fort Snelling.[354]

[354]Niell, 487.

CHAPTER XX

The Affairs on the Missouri—Successive Indian Agents—Inkpaduta on the Missouri—Payment of Annuities—The Scare at Crow Creek—Joe LaBarge's Boat Attacked by Yanktonais—Father DeSmet Among the Dakotas—Red Fish and His Lost Daughter—Father Hoecken and His Death—Influence of Father DeSmet.

Until 1849 all of the Indians of the Mississippi were under the general supervision of the superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis. This office was organized by Captain Clark in 1807 and continued under his control until his death, September 1, 1838, though until 1822 his position was a subordinate one, the title of the office being created and conferred in this latter year. He was succeeded by Joshua Pilcher[355] as superintendent, who continued in the office until his death in 1847, when D. D. Mitchell[356] succeeded to the position. In 1849 the territory of Minnesota was created, with the provision that the territory should constitute a superintendency and that the governor should be ex officio superintendent. By this provision the Mississippi Dakotas were removed from the jurisdiction of the St. Louis office, but the Missouri River Indians, though within the ex officio limits of the Minnesota superintendency, continued tributary to the St. Louis office.[357] As we have seen, Major Taliaferro was the first efficient agent of the Santees, coming to them in 1819 and continuing for twenty-two years.[358] He was

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[355]I S. D. 251, 354.

[356]David D. Mitchell, born in Louisa county, Virginia, July 31, 1806; died St. Louis, May 31, 1861. He was a partner in the upper Missouri outfit of the American Fur Company. He served in the Mexican war as a lieutenant colonel, and was in command of the detachment that captured Chihuahua.

[357]Ramsey, 85.

[358]6 Minn. 189.

honest and incorruptible and indefatiguable in labor for the advantage of the Dakotas of the Minnesota country. Taliaferro was succeeded by A. I. Bruce,[359] who remained but a short time, to be followed by J. E. Fletcher,[360] who was agent at the time Governor Ramsey came in 1849.[361] On the Missouri Governor Clark appointed a general agent for the upper Missouri tribes above the Kansas, and he appointed as many sub-agents as he saw fit. The agency was located at Council Bluffs. Manuel Lisa was the first agent for the upper Missouri and he was followed by Benjamin O'Fallon,[362] a nephew of Captain Clark's. Most of the leading traders were made sub-agents in the early days[363] and it was the practice to annually send up a few trinkets to the Indians to keep them good natured and attached to the interests of the government. After 1830 the Yanktons, on account of the sale of the neutral strip, became regular annuity Indians, and from that date sub-agents were regularly employed, who were not interested in the Indian trade, but the influence of the great fur companies was so strong that the administration of the Indian department was wholly in the interest of trade instead of that of the Indians.[364] About 1828 a defection grew up in the Wakpekute band and a portion of them removed to the Missouri in the neighborhood of Vermillion, and they participated in the annuities there, being denominated the "Santies" in many of the documents of the time.[365] The Indians were frequently required to go a long distance, at great inconvenience to themselves, to receive the money due them, in order that they might be convenient to the post of some of the traders, where they could spend it. As most of the agents were creatures of the American Fur Company, this method was taken

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[359]6 Minn. 254.

[360]Indian, 1849.

[361]Alexander Ramsey, born Harrisburg, Pa., September 8, 1815. Died 1903. First territorial governor of Minnesota. State governor and United States senator, secretary of war and many other honorable positions.

[362]Benjamin O'Fallon, 1 S. D., 249.

[363]Joshua Pilcher and Andrew Henry when at the height of their careers as traders were sub-agents for the Indians of their neighborhoods. Manuel Lisa prosecuted his trade with great vigor while he was agent.

[364]Chittenden's Steamboating, —.

[365]Treaty of 1830. Report of William S. Hatton, Indian, 1849, 137.

to draw trade away from rival traders and into the zone of the influence of the American.[366] Thus in 1847, G. C. Matlock, an "American" made agent, went up the river with the annuity goods for the Yanktons, on Captain La Barge's[367] vessel, and found them on the east side of the river, not far from the mouth of Crow Creek.[368] There was an opposition post at Fort Lookout, nearby, and it was desired to get them up to the American post at Fort Pierre. The boat tied up at the Yankton village, where Colin Campbell had cut a quantity of cordwood for the steamboat. Matlock told the Indians his errand and gave them a portion of the goods and then packed up and told them they must go to Pierre for the balance, a distance of more than fifty miles. The Yanktons demurred but Matlock argued that there were no conveniences for distribution there and that nothing short of going to Pierre would do. Campbell started to load the wood but the entire tribe came down and sat upon the piles and it could not be touched. They said the timber was theirs and no one had secured the right to cut it from them. This was true. LaBarge was then compelled to buy it of them. After this bargain was effected the roustabouts were sent out to carry the wood on board, but the bucks ranged themselves along the path from the wood pile to the gang plank with their rawhide quirts under their blankets, and as the heavily laden river men passed along toward the boat they belabored them over the shoulders until they dropped the wood and tumbled onto the boat for protection. LaBarge rallied his men and armed them and the Indians withdrew, and the wood was loaded. The wind, however, came up and blew so hard from up river that the boat was unable to proceed, and lay at the bank for several hours. The events mentioned occurred before noon. In the middle of the afternoon the Yanktons slipped down to the vessel and before anyone was aware of their presence boarded her, raised the warwhoop, killed one riverman named Smith, put out the fires, and having possession of the entire front portion of the boat demanded that the stores be turned over to them. LaBarge had a small cannon on board but it was down in the

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[366] Chittenden's Steamboating, —.

[367] Joseph LaBarge, 1 S. D. 418; note by C. E. DeLand.

[368] Chittenden's Steamboating, —.

engine deck for some repairs to the carriage, but he managed to get it up the back stairs, and having no bullets, loaded it with engine bolts. The Indians, somewhat awed by their unwonted surroundings, watched this proceeding with curiosity and as Captain LaBarge poured powder into the vent and reached toward it with his lighted cigar they rushed precipitately from the vessel and disappeared through the timber. The bold rivermen likewise had disappeared from view and to his great disgust the captain found them hidden in the wheels of the steamboat. In rage he hastened to the engine room, determined to turn on steam and give them all, the ducking they deserved, but the Indians having put out the fire he was compelled to content himself with administering a cursing, in which he was an adept. But the poor Indians were compelled to tramp off to Pierre for the pittance of goods they might in all decency and justice have received at their own doors. With the death of Pilcher and the accession of Mitchell, Matlock was removed and William S. Hatton became the sub-agent for the Dakotas of the Missouri. In 1849 Father P. J. DeSmet,[369] a renowned Jesuit who had already won a high reputation for his self sacrificing ministrations to the Indians of the Rocky Mountains and beyond, visited the Dakotas of the Missouri with the object of establishing missions among them. He spent a good portion of that summer among them and was received with enthusiasm by the Indians, over whom from the first he possessed great influence.[370] Colin Campbell volunteered to go with him among the Teton tribes as his guide and interpreter, and he accomplished an excellent purpose. He found the Brules just returning from a foray against the Omahas with thirty-two scalps of women and children, the Brules feeling that they were in great luck in having caught the Omahas so easily when all of the warriors were off hunting. They at once celebrated the scalp dance, setting up a high post and daubing it with vermillion, the warriors surrounded it flourishing in their hands

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[369]Rev. Peter John DeSmet, born Tremonde, Belgium, 1800; came to America 1821; spent the remainder of his life as missionary to the wild Indians. Died at St. Louis 1866.

[370]Western Missions and Missionaries, being letter written by Father DeSmet, modestly reveals the great power he possessed among them.

the bloody trophies of the campaign, each one howling a war song to the lugubrious tones of a large drum, and then in turn striking the post with his hatchet as he proclaimed his part in the shameful victory and ostentatiously exhibiting the scars he received.

At Fort Pierre he met a party of Oglalas under a chief named Red Fish, who had gotten much the worst of the argument in a campaign they had just made into the country of the Crows. The Crows had routed them foot, horse and dragoons, killing twelve of the Oglalas, and worse than all, they had covered the valiant Dakotas with immortal disgrace by driving them off with clubs, not feeling that they were worth wasting good powder upon. Warriors so shamefully defeated of course received very little comfort from their neighbors at home and Red Fish was thoroughly discouraged. Moreover he had lost a favorite daughter captive to the Crows and he was experiencing real grief on that account. He had come down to Fort Pierre to induce the traders to mediate with the Crows for her return, and his arrival fell upon the day after DeSmet arrived there. Learning from the Indians of the presence of the priest he sought him out and requested him to pray for his daughter's delivery from his enemies. Father DeSmet administered to him a stern rebuke for the unprovoked attack of the Oglalas upon the Crows and pointed a moral by indicating how the loss of his daughter might be a divine judgment for his wickedness, and then made an earnest prayer that in the Providence of God the girl might be returned to her parents. Red Fish, much comforted, hurried back to his people and announced to them what had occurred and at that moment a cry of joy rang through the camp and the daughter leaped into her father's arms, having safely escaped from her captors and followed the trail back to her people. The Oglalas and all of the Dakotas were convinced that it was a direct answer to the prayer of the good father and from that moment he enjoyed a place in their esteem and an influence over their actions which no other man ever possessed. Father DeSmet called Father Christian Heocken[371] to his assistance, but the latter died from

[371] Western Missions and Missionaries.

cholera while enroute to the Dakota country two years later. DeSmet, however, continued to minister to them until his death a quarter of a century afterwards.

The Catholics, however, did not for many years afterward set up any permanent mission stations among the Dakotas of the Missouri, where they could be surrounded by those extrinsic influences of schools, agriculture, and domestic economy which make so materially for civilization. Neither were they by the system employed enabled to give personal attention to any considerable number of individuals for extended periods and so by precept and example to impress upon them and build into them the good lessons they taught. Nevertheless the good accomplished was incalculable.

CHAPTER XXI

Minnesota Territory Created—Governor Ramsey Recognizes Wamundiyakapi—Inkpaduta Appears on the Stage of Action—Pressure for More Land—Negotiations for the Sioux Lands in Minnesota—Commissioner Brown's Letter of Instructions to the Commissioners to Negotiate Treaty—Lea and Ramsey Meet Sissetons and Wahpetons at Traverse des Sioux—Thunderbird Dance—The Treaty Made and Signed—Its Terms—Large Cash Payment—Treaty of Mendota—Similar to that of the Traverse—Trouble Relating to Education Fund Adjusted—Claims of the Traders—Secure Power of Attorney from Indians Through Fraud—Agencies Established on the Minnesota—Story of Wamdesapa, Inkpaduta's Father—Inkpaduta Claims Part of Treaty Money.

One of Governor Ramsey's first official acts was to go through the form of recognizing Wamundiyakapi,—the War Eagle that May be Seen,—the hereditary chief of the Wakpekutes. The governor had none of the medals usually furnished for these occasions, but General Sibley provided him with a soldier's medal and a sword and the fellow was duly decorated. The governor says of him: "He was a young, fine looking, intelligent Indian; after he had departed for his residence with his people a hundred miles inland I heard nothing more of him until the latter part of July when I was startled by the horrible intelligence that he and seventeen others of the band had been massacred by a party of outlawed savages whom they encountered when out hunting near the headwaters of the DesMoines in their own country, and of course not expecting any hostile attack. The hostile band was supposed to have consisted of Winnebagoes, Sauks, Foxes and Pottawatomies, numbers of which Indians, renegades from their respective tribes, are still wandering in northwestern Iowa."[372] The Sissetons and Wahpetons, however, are unanimous in the declaration that the massacre was committed by the renegade Inkpaduta and his band

[372] Ramsey, 77.

of outlaws. The creation of the territory of Minnesota was the natural consequence of the movement of immigration into that section and the demand that the fertile soil should be opened to the settler was urgent. As early as 1841 a treaty had been negotiated for the opening of a large portion of the southern part of the state but the senate had refused to ratify it and so the title to the soil had remained unrelinquished. In 1841, also, in response to the demand of immigration, Agent Fletcher had negotiated a treaty with the halfbreeds for their reservation upon the west side of Lake Pepin, agreeing to pay the sum to $200,000 for it, but this, too, had failed to be approved by the senate. Immediately, however upon the creation of the territory and the accession of Governor Ramsey as ex officio superintendent of Indian affairs, the Indian department began to lay its plans to secure the opening of the great body of the Indian lands. Hon. Orlando Brown, the general commissioner of Indian affairs, on June 5, 1849, sent to the secretary of the interior a special report upon the subject and recommending that negotiations be at once taken up.[373] This recommendation was in due time approved by the secretary, and on August 25th Commissioner Brown transmitted to Governor Ramsey and John Chambers[374] a copy of the report and recommendation and a letter of instructions, directing them to enter into negotiations at once, suggesting that they attempt to cover all of the country from the Mississippi to the Big Sioux and from the neutral strip to the northern boundary fixed by the treaty of 1825. In March, 1843, congress had enacted a law that no stipulations can be inserted in any treaty for the payment of Indians debts. This was intended as a protection against the avarice of the traders but the latter, always equal to any emergency, secured by indirection what could not be done directly. The commissioner calls the attention of the commission to this provision. Speaking of the price to be paid for the land the commissioner says: "Ten cents per acre has been found to be a large price to pay for the best lands purchased of Indians, where it is situated so that it can be brought into the market at an early day," and in consequence of this experience he expresses the opinion that two, or two and

[373]Indian, 1849, p. 42, et seq.
[374]John Chambers.

a half cents per acre would be an ample equivalent for the south half of the state of Minnesota. In the main, however, the entire matter of the negotiation was left to the discretion of the commissioners. One wise suggestion, however, was urged, that was that by some system the payments to be made under the new treaty and those due under former ones be equalized so that each Indian should receive the same annual payment, "for one cannot be made to understand why he gets less or even more, than another." Further the commissioner says: "No greater curse can be inflicted upon a tribe so little civilized as the Sioux than for them to have large sums of money at their disposal, especially when coming to them in the shape of annuities; which, indisposed as they are to anything like labor for a subsistence, gives them the incentive and the means to live in idleness and debauchery, and more than any thing else tends to debase them, and to hasten their decline and extinction. And while the uncivilized Indians, who are entitled to large amounts, are always the most degraded, they are at the same time the poorest, for their means are squandered principally for what corrupts and debases them and gives them credit with the traders for articles sold at enormous profits; and they are thus always in debt. But this sad and discouraging feature of our Indian system has been so often and so fully stated, and is so well known that it need not be enlarged upon. It largely calls upon us as a matter of humanity and of duty towards their helpless race to make every effort in our power not to place much money at their discretion, but to so dispose of their means for them as will best tend to promote their moral and intellectual elevation and improvement. As large amounts of the consideration to be paid to the Sioux as can be so arranged should, therefore, be set apart for education and the means of improving them in agriculture and the mechanic arts; and instead of their having the funds to purchase for themselves subsistence and clothing, and, but too generally, worthless trinkets and gew-gaws sold to them at unreasonable profits we should endeavor to furnish them as far as possible with what is necessary for their comfort and welfare. It is hoped that you will be able to carry out the foregoing views in any treaty you may be able to effect."

Before the negotiation of the treat was undertaken the death of President Taylor effected a change in the cabinet and Com-

missioner Brown was succeeded by Luke Lea and it was the summer of 1851 before the Sissetons and Wahpetons were assembled at Traverse des Sioux (St. Peter), Minnesota, to meet the commissioners in council and agree upon the terms of the sale, the M'dewakantons and Wakpekutes being gathered a short time later at Mendota for the same purpose.

The commissioners arrived at Traverse des Sioux in the latter part of June, having sent messengers to the Sissetons and Wahpetons to meet them there, but they were not on hand, and they were compelled to wait three weeks until they were assembled before proceding to business. For several days there had been violent rains and the Dakotas conceived that the storms were due to the fact that the thunderbird had dashed his wings upon the head of the Blue Earth River and broken up the fountains which had caused the water to rise; so they made a propitiary dance to Wakeyan, the god of thunder. This occurred on the afternoon of July 12th and the commissioners were invited to witness the ceremony. There were about one thousand Dakotas present. They made a large enclosure out of the limbs of the popple trees, stuck in the ground, having four arched gateways leading to it. A pole was planted in the middle with an image cut from bark to represent the thunderbird, suspended from the top of it by a string. A shorter pole and smaller image was planted at each gateway. Near the foot of the center pole was a little arbor of bushes in which sat an ugly looking Indian with his face blackened and a wig of green grass over his head. He was a big medicine man and he uttered incantations with fervent unction, and beat the drum and played the flute and sang in turn to regulate the various evolutions of the dance. Before this arbor at the foot of the center pole were various mystical images and emblems; among them the image of a running buffalo, cut out of bark, with his legs stuck into the ground; also a pipe and a redstone, cut something like a head, and some colored down. This down of the swan seems to have been an important article in their mysticism, for we constantly read of its use in all of their ceremonies. At a given signal by the medicine man the young men sprang through the gateways and commenced a circular dance in procession around the center. After fifteen or twenty minutes the dancers ran out of the ring;

returning after a short respite. The third time a few horsemen, in very gay, fantastic costume, accompanied the procession of dancers who were within the ring, by riding around outside of the enclosure. The last time a multitude of boys and girls joined the dancers in the arena and many more horsemen joined the cavalcade that rode round the arena some dressed in blue embroidered blankets and others in white. Suddenly several rifles rang out and the thunderbirds fell from the poles and the sacred dance was ended.[375]

Finally, on the 18th of July, the serious business of the council was undertaken, with the deliberation and gravity due to so important a negotiation, in which an empire unsurpassed in natural resources was to be sold and muniments of title passed. There were five days of feasting, speaking and smoking, when on the 23d of July the completed treaty was read and translated and explained to them by their proven friend, Dr. Stephen R. Riggs, and the chiefs approached and touched the pen with which their names were inscribed upon the important document. The Indians, incited to it by the traders, had insisted in having the greater portion of the down payment and annuities paid in cash. No other single Indian treaty conveyed so vast and noble an estate. It involved fully one-half, and the best half at that, of the great state of Minnesota. The price paid was about six cents per acre. In brief, the treaty provided that the tribes sold and relinquished to the United States all of their lands in Minnesota and Iowa, east of the Big Sioux River and a line from Lake Kampeska to Lake Traverse and the Sioux Woods Rivers. As a consideration for this sale and relinquishment they were to have first, a reservation running from the Yellow Medicine west to the treaty line, ten miles wide, on both sides of the Minnesota River. Second, $275,000 cash in hand. Third, $1,665,000, to remain in trust with the United States, and five per cent interest to be paid thereon for fifty years. The payment of the interest for this period to pay and satisfy the whole debt; that is, it was not intended that the original purchase price ever should be paid. The total interest payment, therefore, was to be $83,300 annually. Of this the government was to expend annually $12,000 for general agricultural improvement and civi-

[375] Niell, 559.

lization; $6,000 for education, $10,000 for goods and merchandise and the balance was to be paid in cash.[376]

As soon as the treaty of Traverse des Sioux was perfected the commissioners returned to Fort Snelling and convened the M'dewakantons and Wakpekutes in council at Mendota. The council was held in an improvised bower on Oak Hill, and after the regulation feasting, smoking and big talks the treaty was concluded and signed on the 5th of August. Sixty of the head chiefs signed it by touching the pen, but Little Crow, who had had a term or two in the mission school, signed his own name.[377] The treaty was almost identical in form with that of Traverse des Sioux. The lands relinquished were identical. In part payment they were to have as a reservation a strip ten miles wide on both sides of the Minnesota from the Little Rock to the Yellow Medicine. They were to have $220,000 cash down and $30,000 was to be spent at once for the establishment of a manual training school, the erection of mills and blacksmith shops, opening farms, fencing and breaking lands. $1,410,000 was to be held in trust by the United States and five per cent. interest paid upon it annually for fifty years; the principal sum not to be paid. The annual interest payment amounted to $70,500 and $12,000 per year was to be expended by the government for agricultural improvement and civilization, $6,000, for education and $10,000 for the purchase of goods and provisions and the remainder paid in cash.[378]

The sum of $30,000 set aside for education by the treaty of 1837, remained unexpended in the treasury and had been a constant source of perplexity to the missionaries and agents. The Indian exacts the last cent due him upon a contract, however improvidently he may expend it when he gets it, and he had conceived the notion that the missionaries were being paid out of this fund and would not be satisfied that his theory was not right until he saw the coin. In consequence of this belief the usefulness of the mission schools and mission work for a long period was almost destroyed. It was, therefore, resolved to turn this money over to the Indians pro rata and on the 6th of August, the next day after the signing of the treaty, it was

[376] Text of treaty, 1 S. D., Appendix A.
[377] Niell, 560.
[378] Revision of Indian treaties, 1873, p. 882.

done. They immediately repaired to St. Paul to dispose of their wealth. Their fancy ran to horses and the horsemen of the town were enabled to dispose of about $30,000 worth of their most undesirable stock within a day or two and the Dakotas left for their camps without a cent in their purses.[379]

The senate refused to ratify the provision in the treaties of Traverse des Sioux and Mendota, for the selection of the reservations, but inserted a section that they should occupy such reservations, within the ceded lands as the president might select for their accommodation. No such selection was made for them by the president and the Indians, acting under the agreements made in the treaties, removed to and occupied the reservations then provided; and in 1858, under a new agreement negotiated by Commissioner Charles E. Mix[380] with a delegation of the chiefs and headmen whom he had called to Washington, the original reservations provided by the treaty of Traverse des Sioux and Mendota were ratified.[381] Fort Ridgely was built on the Minnesota near the lower end of the M'dewakanton and Wakpekute reserve and the agency for these people established near by, which came to be generally known as the Lower agency, and the agency for the Sissetons and Wahpetons was established at the mouth of the Yellow Medicine and was known as the Upper agency. Thus it came about that in the course of time the M'dwakantons and Wakpekutes came to be generally known and designated as the Lower Indians and the Sissetons and Wahpetons as the Upper bands.

Mention has been made of a defection among the Wakpekutes, by which a band separated from them and established themselves on the Missouri near Vermillion. This was a very small band of not more than a dozen lodges, under Wamdisapa, the Black Eagle, who was a reckless, lawless fellow, always at war with the Sacs and Foxes and other neighboring tribes. After the boundary treaty of 1825 he was one of the first to break over and disregard the boundary between the Dakotas and the Sacs and Foxes, and after the Neutral Strip purchase of 1830 he was a constant trespasser and won the ill will of all his people, who claimed that his conduct provoked their enemies to take

[379]Niell, 561.
[380]Charles E. Mix.
[381]Revision of Indian treaties, 1873, p. 903.

many revenges from which the tribe suffered. In consequence he was virtually driven away from the tribe and was no longer considered a member of it. The government, however, was aware of his defection, through information received from Major Taliaferro and from Missouri River traders and when the treaty of 1830 was made it was provided that "the Santies of the Missouri" should sign it and participate in its benefits, and though his name cannot be identified among those who did subsequently sign it at Fort Pierre, a portion of the proceeds were thereafter regularly paid to him at Fort Vermillion, and again a portion of the moneys under the treaty of 1837 seems to have gone to him, though there is some doubt about this. In any event the Wakpekutes considered that he was no longer a member of their tribe and when the treaty of Traverse des Sioux was made he was not called in nor consulted, nor deemed to have any rights in the premises. I am unable to determine when his death occurred, though it was about 1848, but he was succeeded by his son Inkpaduta—The Scarlet Point—who was more treacherous, bloodthirsty and adroit than his father. He claimed a share in the annuities of the Lower Indians and appeared at each payment to demand a portion.[382]

[382] Flandrau's History of Minnesota, 103.

Some of the Indians Who Made the Treaty of 1858

Ahkepe, Horn, Red Iron, John Otherday, Paul Mazakutemane, Chas. Crawford
Mazamane, Red Fish Corn, Adjoining Wing

CHAPTER XXII

California Trail Disturbs Tetons—Hostility and Many Emigrants Killed—Mitchell Proposes Treaty with Plains Tribes—Great Assembly of Indians near Laramie in 1851—Incidents of the Council—Scarcity of Provisions—Treaty Made—California Trail to be Respected by Indians—Paid for Right of Way—Father DeSmet Takes a Hand—Another Instance of His Influence and Usefulness—Indians Disregard Treaty and Go On Killing Emigrants—Harney Sent Against Them in 1855—Entraps Little Thunder and the Brules at Blue Water—Horrible Massacre—Harney at Fort Pierre—A Five Days' Council—Designates Official Chiefs for Each Band—A Wise Plan Defeated—Warren in Black Hills—Consults with Bear's Rib.

The discovery of gold in California and the opening of the overland trail brought the Brule and Oglala Dakotas into close relations with a class of white people quite unlike any with whom they had previously come in contact. For twenty-five years the Oregon trail had brought to them at frequent intervals trading outfits enroute to the mountain rendezvous, with whom they could exchange their peltries for such wares as they desired and which they were already beginning to find essential to their comfort and happiness. It was more convenient to trade with them far out on the trail than to be compelled to tramp down to the Missouri to find traders, and in consequence the mountain outfits were welcomed. The more so as the traders had an interest common with themselves in passing through the country with as little disturbance to the game as possible, but the argonauts enroute to the gold fields of California were of another class. They had no goods to trade, they hurried along, having no time nor use for the Indians, avoiding them as much as possible and showing suspicion or fear of them. As much as possible they lived off of the country and hunted game in an unscientific and careless manner which sent the herds of buffalo scurrying from their native pastures. Instead of coming at rare

intervals they were in a constant stream, every day bringing its long train of bull teams with its game destroying and game scaring outriders. It was a movement distinctly inimical to the interests of the Dakotas and they were not slow to resent it. At first it was only a show of surly resentment, then stampedes of the livestock of the voyageurs and then the picking off now and again of a careless outrider which set the government's agents to planning for a means to protect the California trail and the rights of the Indians at the same time. As early as October 13, 1849—the very first year of the overland travel—Superintendent Mitchell wrote to the department urging the assembling of all of the plains tribes in a grand council at Fort Laramie on the upper Platte, where in the presence of a sufficient military force, that would inspire them with respect for the United States, a council could be held and an agreement in the nature of a treaty entered into. "It is only by some measure of this kind that we can ever establish friendly relations with these Indians; and the bones of American citizens that now whiten the plains from the borders of the western states to the Rocky Mountains all admonish of the necessity for peace. We can never whip them into friendship; the prowess of our troops and the vast resources of the government would be wasted in long and toilsome marches over the plains in the pursuit of an ignis fatuus; they never see an enemy."[353] Superintendent Mitchell suggests as some of the benefits to grow out of such a confederated council, that the interchange of presents among the Indians themselves would take place, solemnized by ancient Indian custom, which would be held more or less sacred and in course of time might produce a universal peace among them. Disputes over boundaries is a fruitful source of war among them and their boundaries could in such council be defined to the satisfaction of all, and further, "justice as well as policy requires that we should make some remuneration for the damages which the Indians sustain in consequence of the destruction of game, timber, etc., by the whites passing through their country. A small annual present of Indian goods distributed among the different tribes would be deemed satisfactory by them and at the same time guarantee their good behavior." He particularly

[353] Mitchell's report to Indian commissioner, 1849, p. 129.

requests that the Sioux residing south of the Missouri be included in the council.

In accordance with the suggestion of Colonel Mitchell, the proposed council was called for September, 1851. Ten thousand Indians were in attendance of the Dakotas, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Crows, Assinoboins, Gros Ventres, Mandans and Arickaras. The council lasted twenty-three days. Unfortunately the wagon train bringing the provisions and presents which the United States had provided was delayed and the great assembly was at the point of starvation before its arrival. Dispairing of its coming Colonel Mitchell secured the signing of the treaty on the 17th of September, his object being to allow the Indians to go out and secure provisions, but they stuck it out and were all in for the distribution when the wagons arrived on September 20th.[384]

The treaty, which was joined in by all of the represented tribes, pledged peace among themselves and with the United States, with mutual undertakings for indemnification for any damages committed, the one against the other. Citizens of the United States were guaranteed right of way across their lands and the tribes guaranteed them protection while passing over the road. The territory of each tribe was defined, that of the Dakotas being as follows: "Commencing at the mouth of White River; thence in a southwesterly direction to the forks of the Platte, thence up the north fork of the Platte to a point known as the Red Butte, or where the road leaves the river; thence along the range of mountains known as the Black Hills to the head waters of Heart River, thence down Heart River to its mouth; and thence down the Missouri to the place of beginning." This limit was modified by this clause: "It is, however, understood that in making this recognition and acknowledgement, the aforesaid Indians do not hereby abandon or prejudice any right or claim they may have to other lands; and further that they do not surrender the privilege of hunting, fishing or passing over any of the tracts of country heretofore described" as belonging to other tribes.

The consideration for the right of way over their lands was the sum of $50,000 annually for ten years, payable in mer-

[384] Western Missions and Missionaries, 109.

chandise and delivered to the said tribes; but providing that any tribe violating the treaty should not participate in the distribution of the goods.[385] Father DeSmet was present at the council and thus describes it:[386] "I attended the council from the outset to the close. As I have before stated, 10,000 Indians belonging to different tribes, many of whom had been at war from time immemorial, met upon the same plain. During the twenty-three days of the assembly there was no disorder; on the contrary, peaceable and tranquil, which is saying much for Indians. They seemed all to form but a single nation. Polite and kindly to each other, they spent their leisure hours in visits, banquets and dances; spoke of their once interminable wars and divisions as past things to be absolutely forgotten, or 'buried' to use their expression. There was not a remark in all of their conversations to displease; never did the calumet pass in peace through so many hands. * * It was really a touching thing to see the calumet, the Indian emblem of peace, raised heavenward by the hand of a savage, presenting it to the Master of Life and imploring his pity upon all of his children on earth and begging him to confirm the resolutions they had made.

"Notwithstanding the scarcity of provisions felt in the camp before the wagons came, the feasts were numerous and well attended. No epoch in Indian annals probably shows a greater massacre of the canine race. * * The Indians regaled me several times with a dish highly esteemed among them. It consists of plums dried in the sun and afterwards prepared with pieces of meat. I must own I found it quite palatable. But hear what I subsequently learned as to their manner of preparing it. When an Indian woman wishes to preserve plums, which grow in profusion here, she collects a great quantity and then invites her neighbors to her lodge to pass an agreeable afternoon. Their whole occupation then consists in chatting and sucking the stones from the plums, for they keep only the skins, which after being sun dried are kept for grand occasions. The wagons containing the presents destined by the government to the Indians reached here on the 20th of September. The safe arrival of this convoy was

[385] Revision of Indian treaties, 1873, p. 1050.
[386] Western Missions and Missionaries, 109.

an occasion of general rejoicing. Many were in absolute destitution. The next day the wagons were unloaded and the presents suitably arranged. The flag of the United States floated from a tall staff in front of the tent of the superintendent and a discharge of cannon announced to the Indians that the division of the presents was about to take place. Without delay the occupants of the various camps flocked in—men, women and children—in great confusion and in their gayest costumes, daubed with paints of glaring hues and decorated with all the gew-gaws they could boast. They took the respective places assigned to each particular band, thus forming an immense circle covering several acres of ground, and the merchandise was piled in the center. The great chiefs of the different nations were served first and received a suit of clothes. You may easily imagine their singular movements upon appearing in public and the admiration they excited in their comrades, who were never weary admiring them. The great chiefs were for the first time in their lives pantalooned; each was arrayed in a general's uniform, a gilt sword hanging at his side. Their long coarse hair floated above the military costume and the whole was crowned with burlesque solemnity of their painted faces.

"Colonel Mitchell employed the Indians as his agents in distributing the presents to the various bands. The arrangement was characterized by benevolence and justice. The conduct of this vast multitude was calm and respectful. Not the slightest index of impatience or of jealousy was observed during the distribution; each band appeared indifferent until its portion was received. Then glad or satisfied they removed from the plain with their families and their lodges."

For some reason not now apparent the senate did not ratify this treaty but congress made the necessary appropriations to carry out its provisions and the merchandise was regularly distributed.[387] Father DeSmet seized the occasion to press religious truths upon the Indians and many were baptized.

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[387]Revision of Indian treaties, 1873, p. 908. The senate by resolution confirmed the right and title of the Dakotas in the reservations of 1851 on January 27, 1860, and provided that the M'dewakantons and Wakpekutes could sell their lands north of the Minnesota, and they were allowed 30 cents per acre therefor.

General Harney[388] denominated Colonel Mitchell's treaty of Fort Laramie a "molasses and crackers treaty." It was scarcely so binding in its operation as good molasses. In point of fact the Indians paid no attention to it either in their relations to the whites, or toward each other. The Oglalas and Brules were always jealous of any interference with their game preserves and they recognized the inevitable tendency of white immigration through their country to scatter and destroy the buffalo and they determined to make travel so dangerous that immigrants would give up the attempt to reach California overland, or else seek another route. Consequently they continued to show acts of hostility to the argonauts. Cattle stampedes continued to be their favorite tactics. Fort Laramie had been established as a fur post in 1834, and was the resort of the Oglalas of the southwest, but after the opening of the California mines the post was purchased by the government and a small garrison established there as early as July, 1849, but the presence of soldiers there had no more effect upon the conduct of the Indians than had Fort Snelling thirty years earlier upon the Dakotas and Chippewas of the Mississippi.[389] They would lie about the fort and make a rendezvous from which to sally out and attack trains approaching or leaving that point. Scarcely a train passed the Dakota country without the loss of stock and occasionally of men.[390] These depredations were continued, under the very eyes of the military at Fort Laramie, and finally the killing of Lieutenant Grattan and two others by a party of Brules near Laramie culminated the long list of depredations and murders and determined the government to inflict upon the murderers

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[388]General William Selby Harney, 1 S. D. 107; note by Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson.

[389]Note by Charles E. DeLand, 1 S. D., 357.

[390]Mr. Amos Robinson, of Gilroy, Cal., who passed over the trail in 1852, related to the writer many instances of depredations by the Dakotas along the trail. An emigrant train was met by a party of Sioux one day's drive east of the fort. They plundered it and killed a herder. Next day some of the same Indians were recognized, hanging about the fort. The train rested at the fort one day and moved on, but was followed by the same Indians and again plundered but a few miles away.

speedy and vigorous chastisement.[351] At the time General Harney, fresh from the victories and honors which he had won in the Mexican war, was absent in Europe, and he was summoned home to take command of the campaign planned against the Dakotas. He reported at Fort Leavenworth in the spring of 1855 and was given 1,200 troops for the expedition. The government had just negotiated the purchase of Fort Pierre, and it was Harney's purpose to proceed by way of Fort Kearney, up the Platte to Laramie, and thence turn back through the heart of the country of the Oglalas and Brules to Fort Pierre, carrying terror to the hearts of all the savages he met. He got away from Leavenworth on the 5th of August with a portion of his forces and picked up the remainder at Kearney, and proceeded on his campaign without incident until he reached the Blue where he secured information that a large party of Dakotas were encamped near Ash Hollow on the immigrant trail where they were causing a great deal of annoyance to the travelers. He pushed on to the head of Ash Hollow where he found a train which had been compelled to corral and defend itself three times on the day of his arrival. The Indians were aware of the approach of the soldiers and they did not attempt violence to the travelers but were determined to secure what arms and ammunition the argonauts had, to use, as they said, in fighting the soldiers. The immigrants pointed out the camp of the Indians, which, with the aid of a spyglass, could be seen far to the northwest. Harney went into camp for the night, planning an attack for the next morning, September 3, 1855. Before dawn he dispatched the cavalry to make a circuit and approach the Indian camp from the northwest. With the infantry he planned to attack in front. He reached a point very near to the camp before the Indians discovered his presence. Little Thunder, the chief, came out and desired to have a council. Harney, who was not yet sure that the cavalry was in position, humored him for a time until information came that the cavalry was ready, then he told Little Thunder that he had come to fight him and that he should go immediately and get his men ready. Little Thunder flew back to his camp, Harney in hot pursuit with his infantry.

[351] 1 S. D., 107.

When the latter got within hailing distance of the camp he motioned the Indians to run. They started to do so and ran plump into the cavalry. Then the Indians, finding themselves trapped, set into a fight for their lives, but they were overwhelmed from the beginning. The battle of Ash Hollow was little more than a massacre of the Brules. Still they resolved to die game. An Indian severely wounded and supposed to be dead rose up and shot a soldier. A dismounted cavalry man rushed up to finish the Indian with his saber, but as he struck the Indian threw up his gun and the saber broke off at the hilt. An officer came to the rescue and the dying Indian caught up the broken saber and almost severed the leg of the officer's horse. He was then dispatched with a revolver ball. This illustrates the spirit of the trapped savages' defense. Upon the battle field were a lot of old caches in which the warriors took refuge, and from which they succeeded in killing thirteen soldiers and wounding many more. One hundred thirty-six Indians were killed and the entire camp with all of their property captured.[392]

Though hailed as a great victory and an additional plume in Harney's crest of fame, the battle of Ash Hollow was a shameful affair, unworthy of American arms and a disgrace to the officer who planned and executed it. The Indians were trapped and knew it and would have surrendered at discretion had an opportunity been afforded them. That opportunity was not given, and the massacre which ensued was as needless and as barbarous as any which the Dakotas have at any time visited upon the white people. It of course had the effect of making the Indians fear Harney and possibly in that view did result in a degree of protection to the trail. Harney went on to Laramie. Twelve warriors had escaped from Big Thunder's band at Ash Hollow and preceded the military to Fort Laramie, where they appeared ostensibly to trade. When Harney arrived they stood under the walls of the fort and as the Mexican herders came up with the stock they raised a whoop, swung their blankets and stampeded 150 head of Harney's horses, with which they made their escape. The Brule prisoners were left at Fort Laramie, and after a ten days' rest the start was made for Pierre, by way of the head of White River, over the old fur

[392] 3 Nebraska, 301.

trail from Pierre to Laramie. They reached Fort Pierre on October 19, 1855, where the force was united with three companies which Captain Turnley had brought up the river in August. Most of the troops were wintered at Pierre and in that vicinity but a portion were taken down river and stationed, some at Fort Lookout, some at Handy's Point (Fort Randall), and some at the mouth of the Sioux.[303] In March of 1856 Harney assembled all of the Teton tribes at Fort Pierre and made a treaty with them. They agreed to respect the right of travel on the Overland trail, and to permit travel upon a road from Fort Laramie to Fort Pierre, in consideration of which they were to receive certain annuities in goods. The treaty was not ratified but the goods were provided for a certain period.

Harney devised a plan for the government of the Tetons which unquestionably would have been of the first advantage to them and saved the government vast sums and many lives. In brief it was the plan of policing their camps with their own warriors. Each camp was to have one head chief and as many sub-chiefs as there were confederated bands in it. In addition there were to be in each camp a sufficient number of soldiers to preserve order and compel the young men to behave themselves. The chiefs, sub-chiefs and soldiers were to be uniformed according to their rank and were to be clothed and maintained at the expense of the government. He went to the extent of selecting the chiefs and sub-chiefs and arranged with them to choose the soldiers for the police force. In the aggregate the plan required the government to clothe and feed 700 men. The Indian department threw up its hands in horror at the very suggestion and defeated the arrangement. In later years the campaigns against the Sioux cost money enough to have supported the Harney scheme for a century.[304]

That year he located Fort Randall and began its construction.[305] There were no incidents relating to the Indians this year of noteworthy interest. Captain LaBarge was at Fort Pierre when the treaty was made. At that time chloroform was first coming into use as an anaesthetic and Harney was seeking

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[303] 1 S. D., 385.

[304] Minutes of Harney's council.

[305] 1 S. D., 291.

to impress the Tetons with the superior power of the white man. "Why," he said, "we can kill a man and then restore him to life. There, surgeon, kill that dog and then restore it." The surgeon obediently administered a dose of chloroform to an Indian dog and after it had succumbed to its effects he passed it about among the Indians who pronounced it "plenty dead." "Now," said Harney, "Bring it to life." The surgeon took possession of the dog and undertook to resuscitate it. He worked over it vigorously, applying all known restoratives, but the dog was plenty dead, sure enough. Finally he was compelled to give up the task. The Indians laughed boisterously. "White man's medicine too strong," they said.[306]

The next summer Lieutenant Gouvernor K. Warren, afterwards the well known general of the civil war, then topographical engineer to Harney's expedition, was sent to make a preliminary survey of the Black Hills. He left Sioux City early in July and made his way to Laramie, whence with a very few men he proceeded north into the hills, following very nearly upon the line now dividing South Dakota and Wyoming until Inyan Kara peak was reached, where he encountered a large body of Dakotas who protested earnestly against his proceeding any further into their country. "Some of them," says Lieutenant Warren, "were for attacking us at once, as their numbers would have insured success; but the lesson taught them by General Harney in 1855 made them fear they would meet with retribution, and this I endeavored to impress upon them. * * * The grounds of their objection to our traversing their region were very sensible and of sufficient weight, I think, to have justified them, in their own minds, in resisting us. * * * In the first place they were encamped near herds of buffalo whose hair was not yet sufficiently grown to make robes and the Indians were, it may be said, actually herding the animals. No one was permitted to kill any in the large herds for fear of stampeding the others and only such were killed as straggled away from the main bands. Thus the whole range of buffalo was stopped so they could not proceed south which was the point to which they were traveling. The intention of the Indians was to retain the buffalo in their neighborhood until the hair would answer for

[306] Chittenden's Steamboating.

robes, then to kill the animals by surrounding one band at a time and completely destroying each member of it. In this way no alarm was communicated to the neighboring bands which often remain quiet, almost in sight of the scene of slaughter.

"For us to have continued on then would have been an act for which certain death would have been inflicted upon a like number of their own tribe had they done it; for we might have deflected the whole range of the buffalo fifty or 100 miles to the west and prevented the Indians from laying in their winter stock of provisions and skins upon which their comfort if not their lives depended. Their feelings toward us under the circumstances were not unlike what we would feel toward a person who should insist upon setting fire to our barns. The most violent of them were for immediate resistance when I told them of my intentions, and those who were most friendly and most in fear of the power of the United States, begged that I would take pity upon them and not proceed. I felt that besides being an unnecessary risk to subject my party and the interests of the expedition to, it was almost cruelty to the Indians to drive them to commit a desperate act which would call for chastisment from the government.

"But this was not the only reason they urged against my proceeding. They said the treaty made with General Harney gave the whites the privilege of traveling on the Platte and along the White River between Fort Pierre and Laramie, and to make roads there and to travel up and down the Missouri in boats; but it guaranteed to them that no white people should travel elsewhere in their country and thus drive away the buffalo by their careless manner of hunting them; and finally, that my party was there to examine the country to ascertain if it was of value to the whites, and to discover roads through it and places for military posts; and that having already given up all of the country they could spare to the whites, these Black Hills must be left wholly to themselves. Moreover, if none of these things should occur, our passing through the country would give us a knowledge of its character and the proper way to traverse it in the event of another war between themselves and the troops. I was necessarily compelled to admit to myself the truth and force of these objections.

"The Indians whom I first met were Minneconjous, to

the number of forty lodges, near whom, as they were friendly, we encamped. They were soon joined by a large camp of Uncpapas and Blackfoot Dakotas, and our position, which was sufficiently unpleasant in the presence of such a numerous party of half avowed enemies, was rendered doubly so by a storm of rain and sleet and snow, which lasted two days and against which we had little protection. A young Indian who had accompanied us from Fort Laramie considered the danger to us so imminent that he forsook our camp and joined his friends. the Minneconjous. * * * I consented to remain three days without advancing in order to meet their great warrior, Bear's Rib, appointed first chief by General Harney's treaty, merely changing our position to one offering better facilities for defense. At the expiration of the time, Bear's Rib not appearing, we broke camp and traveling back on our route for about forty miles, struck off to the eastward through the southern part of these mountains. * * * After we had traveled eastward two days we were overtaken by Bear's Rib, and one other Indian who accompanied him. He reiterated all that had been said by the other chiefs, and added that he could do nothing to prevent our being destroyed if we attempted to proceed further. I then told him that I believed he was our friend, but that if he could do nothing for us he had better return to his people and leave us to take care of ourselves, as I was determined to proceed as far as Bear Butte. After a whole day spent in deliberation he concluded to accompany us a part of the way, and said he would return to his people and use his influence to have us not molested. In return for this he wished me to say to the president and to the white people that they could not be allowed to come into that country; that if the treaty presents were to purchase such a right that they did not want them. All they asked of the white people was to be left to themselves and let alone; that if the presents were to induce them not to go to war with the Crows and their other enemies, they did not want them. War with them was not only a necessity, but a pastime. He said General Harney had told them not to go to war, yet he was all the time going to war himself. Bear's Rib knew that when General Harney left the Dakota country he had gone to the war in Florida, and that he was at that time in command of the army sent against the Mormons.

He said, moreover, that the annuities scarcely paid for going after them, and if they were not distributed at the time of their visits to the trading posts on the Missouri to dispose of their robes, they did not want them.

"He said that he had heard that the Yanktons were going to sell their lands to the whites. If they did so he wanted them informed that they could not come to his people's lands. They must stay with the whites. Every day the Yanktons were coming, but they were turned back.

"Whatever may have been Bear's Rib's actions after leaving us, it is certain that we saw no more Indians in the Black Hills."[397]

The examination was continued to Bear Butte, when Lieutenant Warren returned to Fort Randall.

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[397] Warren's report.

CHAPTER XXIII

Changes in the Missionary Field—Personnel of Inkpaduta's Band—Outrages on the Little Sioux—Massacre at Spirit Lake—Attack on Springfield—Women Captives Taken—Military Movement Fails—Drowning of Mrs. Thacher—Rescue of Mrs. Marble by Seahota—Murder of Mrs. Noble—Rescue of Abbie Gardner by Paul and John—Attempts to Capture Inkpaduta—Roaring Cloud Killed—Indians Pursue Inkpaduta—Fight Him at Lake Thompson—Government Guilty of Neglect.

The gathering of the Santee tribes on the new reservations had of course required a readjustment of the missionary establishments. Dr. Williamson, who had been for several years with the Little Crow band at Kaposia, removed with them up the Minnesota and established himself at a station which he called Payjuhutaze, very near to the new Yellow Medicine, or Upper Agency, and shortly afterward Dr. Riggs, having given up the mission at Traverse des Sioux when the Indians went to the reservation and returned to the old mission at Lac qui Parle, suffered the loss of his home by fire. He therefore concluded that it would be wiser to re-establish in the vicinity of the agency, and so removed down to that point. The temptation is great to diverge from the main object of this paper and devote some space to the detailed story of the labors, sacrifices, defeats and undaunted courage in adversity and persistence and triumphs of these devoted missionary families; but it appears to be only admissible within the limited space of a single volume of our collections to follow the fortunes of the Dakotas and tell only so much of the missionary work as is essential to the development of the Indian history. A boarding school for the boys and girls was established. Most of the Christian Indians removed to the vicinity and engaged in farming. There was by this time a very respectable community who wore citizens' clothing, short hair, and lived in good houses.

Messrs. Riggs and Williamson endeavored to have these converts admitted to full citizenship and sent a large number to the court at Mankato to be naturalized, but the court deemed a knowledge of English essential and so excluded all but a very few. As the next practicable thing to do, the missionaries deemed it best to organize them into a local government of their own. This organization was called the Hazlewood Republic, and a constitution was adopted and executive and judicial officers elected. Little Paul, Mazakutamane, was chosen president and continued in the position until the outbreak. They were officially recognized by the agent as a separate band and took great interest and pride in the administration of their affairs. Unfortunately the records of this interesting experiment in popular government are very meager.

With the assistance of a gift of $200 from the American Board these Indians built for themselves a church in which they invested $500 of their own money and much labor. They also assisted very materially in the erection of a boarding school. This school could accommodate but twenty scholars, and was soon full to its utmost capacity. It was the first experiment in the way of a boarding school for Indians and was a pronounced success. Its usefulness was of course limited by the lack of funds, for a larger establishment required a large outlay. The school was at first in charge of Miss Ruth Pettyjohn and then that of Mr. and Mrs. H. D. Cunningham. Misses Annie Ackley, Eliza Huggins and Isabella Riggs were teachers.

One member of the missionary band is deserving of especial mention, Miss Jane Williamson, a sister of Dr. Williamson's, known to all of the English speaking community as Aunt Jane, and to the Dakotas as the Red Song Woman. She came to the work in 1843, when Dr. Riggs returned from the first Bible printing trip to the east, and surrendered her life to enthusiastic work for the education and uplifting of the savages. When, owing to the unpopularity of the missionaries due to the mistaken belief among the natives that they were being paid for their service from the annuity funds of the treaty of 1837, the children were kept away from the schools and the mission work was at a standstill, Aunt Jane filled her pockets with nuts and sweetmeats and went out among the children and tempted them into her classes with the goodies. Throughout

her career no sacrifice was too great, nor labor too trying if by it God's ignorant children of the prairies could be helped. The Indians came to have a tender and affectionate interest in her, and as Dr. Riggs said: "Many of them owe more to her than they can understand."

Rev. John P. Williamson, having completed his education and graduated from Lane Seminary in 1861, he established a mission at the Lower Agency, and a short time prior Bishop Whipple had set up an Episcopal school there. Such was the situation in the Dakota mission field when the great trial by fire came upon it.[398]

Inkpaduta[399] still continued to range throughout eastern South Dakota and northwestern Iowa, and in the fall of 1856 went down into the lower valley of the Little Sioux River. Sparse settlement was beginning through all of that country. At this time Inkpaduta's band consisted of only eleven men and their families. They were Inkpaduta and his twin sons, Roaring Cloud and Fire Cloud, and two other sons, Mysterious Father and Old Man; his son-in-law, Rattling, and five others, Kechomon, Big Face, Tatelidashinkshamane, Great Gun and One Leg. Each of these warriors was accompanied by his family. The Indians were insolent and quarrelsome with the settlers. The first hostile demonstration occurred down near Smithland, where some settlers got upon the trail of an elk which the Indians were trailing, and they threatened vengeance, but did nothing at the time. One of the Indians was bitten by a dog belonging to a settler, and he killed the animal. The homesteader gave the buck a threshing. The squaws came about the farms, stealing grain and hay, and the farmers whipped them away. The Indians became so threatening that several of the settlers banded together and went to the camp and disarmed them.[400] They intended to return the guns next day and escort the Indians out of the country, but the next morning no Indians were to be found in the locality. They had gone up the Little

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[398]This story is condensed from several chapters of Dr. Riggs' story, "Mary and I."

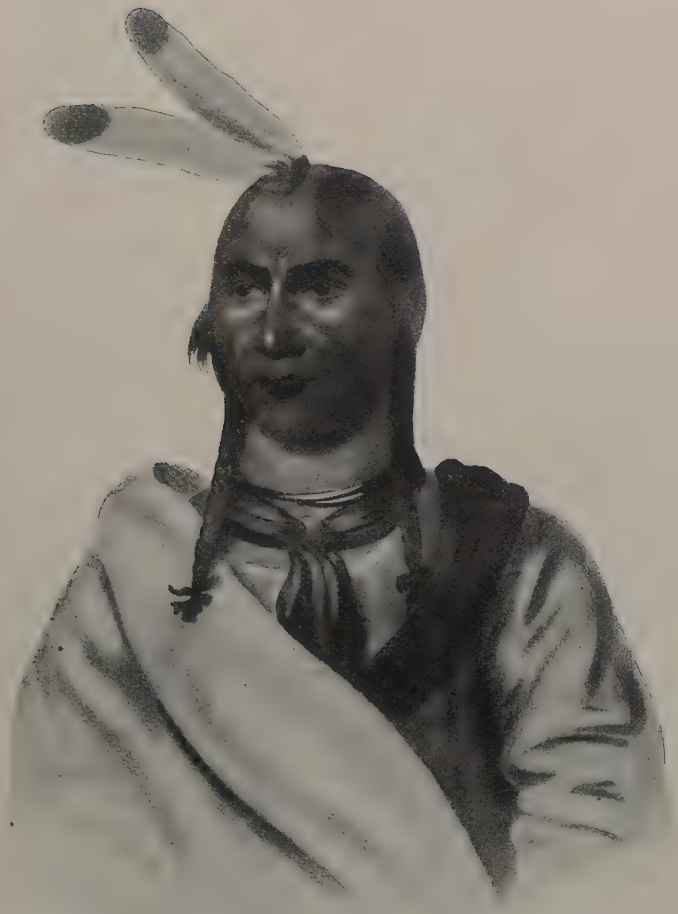
[399]See page —, ante.

[400]Judge Flandrau says he has been unable to determine whether or not the arms were returned to Inkpaduta. Mrs. Abbie Gardner-Sharp says that they were not returned.

Sioux, committing all sorts of depredations, forcibly taking guns, ammunition and provisions; in fact, whatever they wanted. At Peterson, in Clay county, Iowa, they went to the house of A. S. Mead, and finding him away, they killed his cattle, knocked down Mrs. Mead and carried her daughter Hettie off to their camp. At the home of E. Taylor they knocked down and intimidated Mr. Taylor, kicked his young son into the fireplace and severely burned him, and took his wife off to their camp. After keeping these two young women in their camp and subjecting them to every indignity, they allowed them to return to their homes in the morning. On the evening of the 7th of March they reached Okoboji Lakes and encamped near by.[401]

On the morning of March 8th they went to the house of Rowland Gardner, near Okoboji Lake, and asked for breakfast which was given them. After eating they asked for ammunition and the supply was divided with them, but they were surly and demanded all of it. Later they left the house, but their conduct was so manifestly hostile that Harvey Luce, a son-in-law, and another gentleman named Clark set out to warn the other settlers of the locality. Toward evening the Indians returned and massacred the entire household, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. Gardner, their daughter, Mrs. Luce, and her two children, and their young son Rowland. One daughter, Abigail, a girl of 13, was made a captive. From there they went about the settlement, killing all of the people except Abbie Gardner and three young married women, Mesdames Noble, Marble and Thacher, who were taken prisoners, and Mr. Morris Markham, who being absent from home on that day, returned at nightfall to discover the massacre and escape to the nearest settlement at Springfield (Jackson), Minnesota, about thirty miles away. Thirty-two persons were murdered at the Spirit Lakes. After the massacre the Indians plundered the property of the settlement, carrying away what they could use and wantonly destroying the remainder. Inkpaduta and his band, with the white captives, then set out leisurely up the DesMoines, and on

[401]The story of Inkpaduta's war is generally based upon Mrs. Abbie Gardner-Sharp's relation, modified somewhat by the writings of Judge Flandrau and Dr. Riggs, and the story told the writer by Joseph La Frambois.



Sleepy Eye

the 26th arrived in the vicinity of Springfield, where, it is charged, they were joined by a party of Sissetons under Sleepyeyes in an attack upon that place.[402] Warned by Mr. Markham, the settlers to the number of twenty-one had gathered for defense at the log house of Mr. Thomas, where they were attacked by the Indians in ambush. Two men and a lady were seriously wounded and a little son of Mr. Thomas' killed. The settlers, however, made a vigorous defense and at night the Indians withdrew. In the meantime they had visited the home of Mr. Stewart and killed him, his wife and two children, and at the trading store of Wood Brothers killed the Woods and one other man.

When Markham arrived at Springfield with news of the massacre at Spirit Lake two men named Tretts and Chiffen had been at once dispatched to Fort Ridgely on the Minnesota. It was the historic winter of the "deep snow" and the messengers made slow progress over the intervening sixty miles. It was the 18th of March before the soldiers were apprised of the great calamity. Colonel Alexander of the Tenth regiment U. S. Infantry at once dispatched Captain Barnard E. Bee and Lieutenant Murray to Spirit Lake with Company A, under the guidance of Joseph LaFrambois. They arrived at Springfield the second day after the attack on that place, and taking up the trail of the savages followed them some distance, but despairing of overtaking them, turned back. Inkpaduta was within a very short distance of them at that moment and his scouts from a tree were watching every movement of the soldiers and reporting the action of the whites to the camp below. A brave was detailed to kill the captives if the soldiers charged the camp. The soldiers returned to Fort Ridgely, having suffered extremely upon the trip through the deep snows.

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[402] Joseph LaFrambois, a grandson of Sleepyeye's, strenuously denies that the latter had anything to do with the attack upon Springfield. Sleepyeyes met Captain Bee's company and afforded them all of the assistance in his power. There does not appear to be any ground for the assumption that Sleepyeyes took part in the attack except that some articles belonging to the settlers were found in the possession of the squaws in Sleepyeyes' camp. These articles Joseph LaFrambois says the squaws picked up on the prairie, where they had been thrown away, probably by Inkpaduta's people. There was nothing in the general conduct of Sleepyeyes to warrant the assumption that he was guilty. A long standing friendship for the whites rather supports the other view.

As soon as the soldiers were gone Inkpaduta took up the march for the northwest, reaching the Pipestone quarry, where they camped under the protection of the ledge and remained some days, until the snows melted, and the march was again taken up. The captives were treated as slaves and subjected to every hardship. To Mrs. Thacher the experience was especially severe. Her infant child, but three weeks old, had been torn from her arms and killed before her eyes. Naturally her physical condition was such that the labor imposed upon her was almost beyond her power to perform, but such was her devotion to her husband, who was absent from home at the time of the massacre, that she was determined to live to return to him. With inflamed and broken breasts, with one limb swollen until it burst, she carried her heavy burden from day to day, wading through the ice cold streams waist deep, cutting firewood and camp poles and performing other camp duties until the Big Sioux River was reached at Flandreau, South Dakota, when she actually appeared to be in a way to recovery. The river was to be crossed upon a tree which had fallen across the stream, at the time swollen with the spring floods. As they were about to step upon the treacherous bridge a young Indian took the pack from Mrs. Thacher's shoulders and placed it upon his own. She realized at once that her time had come, and turning to Abbie Gardner, gave her a message of love to her husband. When she reached the middle of the stream an Indian pushed her into the icy flood. With supernatural strength she breasted the torrent and reached the shore, where she was clubbed back into the stream by the savages. She turned across the stream and reached the other shore, where the savages hurried to intercept her and again beat her back with clubs. She was then carried down the stream by the flood, the Indians running along the banks whooping and yelling and flinging clubs at her until she came to another tree fallen across the stream and would have doubtless escaped drowning, but at this point she was shot dead.

With the other three captives the Indians proceeded directly west until they reached Lake Herman, just west of the present city of Madison, where they went into camp on the east side of the lake, a short distance south of the outlet. While upon this trip they had met several bands of Indians, to whom Inkpaduta's

people related all of the details of the massacre with the utmost unction, and the stories were received by the others without the least sign of disapprobation. After the camp at Lake Herman had been established about ten days it was visited by two Christian Indians from Lac qui Parle, Minnesota, sons of Spirit Walker, the chief of that village. They were named Seahota, meaning Greyfoot, and Makpeyahahoton, meaning Sounding Heavens. They were hunting on the Sioux near Flandreau and learning that Inkpaduta was camped at Lake Herman they resolved to attempt to rescue the captives. They doubtless had the hope of reward, but the chief motive which impelled them to the step was the hope of relieving the annuity Indians of the Minnesota of the odium and responsibility of Inkpaduta's horrible conduct. Inkpaduta was suspicious of them and believed they were guiding soldiers to him, and frequently while they were in the camp his people would raise the cry that the soldiers were coming. This was done to try the good faith of the Christians. Grayfoot told Inkpaduta without reserve that he had done a most outrageous thing, for which the whites would surely bring him to justice, but that while he must die for the wrong he had done he could save the other Indians from the imputation of sympathizing in his crime by giving up the captives. Inkpaduta, on the other hand, argued that if his had been only an ordinary crime he would be punished for it, but that his act had been so extraordinary and daring that he would escape; that the very audacity of his conduct would save him. The argument was kept up all night and until 3 o'clock the next afternoon, when Inkpaduta adroitly proposed that they take one of the captives, as an evidence of good faith. Finding that they could secure no more the Christians consented and were told to select the one they desired. The women were under a shelter tent nearby, baking fish. Seahota stepped to the tent and looked in. Abbie Gardner was so young that he concluded they would be relatively kind to her, so she was passed. Mrs. Marble looked young and not unhappy, so they concluded to take Mrs. Noble, who was older and looked distressed. They motioned to her to follow them but she mistook their motive and turned from them in anger. They then

motioned to Mrs. Marble who followed them good naturedly.[403] They gave Inkpaduta some small presents in consideration of giving up the captive. Some of these presents were at their camp on the Sioux and two of Inkpaduta's Indians went along to secure them. At the Sioux they found quite an Indian camp and among them a Frenchman who spoke good English. Mrs. Marble was treated with every consideration and as rapidly as possible taken to Lac qui Parle, where she was turned by the boys over to their father, Spirit Walker.

Spirit Walker clothed her as well as he could and sent at once to Messrs. Riggs and Williamson, near the Upper agency, to come for her. They proceeded at once and found her well content to remain with her new friends, but they persuaded her to go with them and return to her white relatives. Judge Flandrau, then agent for the Dakotas, paid to Greyfoot and Sounding Heavens the sum of $500 in cash and gave a note signed by himself and Mr. Riggs for $500 more, payable in three months. For this and other expenses they were reimbursed by the state. Judge Flandrau took Mrs. Marble to St. Paul, whence she reached her friends.

Immediately upon the rescue of Mrs. Marble with intelligence of the whereabouts of the other captives, Judge Flandrau and the missionaries had set at work to get out a volunteer party of Indians to rescue the others. For this purpose they selected Paul Mazakutemane, known as Little Paul, and John Otherday and a third Indian known to the whites as Mr. Grass but by the Indians as Ironhawk. They were Christians, and living in a civilized way. John Otherday was married to a white woman. He possessed rare executive ability and the strongest courage. Little Paul was the president of the Hazelwood Republic, a magnetic orator and natural diplomat. Better men for the mission could not be secured. They were equipped with a quantity of goods deemed sufficient to purchase the captives and at once set off upon the hazardous trip. The moment of Mrs. Marble's rescue Inkpaduta understood that communication was

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[403]This portion of the story was related to Hon. Harry Morris and the writer by Seahota at his haying camp on the Sisseton reservation August 1, 1900. For the text of his narrative see Monthly South Dakotan, January, 1901.

in a way established between his camp and the whites, and upon the return of his emissaries from the Sioux, camp was broken and a new pilgrimage undertaken. They moved toward the northwest by slow marches and coming upon a party of Yanktons, one of them, a one-legged fellow named Wanduskaihanke, meaning End of the Snake, who had an eye to business, thought he saw an opportunity for speculation in the captives by taking them to the Missouri and selling them to the whites. He therefore struck a bargain for them and the two women became his property. Both parties moved along together after that, in the direction of the Earth lodges on the James River.

A few days later, just as the captives were settling down for a night's rest, Roaring Cloud came into the Yankton's tent and ordered Mrs. Noble to follow him out. She refused to go. From the first she had resisted them with all of her power, though compelled in the end to submit. He seized her by one arm and catching up a stick of firewood which she had herself cut but a few moments before, he dragged her from the tent. Outside he dealt her three heavy blows and left her. She died soon after. The Yankton vigorously protested against his conduct, in words, but took no stronger measures to protect his property. Mrs. Noble was about 20 years of age, tall, slender and of good form. She was a member of the Disciples church and constantly, during her captivity, she cheered her companions with prayer and the singing of hymns.

The next morning the Indians gathered around the mangled corpse and made it a target for their arrows. Afterwards she was scalped. This fiendish murder must have occurred in the eastern portion of Spink county. A day or two later they reached the James River at the mouth of Snake Creek, a short distance southeast of Ashton, where they encamped on the west side of the James, close to the south side of the Snake, where were in camp 190 lodges of Yanktons.

Two or three days after arriving at the James River the approach of the rescuing party was observed. They had proceeded from Lac qui Parle to Lake Herman and there striking Inkpaduta's trail had followed it without difficulty to the James. Apprehending that the party were soldiers the valiant Inkpaduta hustled off up Snake Creek and hid himself in a grove of plum brush. The adroit pursuers knew the Indian character too well

to bring into the camp all of their possessions, so selecting what they thought would be a fair equivalent for the captives they cached the rest back upon the prairies, and came in, bringing only two horses and some goods. After a good deal of dickering they purchased the captive, Abbie Gardner, and speedily restored her to Judge Flandrau at Yellow Medicine, who conducted her to her friends.

With the captives restored the next thing was the chastisement of Inkpaduta. Several plans were canvassed but at this juncture most of the troops were ordered away from Fort Ridgely to participate in the Mormon campaign and only a very small garrison remained, leaving no soldiers whatever that could be spared from the garrison for a campaign in the field, so that for the present all offensive measures were given up.[405]

A short time after the return of Abbie Gardner to the agency Judge Flandrau, who was at the Lower (Redwood) agency, received word from Major Joseph R. Brown that Inkpaduta and several members of his band were at the Yellow Medicine River. Major Brown informed him that at midnight of that night he would have an Indian who knew where the hostiles were meet him at the Butte, midway between the two agencies, to guide him to the point. Judge Flandrau secured fifteen men from Fort Ridgely under Lieutenant Murray, and about the Lower agency he picked up a volunteer force of twenty men. The soldiers were in wagons and the volunteers were mounted. They got off from the Lower agency about 5 o'clock in the afternoon. The soldiers had army muskets and the volunteers each had a double barrelled shot gun and a revolver. At the Butte at midnight they found the dauntless John Otherday, composedly smoking his pipe. It was the time for the annuity payment and the Yanktonais were there, and many Missouri River Indians. John told them they would find the enemy in six tipis standing by themselves about four miles above the agency. It was daylight when they arrived near the camp, but John guided them skillfully, keeping rolls of the prairie between them and the camp. When they had crossed the Yellow Medicine

[405] Judge Flandrau's History of Minnesota. Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars; Niell.

the forces were divided into two squads, the soldiers double-quicked along under the edge of the bluff to prevent a retreat into the timber of the river bottom, while the mounted men took to the open prairie to cut off a retreat in the other direction. Judge Flandrau led the volunteers. "Whoever runs from the camp you may be sure of," said Otherday, and both parties advanced. The night had been hot and sultry and the Indians had rolled up the skirts of the tipis to get the air, and as soon as the volunteers got out on the prairie their presence was discovered. When 200 yards from the camp a young Indian, accompanied by a squaw whom he held by the hand, sprang out and made for the river bluffs. The volunteers discharged their shotguns at him but without effect and he reached the brush, from a clump of which he fired four shots at the men but none were injured, although one of his shots struck the cartridge box of one of the soldiers. Whenever he shot the men poured a volley into the spot indicated by his smoke and they succeeded in killing him. He was Roaring Cloud, the young fiend who had murdered Mrs. Noble, who had accompanied his Yanktonais sweetheart down to the payment and was the only one of the gang present. In the camp about the agency were fully 8,000 Indians, many of them savages from the Missouri. Capturing Roaring Cloud's sweetheart they loaded her into the wagon with the corpse of the dead Indian and set off for the agency through the heart of the great Indian camp. The scared squaw howled as only a scared squaw can and the Indians thronged about the troops by the thousand, threatening and flourishing their guns. They did not shoot, however, having too much fear for the vengeance of Uncle Sam if his blue coats were molested. However, when the soldiers arrived at the agency they fortified themselves in an old log building and sent to Fort Ridgely for re-enforcements. The old battery which had served at Buena Vista in the Mexican war was sent up and the trouble blew over. It was really a most reckless adventure and the wonder is that it had not resulted in a great massacre.[406]

The killing of Roaring Cloud was good as far as it went but the government was not satisfied and demanded that the annuity Indians should bring Inkpaduta in and deliver him up.

[406] Flandrau's History of Minnesota, 375.

On the 22d of July a company consisting of 106 warriors representing both the Upper and Lower Indians, but chiefly Sissetons and Wahpetons under the leadership of Little Crow, set out for the west to capture or punish Inkpaduta. They went directly to Lake Herman, which at that period seems to have been a general rendezvous for the Inkpadutans, and taking his trail followed him to Lake Thompson, at the center of Kingsbury county, where they overtook him and engaged him in battle. Three of his braves, Tatayahe, Mysterious Father and Big Face were killed, but Inkpaduta himself, with the remainder of his band, escaped them. They then returned to Yellow Medicine, feeling that they had done sufficiently to avenge the wrongs of the whites to entitle them to their annuities. Major Pritchette, however, who was sent out as a special agent of the interior department to adjust the matter, was of the opinion that the whole band should be crushed, or at least that Inkpaduta should be disposed of, and still withheld the annuities. The Sissetons and Wahpetons felt that this was a peculiar hardship upon them, who had no relationship or responsibility whatever for Inkpaduta, but had on the other hand brought in two of the captives and assisted in killing four of the outlaws, furnishing the majority of the warriors for the expedition to Lake Thompson. The matter became so acute that the upper bands organized a soldiers' lodge and placed the camp upon a military footing. On August 10th, five days after the return of the expedition from the west, Major Pritchette met them in a council called by the soldiers' lodge and Little Paul said:

"The soldiers lodge has appointed me to speak for them. The men who killed the white people did not belong to us and we did not expect to be called upon to account for the deeds of another band. We have tried to do as our great father tells us. One of our young men brought in a captive woman. I went out and brought in another. The soldiers came up here and our men assisted to kill one of Inkpaduta's sons at this place. The Lower Indians did not get up the war party for you. It was our Indians, the Wahpetons and the Sissetons. * * All of us want our money very much. A man of another band has done wrong. We are to suffer for it. Our old women and children are hungry for this."

Upon receiving intelligence of the result of the expedition, Major Cullen, superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Paul, was

of the opinion that the Santees had done all in their power to punish or surrender Inkpaduta and that their annuities might then with propriety be paid, but Major Pritchette declared that "Nothing less than the entire extirpation of Inkpaduta's murderous outlaws will satisfy justice and the dignity of the government and vindicate outraged humanity."

The annuities were paid and no further effort was made to punish the outlaws. The Santees construed this, either as an evidence of weakness, or else that the whites were afraid to pursue the matter further, and they became more insolent than ever. Never has the government made a worse mistake. With soldiers at Forts Randall and Ridgely, and with the assistance of a few friendly Indians, Inkpaduta could have been brought in or destroyed with comparative ease. From the date that the government dropped the prosecution of Inkpaduta, Little Crow began to agitate for his grand scheme for driving all of the whites from the Dakota country.[407]

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[407]Niell's History of the Minnesota Valley, 183. Report of Major Pritchette, August 18, 1857.

CHAPTER XXIV

Settlement at Sioux Falls—Inkpaduta Troublesome—The Nobles' Road—Negotiations With the Yanktons—Treaty of 1858—Medary Settlement Destroyed—Reynolds' Expedition—Speech of Bear's Rib—Factions Among the Yanktons—Struck by the Ree Loyal—Smutty Bear Hostile.

In May, 1857, settlement was undertaken at Sioux Falls, South Dakota, by two independently acting parties, one from Dubuque, Iowa, and one from St. Paul, Minnesota. Townsites were also located at Medary and Flandreau. No difficulty was experienced with the Indians in the early season, but toward fall Inkpaduta got the remnant of his band back into the Lake Herman district and he attempted two raids upon the Sioux Falls settlement, in one of which he ran off the only yoke of oxen kept there.[408] In July of that year all of the settlers withdrew from Sioux Falls owing to disquieting Indian rumors, but there really was no immediate cause of alarm. Colonel W. H. Nobles of St. Paul had taken a contract to construct a wagon road from Fort Ridgely, Minnesota, to the Missouri River in the vicinity of Fort Lookout. It was a portion of the plan to establish a great government highway from St. Paul to the Pacific. When he reached Lake Benton on the 18th of July he was met by a large party of Yankton Indians under the lead of old Smutty Bear, who informed him that he would not be permitted to proceed further than the Sioux River. That the lands west of the Sioux belonged to the Yanktons and that they must not be trespassed upon, and that any attempt to do so would be forcibly resisted. This, it will be understood, followed immediately upon the Inkpaduta troubles, the excitement due to the killing of Roaring Cloud and the refusal of the govern-

[408] Bailey's History of Minnehaha County, 13. Story of John McClellan.

ment to pay the annuities until Inkpaduta was brought in or punished. Indeed, it was but four days later that Little Crow set out for his expedition against Inkpaduta, which resulted in the battle at Lake Thompson. All of these matters contributed to great uneasiness among the frontiersmen, and upon being thus enjoined by the Yanktons, Colonel Nobles hastened to Fort Ridgely to secure a military escort. This could not be provided, by reason of the lack of soldiers, even to control the threatening situation upon the Minnesota, but Major T. W. Sherman, in command at Ridgely, upon the advice of Superintendent Cullen of the Indian department, supplied Nobles with a quantity of firearms, and returning to his survey he entered upon the forbidden lands and completed his contract without obstruction.[409] It was rumors of these troubles that reached Sioux Falls and frightened away the settlers for a short time.

About this time the government, yielding to the pressure for more land for immigrants set about through Captain John B. S. Todd, to negotiate with the Yanktons for the opening of the lands between the Sioux and the Missouri. He called a council at the village of Struck by the Ree, at Yankton, but they were not in a spirit to sell. Todd pressed the matter and the Indians sent to Fort Pierre for Charles F. Picotte, the half Yankton son of Honore Picotte, one of the best known traders of the old days. Charles F. Picotte possessed a fair education and great strength of character, and was a good friend and advisor to his Indian relatives. At the next council he appeared as the recognized counsel for the Yanktons, but Captain Todd told the Indians he must treat directly with them without the intervention of Picotte. The latter at once withdrew from the council and all of the Yanktons followed him. Picotte returned to Fort Pierre and Todd found himself unable to get within speaking distance of the Indians.[410] Finally, in dispair, he again sent for Picotte, who, with the assistance of Zephyr Rencontre, induced the council to delegate a party of fifteen chiefs and headmen to go with them to Washington where upon

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[409]Official report upon construction of the Pacific wagon road by Colonel W. H. Nobles and Samuel Medary, 1857.

[410]Story related to writer by Dr. Walter A. Burleigh, former agent of the Yanktons. See also "Once Their Home."

Two Lance Charles F. Picotte

the 19th of April, 1858, a treaty was negotiated which sold to the United States all of the lands owned by the Yanktons, except a reservation of 400,000 acres lying upon the Missouri River, above Chouteau Creek, in Charles Mix county. The sale involved all of the lands between the Sioux and the Missouri as far north as a line running approximately from Pierre to Watertown. Under the treaties of 1851 the Santees had sold all of the country between the Sioux and the Mississippi, including the Pipestone quarries, but the Yanktons also claimed superior rights in the quarry, and the treaty contained a provision that they should be secured in the free and unrestricted use of the pipestone and the government agreed to keep the same open and free to the Indians to visit and procure pipestone so long as they should require.[411]

The treaty was signed by Struck by the Ree and Smutty Bear, together with thirteen others, but upon the return of the delegation to the tribe it was found that the sale was highly unpopular and Smutty Bear at once became the leader in a faction opposed to the acceptance and ratification of the treaty. Feeling ran very high and at times it required all of the diplomacy of "Old Strike" to prevent open rebellion. His life and that of his chief partisans were frequently threatened.[412] Smutty Bear set out to eject the settlers from the disputed lands east of the Sioux, as well as to enjoin any entries upon the lands embraced in the new treaty. Luckily, notice of his intentions reached the missionaries at Yellow Medicine in the latter part of May through Indian friends, and Dr. Williamson promptly dispatched an Indian messenger "to the Americans who are making claims at Medary," with warning of the approaching danger, and they were therefore prepared for the reception of Smutty Bear.[413] Nevertheless he was tenacious in his purpose and only spared the settlers at Medary upon condition of their leaving the country at once, and as he had with him a very large force of Indians, Major DeWitt and his party were com-

[411]For text of treaty see Appendix B., 1 S. D.

[412]Relation of Dr. Burleigh. Letter of W. H. Back to Professor Robert F. Kerr; copy in Historical Society.

[413]Letter of Dr. Williamson, Monthly South Dakotan, March, 1902.

pelled to give up their improvements and leave the country.[414] The settlement at Sioux Falls was stronger, and having more time, built a stockade and prepared to defend itself, but the Indians, learning of the strength of the establishment, did not attack it.[415] The loss to the settlers at Medary by this enterprise of Smutty Bear's was by the government deducted from the annuities of the Yanktons and the settlers reimbursed.[416]

The treaty provided that the government should pay the Yanktons the sum of $1,600,000 in annuities, running over the ensuing fifty years. The Indians were to remove to the reservation within one year from its ratification and thereafter reside there, and there was provision for the establishment among them of schools, mills, stores and the opening of farms for their use. Charles Picotte and Zephyr Rencontre were each permitted to select a section of the ceded land where they chose, Picotte taking the Yankton townsite and Rencontre the Bon Homme townsite. Paul Durion and Mesdames Reulo, Bedaud and Traversee were each granted a half section of their own selection.[417]

Not only was the treaty unpopular with many of the Yanktons, but the Yanktonais and the Tetons, who claimed rights in the soil, were also firmly opposed to it.[418] In the spring of 1859, Captain W. F. Reynolds, about to set out upon his expedition to the Yellowstone from Fort Pierre, was intrusted with the distribution to the Tetons of the goods due them under the Harney treaty of 1856.[419] The Tetons were agitated about the Yankton treaty and strenuously denied the right of the Yanktons to sell without their consent. Bear's Rib was the principal speaker, and Captain Reynolds thus reports his remarks upon the topic:

My Brother: To whom does this land belong? I believe it belongs to me. Look at me and at the ground. Which do

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[414]Bailey's History of Minnehaha County, 14. Narrative of Major DeWitt to writer. Professor Robert F. Kerr in Brookings Press.

[415]Letter of James M. Allen, Bailey's History of Minnehaha County, 14.

[416]Narrative of Major DeWitt.

[417]These women were half Yanktons and sisters of Charles F. Picotte's.

[418]Interview with Joseph LaFrambois, 1900.

[419]Official report on Yellowstone expedition by Captain W. F. Reynolds, published by the government, 1867.

you think is the oldest? The ground; and on it I was born. I have no instruction. I give my own ideas. I do not know how many years. It is much older than I. Here we are, our nine nations. Here are our principal men gathered together. When you tell us anything, we wish to say "yes" to what we like, and you will do the same. There are none of the Yanktons here. Where are they? It is said that I have a father (agent), and when he tells me anything I say yes. And when I ask him anything, I want him to say yes. I call you my brother. What you told me yesterday, I believe is true. The Yanktons below us are a poor people. I don't know where their land is. I pity them. These lower Yanktons I know did own a piece of land, but they sold it long ago. I don't know where they got any more. Since I have been born I do not know who owns two, three, four, more pieces of land. When I got land it was all in one piece and we were born and still live on it. These Yanktons, we took pity on them. They had no land. We lent them what they have to grow corn on. We gave them a thousand horses to keep that land for us, but I never told them to steal it and go and sell it. I call you my brother and want you to take pity on me, and if any one steals anything from me I want the privilege of calling for it. If those men who did it secretly had asked me to make a treaty for its sale I should not have consented. We who are here all understand each other, but I do not agree that they shall steal the land and sell it. If the white people want my land and I should give it to them where should I stay. I have no place else to go. I hear that a reservation has been kept for the Yanktons below. I will speak again on this subject. I cannot spare it and I like it very much. All of this country on each side of the river belongs to me. I know that from the Mississippi to this river the country all belongs to us, and that we have traveled from the Yellowstone to the Platte. All of this country, as I have said, is ours. If you, my brother, was to ask me for it I would not give it to you, for I like it, and I hope you will listen to me.

The text of this speech is given because better than any other published speech of a Dakota it suggests the land claims and the history of the Dakota tribes. Interpreted by the known movements of the bands it becomes very clear. The Tetons traditionally owned a joint interest with the other tribes in all of the lands they had ever possessed and absolute title to all the lands they had conquered without the co-operation of the Santees and Yanktons. When the Yanktons lost their hold upon the lands of the Ottoes in southwestern Iowa, landless and homeless they came up the Missouri and were given a location upon the Sioux and the James, but recently conquered

from the Omahas by the Tetons, who found for themselves superior accommodations in the buffalo ranges west of the Missouri, which they had conquered from the Rees and the Crows.[420] Fearing that they would be unable to hold the eastern Dakota country from being repossessed by the Omahas or some other enemy, they welcomed the arrival of the Yanktons, and to place them on a footing which would enable them to hold the lands against any probable comers, they were given a large number of horses by the Tetons, who were opulent and had horses in abundance. Having placed their protest of record, the Tetons do not appear to have taken any other action toward enforcing their claims, and nine years later by the treaty of Laramie they relinquished any claim they may have had to lands east of the Missouri.[421]

Among the Yanktons, however, the matter continued to be a subject of pressing interest. Struck by the Ree stood resolutely for abiding the terms of the agreement, and Smutty Bear opposed doing so with violence. It was the subject of many an angry council during the year, and when July, 1859, arrived and the year for removing to the reservation was passing, the tribe was assembled at Yankton, having heard that the new agent was coming to establish the agency on the reservation. The matter appeared to be as far from settlement as ever. On the morning of the 10th of July it was still unsettled and a final talk was made. A large body of Smutty Bear's young men mounted, made a demonstration, riding furiously about the council as if to put an end to further deliberations. Smutty Bear, well understanding the power of long association over the Indian mind, declaimed about the grounds of their fathers and the graves of their relatives, when the bellow of a steamboat put an end to all interest in the topic. It was the "Wayfarer," loaded to the guards with Indian goods and bearing Major Redfield, the agent, to the new home. He made an argument irresistible in its eloquence. He told them to go at once to the reservation and he would make for them a great feast. The day was lost to Smutty Bear. The steamer proceeded on its way and the Yanktons, racing along the bank,

[420] See note upon this subject, 37 ante.

[421] See Appendix D, 1 S. D., 454.

kept it in sight. They enjoyed the feast and settled down contentedly about the agency, where they remain to this day.[422] Through the influance of "Old Strike" they were firm friends of the whites during all of the troublous years that followed.

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[422]The story of the occurrences of July 10, 1859, was related to the writer by James Witherspoon, of Yankton, in 1899. Witherspoon was one of the earliest residents of Yankton and was present and witnessed all that occurred upon that eventful day. The removal of the Yanktons to the reservation, so easily accomplished, was taken as the ratification of the treaty upon their part and the reservation was deemed open for settlement from that date, and many of the pioneers date their residence in Dakota from that day. As a matter of fact the treaty was not ratified by the senate until the 16th day of February, 1859, and was not proclaimed until February 26, so that the Yanktons had, under the terms of the treaty, until February 26, 1860, in which to assent to the treaty and remove to the reservation.

CHAPTER XXV

Events Preliminary to the Outbreak—General Situation of the Dakotas—Progress in Civilization, Education and Christianity—Effect Upon Them of the Civil War—Bad Faith in Payment of the Money Under the Treaties—Foolish Action of Superintendent Thompson—Little Crow Unpopular—Deposed from Chieftainship by His Tribe—Traveling Hail Elected—Soldier Lodge Organized—Note of Warning from Dr. Williamson—Inkpaduta Shows Up—Sheean Fails to Catch Him—Attack on the Warehouse by Starving Indians—The Sissetons are Fed and Return to Big Stone.

Eighteen hundred and sixty-two was an epochal year in the history of the Dakota nation and before entering upon its story it may be well to briefly review the situation and condition of the various bands at this time. The M'dewakantons and Wakpekutes at the Lower agency had been located on that reservation nine years, and schools and churches were provided for their accommodation and advancement. They had about 200 acres of ploughed lands and annually grew a considerable quantity of corn, vegetables and other crops. There were all told 3,213 of them. They had never become deeply interested in missionary work and but few of them were professors of religion. As previously stated Bishop Whipple had an Episcopal mission there and John P. Williamson a plant for the American board.

The government had provided them a saw mill and a grist mill, blacksmith and carpenter shops, so that they were equipped with all of the ordinary conveniences of a civilized agricultural community. The government had already provided some of the more progressive Indians with homes and Agent Galbraith had completed arangements to erect about ninety others at a cost of about $300 each, and before August many of these were completed and occupied. Little Crow, having great influence with the wild Indians, in June of 1862 agreed with the agent

that in consideration of the building for himself of a good brick residence he would settle down to work and would use all of his influence to bring the idle young men of his bands to ways of industry. Little Crow was to dig the cellar and do the necessary hauling of lumber and material. He was engaged in this work and the carpenter had completed all of the preliminary work for Little Crow's house when interrupted by the outbreak.

At the Upper agency there were 175 families of farmer Indians, Christians, who wore citizens' clothing, living upon their lands, many of them in good houses and having about 1,300 acres of crops. These farmers were both Sissetons and Wahpetons. Fifteen miles above the agency was a settlement of Wahpetons under Red Iron and the government maintained a school there taught by Jonas Pettijohn, a member of the old missionary community.

At Lac qui Parle was Spirit Walker's village and the government school there was taught by Amos Huggins, also one of the missionary people, who was born and grew up among the Indians of that locality. He was assisted by Miss Julia LaFrambois, a half Dakota daughter of the old trader's. At Red Iron's and Lac qui Parle were large plantings, under the supervision of the government farmer, and the Indians were reasonably interested and industrious.

The main body of the Sissetons resided at Big Stone Lake and were under Scarlet Plume, Standing Buffalo and Wanatan, the hereditary chiefs. Sub-agent Givens remained with them throughout the planting season and the early hoeing that season, and they got in a good crop which was in excellent condition when they came down for the mid-summer payment.

To summarize; the Lower Indians had that season 1,025 acres of corn, 260 of potatoes, 60 acres of turnips and rutabagas, and 12 acres of wheat, besides a great area of garden vegetables. The Upper Indians, of whom there were all told 4,524, had 1,110 acres of corn, 300 acres of potatoes, 90 acres of turnips, 12 acres of wheat, and vegetables in proportion. Everything indicated that they were fast becoming an independent and self supporting people.[423]

[423]Report of Major Galbraith, agent, for 1862. .

At this time the Yanktons were quietly residing upon their reservation on the Missouri where the government had established mills, shops, schools and other conveniences, and had given them something of a start in farming.

The Yanktonais, as wild as ever, ranged between Big Stone Lake and the Missouri. Long and close association with the Sissetons, with whom they constantly intermarried, had brought these tribes in close relationship. Wanatan of the Sissetons was half Yanktonais and was the son of the famous Waneta.

The Tetons lived upon the Missouri and west of there in the same general distribution as at present. The Uncpapas and Blackfeet on the Grand River; the Sans Arcs and Minneconjous on the Moreau; the Oohenopas from the Cheyenne to the Teton; the Brules from the White to the Niobrara and the Oglalas further west toward Fort Laramie, from the White to the Platte.

When the harvest moon of 1862 was just past its splendor, the people of the United States, still smarting from the sting of the terrible defeat at Bull Run and despondent from the depressing influence of McClellan's "seven days' retreat," were appalled with the startling information that the Dakota Indians, a people whom they were taking pride in calling a "fast civilizing and Christianizing race" had taken the war path and with ruthless hand had swept the white population from the valley of the upper Minnesota, sparing neither man nor woman, nor tender child in the fury of the bloody massacre. Secondary reports only magnified the extent of the horror and before the awful calamity the people stood dazed. "Surely" they said, "the hand of Providence is laid heavily upon the American people." The first thought in the mind of every northern man was that it was the work of the rebels. "Secretly," it was believed, "and with insidious craft the enemies of the United States had crept to the frontier, and had incited the savages to this awful crime, in which the weakness of women and children were to be made the victims," and before this thought there welled up a flood of indignation such as previous conduct of the rebels had not stirred. Fortunately, and to the credit of

humanity, the belief in rebel complicity in the massacre was unfounded.[424]

To recite all of the causes which made this massacre possible involves a long story, for it cannot be attributed to any one circumstance, nor to the circumstances of any one period, though in a large measure it may be attributed to dissatisfaction growing out of the sale of the lands of the Santees under the treaties of Mendota and Traverse des Sioux and the application of the moneys due the Indians under those treaties; but there were many other contributing causes.

Under the treaty of Traverse des Sioux the Sissetons and Wahpetons were to receive a down payment of $275,000 and under the treaty of Mendota the M'dewakantons and Wakpekutes were to receive in cash the sum of $200,000. "Provided, that said sum shall be paid to the chiefs in such manner as they hereafter, in open council shall request, and as soon after the removal of the said Indians to the home set apart for them as the necessary appropriation therefor shall be made by congress."[425] This was the express provision of both treaties. Congress appropriated the money by act of August 30, 1852, and the entire amount was paid over to Governor Alexander Ramsey, of Minnesota territory, exofficio superintendent of Indian affairs for the Minnesota superintendency.[426] Where so large a loaf was to be cut it may be depended upon that the traders were not idle. Members of these tribes owed the traders individual debts aggregating large amounts. Many of these debts were outlawed and many of the debtors were dead. But the traders held the tribe responsible for every cent of these debts. They had brought their accounts together and made up a schedule of them at Traverse des Sioux in 1851,[427] and demanded that provision be made for the payment in the treaties, but the Indians would not consent to this, but instead demanded and secured the provision above set out which required the payment to them in open council.

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[424]Flandrau's Minnesota, 152. Affidavit of Dr. Riggs, Sisseton claim, 407.

[425]Section of treaty of 1851. 1 S. D. Appendix A.

[426]History of the Minnesota Valley, 181.

[427]In extenuation of the action of Governor Ramsey it must of course be admitted that the cash payment was intended to cover the debts

At the same time that the Indians were signing the treaty of Traverse des Sioux, in the same apartment where the treaty was signed and upon a board placed across the head of a barrel, but a yard or so distant from the table by which the commissioners sat, Major Joseph R. Brown presided over another paper. The chiefs signed the treaty in duplicate and as fast as they appended their names to the treaty they were conducted to Brown and there they signed the other paper. Among others who obligingly appended their names to this second paper, as witnesses to the signatures of the Indians, were Dr. Thomas S. Williamson and Dr. Stephen R. Riggs. This second paper turned out to be what was afterward familiarly known as the "traders' paper" and was an acknowledgement on the part of the Indians of the justice of the claims of the traders, and that those claims of the traders should be paid out of the money due them under the treaty. The treaty and the paper were signed on July 21, 1852.

Some weeks later the Indians learned that the traders had in their possession a paper ostensibly signed by the Sisseton and Wahpeton chiefs, of the character above set forth, and that to it was attached and an essential part of it, a schedule of the amounts due to each trader, which sums were acknowledged to be correct by the chiefs. Upon learning this the Sisseton and Wahpeton chiefs on December 10, 1851, made the following protest in writing to Governor Ramsey:

" * * After signing said treaty we were asked by our traders and did sign a paper which we supposed at the time to be a copy of the treaty or some other paper necessary to the carrying out of the agreement between ourselves and our great father, the president of the United States, in the sale of our lands. We have since learned with surprise and astonishment that we were deceived, misled, imposed upon and wronged by our pretended friends and traders in relation to the purport

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which the Indians were then owing to the traders. A full schedule of these debts was presented to the commissioners at Traverse des Sioux and Mendota and in a manner agreed upon between the traders and the Indians, but the Indians nevertheless stipulated that the money should be paid directly to them to be applied as they saw fit. History of the Minnesota Valley, 180. Nancy Huggins' story, 6 Minn., 446.

and meaning of said paper. We most solemnly protest that we never intended by any act of ours to set aside any such sum of money for the payment of assumed debts against our people, nor do we believe it possible for our people to owe one-fourth part the amount thus assumed to be due to our creditors aforesaid."[428]

At this time the Sissetons and Wahpetons gave a power of attorney to M. Sweetzer, a trader at Traverse des Sioux, authorizing him to take such action as he saw fit to protect their rights. This protest was transmitted to Governor Ramsey, by Nathaniel McLean, agent for the Sissetons and Wahpetons, on December 13, 1851, and on the 21st of January, 1852, Governor Ramsey transmitted the same to Luke Lea, commissioner of Indian affairs.

On December 8, 1851, previous to the filing of the formal protest mentioned, the head men of the Sissetons and Wahpetons, accompanied by Agent McLean, had called upon Governor Ramsey at his office in St. Paul, and Ramsey had read and explained the treaty to them and assured them that the money should be paid to them in the manner prescribed by the treaty, any paper or agreement to the contrary notwithstanding. By act of August 30, 1852, congress made the necessary appropriation of money to pay the Santees the sums due under the treaties of Traverse des Sioux and Mendota.

A bitter contention had grown up during the summer between Sweetzer, the attorney for the Sissetons and Wahpetons, and the traders, and on September 8, 1852, the Indians gave to Governor Ramsey another power of attorney which they understood revoked the traders' paper and the power given to Sweetzer, and which authorized him to collect the money from the government and disburse it as contemplated by the treaty.

On October 4, 1852, Luke Lea, commissioner of Indian affairs, transmitted to Governor Ramsey, the warrant of the United States for the sum of $593,050 to make the cash payments to the Santees under the terms of the two treaties. Lea gave Ramsey no specific instructions, but advised him to be "governed by a sound discretion in its disbursement." The

[428] Senate Executive Document 29, 2d session 32d congress.

law, however, was specific in its direction that money due under treaties should be paid in the precise manner indicated by the treaty regardless of any extrinsic agreements.

Ramsey resolved to disburse this money according to the schedule attached to the "traders' paper," but to settle his accounts with the department he must have a receipt from the Sissetons and Wahpetons for the full amount of money due them. To obtain this receipt he visited the Indians upon the Upper Minnesota and endeavored to exact it from them, but the Indians were obstinate and would not willingly sign. At the same time the Indians were to receive their annuity money and goods but this Ramsey retained in his possession and would not turn over to Agent McLean for disbursement. During this time Ramsey was in constant conferences with the interested traders and their attorney, Hugh Tyler.[429]

Time passed and the situation among the Indians became desperate. While waiting for their annuities they were illy supplied with provisions and were soon at the point of starvation. Red Iron, a Wahpeton chief, in his desperation and conceiving that they were being imposed upon and cheated, organized a soldiers' lodge among his young men, but Governor Ramsey promptly "broke him of his chieftainship," appointed another chief in his stead and had the old man arrested and imprisoned. Red Iron then signed the receipt, and eleven others followed, only two of whom were the signers of the treaty, and the traders' paper. The annuities were then distributed. In reporting his action to Commissioner Lea, on January 15, 1853, Governor Ramsey says: "The payment of $250,000, part of the sum of $275,000 appropriated in the first clause of the fourth article, was made to the traders and half-breed relatives of the Sissetons and Wahpetons, agreeably to the terms of a paper, marked Exhibit A (the trader's paper), executed by the chiefs of these bands immediately subsequent to the aforesaid treaty. The balance I retained for the subsistence and removal of these Indians.

"Much has been said of the character of that paper; but it has to my knowledge, only been assailed when the Indians, notoriously fickle, were under the control of persons having large

[429]Tyler received $55,000 of the money for his services.

pecuniary motives for invalidating it. From its face and from information gathered from responsible persons, I am satisfied that it was as equitable a distribution of this money as could have been effected, and that it was executed by the Indians with a full knowledge of what it contained."

Charges were made against Governor Ramsey for the maladministration of this money; these charges contained many definite specifications, but the essential feature was that he had conspired with the traders to defraud the Indians out of the moneys due them. At the request of the senate that the president investigate these charges, the president, on July 10, 1854, appointed Willis A. Gorman and Richard M. Young to take the testimony and report upon the same. They entered into an exhaustive investigation, taking voluminous testimony. This was in a considerable degree directed to ascertaining the validity of the traders' paper, for it was upon this that Governor Ramsey chiefly relied for his justification. Dr. Riggs was not a witness in this matter but Dr. Williamson, who if he had any interest at all was interested in the validity of the schedule, for there was an item in it of $800 to pay himself and Dr. Riggs for oxen killed by the Indians, testified that when he signed the paper as a witness to the signatures of the Indians, he supposed that it was a copy of the treaty and that there was no schedule of the sums claimed to be due attached to it at that time. That two hours later he was informed that it was not such copy but an acknowledgement of the Indians' debts. That he then went back and was permitted to examine the paper and he asked if its contents had been explained to the Indians when they signed it. General H. H. Sibley replied that it was not explained to them at that time, but that it had previously been explained to them. Dr. Williamson then asked to see the schedule of the debts, which was not yet attached to the paper, and was informed that the schedule had not yet been completed. Many Indian witnesses swore to the same state of facts and it was not disputed. There was no testimony to indicate that Governor Ramsey received any pecuniary advantage from his conduct.

Governor Ramsey's defense was his reliance upon the validity of the traders' paper; the fact that the traders assisted very

efficiently in securing the signing of the treaty by the Indians, and that without their assistance they perhaps could not have been induced to sign at all. That the money was intended from the beginning for the payment of the debts due the traders and for the halfbreeds. That had the money been paid to the Indians in open council, as stipulated in the treaty, it would have been improvidently frittered away and that the debts would not have been paid at all.

The same general state of facts was developed in relation to the payments to the M'dewakantons and the Wakpekutes as in the case of the Sissetons and Wahpetons.

The commissioners reported their proceedings, together with the documents and testimony in the case, and summarized their conclusions in ten findings, no one of which justified the action of Governor Ramsey. The material finding being that Governor Ramsey "was not warranted under the circumstances in paying over the money upon any authority derived from it, the traders' paper." He was exonerated by a resolution of the senate. The bare recital of all of the facts, above set forth, which are the material matters in the case, show Governor Ramsey, notwithstanding the exoneration by the senate, morally reprehensible in his conduct. He was manifestly arbitrary, illegal and unjust in his action. Except to require the traders to make an exparte verification of their claims, he took no steps to have their accounts judicially examined and passed, though the Indians strenuously insisted that they were stuffed and exorbitant. The whole proceedings so far as Ramsey and Lea were concerned were loose and unbusinesslike. Instead of attempting to protect the interest of the Indians, which they were officially bound to do, their whole action looked to the protection of the traders at the Indians' expense. They must always bear a large share in the responsibility for the awful tragedy which followed.

A second cause of trouble was the result not of dishonesty but of bad judgment on the part of the new Republican administration, which came into power in the spring of 1861. The annuities due under the treaties had been paid promptly on the 1st of July each year from 1853, except the delayed payment of 1857, due to the Inkpaduta trouble. Early in the Lincoln administration Clark W. Thompson had been appointed superintendent

of Indian affairs for the Minnesota superintendency, and Thomas Galbraith, agent for the Santees. Major Galbraith made his home at the Upper agency, but administered the affairs of both agencies, having a sub-agent at Redwood. Colonel Thompson came out in July, 1861, to superintend the annuity payment, and he told them that while they had received their annuity for that year that the new administration proposed to treat them with great kindness and that they should have another bounty in the autumn. The Indians had many grievances to present and Little Paul, as the spokesman for the Upper bands made one of his most remarkable speeches in one of the councils held with Colonel Thompson in setting forth the wrongs they had suffered. Colonel Thompson, with the enthusiasm of inexperience, promised them that all of their wrongs should be promptly redressed. About the bounty they were to receive, he could not tell them where it was to come from, but it was very large and would make them very glad.[430]

The Sissetons and Wahpetons were by these promises encouraged to expect very great things and so in the autumn, when they should have been engaged in their fall hunt or in gathering their crops, they dropped everything and assembled at the agency to receive the promised goods. Low water in the Mississippi and Minnesota delayed the arrival and when the goods did come they amounted to only $2.50 per capita. The result was that many of the Indians were left destitute at the beginning of winter and the agent was compelled to feed more than 1,000 of them all winter, who but for the mistake of the Indian department would have been self supporting. The assistance which the agent could give was insufficient and there was great and needless suffering. This naturally was an added source of discontent.

The Lower Indians would not receive the pittance which Thompson brought up in the autumn of 1861 until informed where the money came from and Thompson was compelled to tell them that it was deducted from the annuity money due them the next summer. This confession was a rich morsel for the recently displaced Democratic Indian officials. Judge Flandrau had resigned to become a supreme judge and was followed as agent

[430] "Mary and I," 172. Dr. Riggs' affidavit in Sisseton claims, 406.

by Major Joseph R. Brown, in 1857, and all of the employes about the reservation as well as most of the traders were Democrats. They had been displaced by the spoils system when Lincoln came in and most of them remained in the vicinity of the reservation and they were not slow to fill the minds of the Indians with the theory that the Republicans proposed to take away from them the cash annuity to which the treaties entitled them, and substitute payment in goods.[431] This theory of bad faith upon the part of the Republicans was pressed with all the ardor of which defeated politicians are capable and was the cause of great exasperation on the part of the Indians, who became very badly affected toward the government. The criticisms too, of these Democratic people, who so largely influenced the Indian mind upon the Republican policy in the conduct of the war in the south, led the Santees to believe the government was extremely weak and likely at any day to be overthrown. The disasters to the Union arms in the south was brought to their attention, and one defeat after another justified the belief among the savages that the south was likely to prevail at an early date. This view was magnified by the action of Major Galbraith, in raising a company of soldiers about the reservation, many of them halfbreeds, whom he proposed to tender to the service of the general government. The Indians pointed to this action as the last evidence of the breaking down of the government. "It certainly must be pressed to the limit if it was compelled to come out to the wilderness and recruit halfbreeds to fight its battles."[432] So they reasoned and as the restrictions of the reservation galled upon men who hitherto had possessed the right of freemen to go where they would, the only restriction upon them being their power to fight their way, even from ocean to ocean, they rapidly reached the conclusion that happiness for them alone depended upon the recovery of their lands. That the propitious moment to strike had come was daily becoming the conviction of the sagacious leaders.

There was still another reason why the outbreak was precipitated at this time. The Mix treaty of 1858 had been negotiated

[431] Idem.
[432] Idem.

under the advice of Little Crow and the senate had authorized the sale of the portion of the Lower reservation north of the river. Little Crow had managed this matter and sanctioned the sale still further limiting the land rights of the Lower bands and for this reason he had become exceedingly unpopular with a large faction of his people.[433] So unpopular indeed that he had appealed to the country for support. A red hot political campaign had followed and the election occurred in a great council held on Sunday, August 3d. Little Crow, Traveling Hail and Big Eagle were candidates for the chieftainship and Little Crow was overwhelmingly defeated and Traveling Hail elevated to the chieftainship which had been occupied by the Little Crow dynasty for more than a century. Smarting under this humiliating defeat Little Crow determined to take such action as would restore him to the esteem and confidence of his people and retain for himself the hereditary chieftainship, the election to the contrary notwithstanding. In no other way could he accomplish this result so certainly and so satisfactorily as in leading them in a mighty contest against the whites and for the recovery of their lost estates.[434] This was the situation when came the time for the payment in the summer of 1862. July 1st was the appointed time, but the money did not come. The fact was that the Indian department, realizing the great blunder it had made the previous fall in making the advance payment of goods from the annuity money for 1862, did not dare approach the Indians until congress had made an appropriation to reimburse the funds so that the entire amount could be brought out. The hands of congress, however, were more than full in maintaining its defeated armies and its attention could not be obtained at once to provide a paltry $20,000 for a frontier tribe of Indians when millions were involved for the preservation of the Union; so the Indians had to wait.[435]

As early as June, 1862, the Lower bands had organized a soldiers' lodge, the ostensible object being to keep the traders from appropriating the annuities in payment of their debts. Whether or not this organization from the beginning had a

[433]Story of Big Eagle, 6 Minn., 386.

[434]Idem.

[435]Dr. Riggs, "Mary and I," 173.

deeper significance cannot be definitely determined, but in any event its existence was the center of the hostile movement during the waiting days and the aggressive mover in the outbreak when it came. It may be said that martial law prevailed in the camps of the Lower bands from June.[436]

At this time Fort Ridgely, situated upon the east side of the Minnesota River, thirteen miles below the Lower, or Redwood agency, which was on the west side of the river, was under the command of Captain John F. Marsh of Company B, Fifth Minnesota volunteer infantry. He had eighty-five men in the garrison. Lieutenant T. J. Sheean of Company C of the same regiment was also tributary to that garrison with fifty men. It appears that for a period in the spring of 1862 there were no soldiers at the fort at all, but this may be a mistake; at any rate on the 2d of June Dr. Williamson, the missionary, had received information from Cloudman and Scarlet Feather, that five parties of Yanktonais, back on Wakpa Peh (Elm River, Brown county, South Dakota), one of which bands was under the lead of a son of Inkpaduta's, had started to steal horses. That they expected large accessions to their numbers from the Tetons and that they proposed to come down to attend the payment and compel the Sissetons and Wahpetons to pay for the lands claimed by them, which had been sold to the government under the treaty of 1851, and that they threatened that if payment was not made to them that they would kill all of the Indians who dress like white men and burn their houses. Dr. Williamson was not alarmed but thought it would be wise to have a sufficient number of soldiers present to preserve order.[437] Major Galbraith was absent in St. Paul at the time but promptly upon his return on the 14th of June he took the matter up and applied to Colonel Thompson for at least 150 soldiers to be present at the payment. Dr. Williamson had also suggested that the Christian Indians be armed for their own defence, but it does not appear that any action was taken to do this. Colonel Thompson on the same day applied to Governor Ramsey for 150 troops to attend the payment and it appears that the company of Captain Marsh and

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[436]Major Galbraith's report, 1862. History of Minnesota Valley, 185.

[437]Letter of Dr. Williamson, June 2, 1862. Minnesota in Civil and Indian Wars, 162.

the detachment of Company C were sent out to Ridgely upon the order of the governor. The record, however, upon this point is not conclusive, but the fact remains that they were there when the trouble came on. The Yanktonais did come down to the payment, but as the money did not reach there it does not appear that they were especially offensive. Lieutenant Sheean, about the 1st of July went to Yellow Medicine.[438]

On July 27th Major Galbraith, having secured information that Inkpaduta and his followers were encamped back on the Yellow Medicine River, ordered Lieutenant Sheean to take a squad of ten or twelve men, mounted, and with at least nine days' rations, to proceed before daylight, without the knowledge of the Indians, and to "take said Inkpaduta and all of the Indian soldiers with him, prisoners, alive if possible and deliver them at the agency. If they resist I advise that they be shot. * * While I recommend prompt and vigorous action to bring these thieves, murderers and villians to justice, dead or alive, yet I advise prudence and extreme caution."[439]

Lieutenant Sheean moved with the utmost secrecy but he could not escape the vigilance of the friends and relatives of Inkpaduta, who moving with greater directness and celerity, being perfectly familiar with the situation while Lieutenant Sheean was a stranger to it, the spies reached the camp first and sent Inkpaduta flying toward the western wilds. Sheean followed him to Lake Benton when he gave up the chase and returned to the agency where he arrived on the evening of the 2d of August.[440]

About the agency and clamorous for their money and for supplies were 4,000 Sissetons and Wahpetons and 1,000 Yanktonais, who had been there since early in July. They were utterly destitute of anything to eat, and were dependent upon the agent to feed them. Now Agent Galbraith had barely provisions enough to feed them during the regular payment, having exhausted his stores in keeping them from starving the previous winter. While the Indians complained bitterly of their starv-

[438]Order of Captain Marsh, Minnesota in Civil and Indian Wars, Vol. II, page 175.

[439]Same, 164.

[440]Report Lieutenant Sheean.

ing condition the agent held back the provisions until the last moment, and advised them to go back to their homes and hunt until he sent for them,[441] but it was a hundred miles to their homes and further still to the buffalo ranges and they had nothing to eat enroute; besides they could see no good reason why they should tramp 200 miles in the heat of summer for nothing. There was $10,000 worth of annuity goods, due them under the treaty, lying in the warehouse, and if they could not have their money they could see no reason why they should not have the goods. They held a council upon the subject and concluded that as the goods were theirs there could be no great harm if they took them. Consequently early on the morning of August 4th they sent down 400 armed and mounted men who surrounded the troops, while 150 others, armed with axes, hewed down the door of the warehouse and helped themselves to 100 sacks of flour. Lieutenant Sheean at this time had 100 men and two mountain howitzers and was encamped in full view of the warehouse and but 500 feet distant. At first thrown into a panic by the unexpected conduct of the Indians, the troops rallied and came to the assistance of the agent and took possession of the warehouse. The Indians stood about with their guns cocked and leveled but not a shot was fired. Agent Galbraith signified that he would like to have a council with them and they assented. They said if he would issue plenty of pork and flour and issue the annuity goods the next day they would go away. He told them he would give them enough to eat for two days and to send down the chiefs and headmen and he would hold a council with them. To this they assented and at once went to breakfast. Captain Marsh was sent for and arrived from Fort Ridgely that night. It was agreed that he was to issue the annuity goods and sufficient provisions to enable the Indians to go home and watch their fields at Big Stone and to remain there until they were sent for. To this they agreed and by the 12th were all at home and the men prepared to start off on a buffalo hunt. But none of the insubordinate Indians who had attacked the warehouse had been punished for their conduct and the knowledge of this fact passed through all of the bands and in-

[441] Report of Major Galbraith, 1862.

creased the contempt of all of the Indians for the authority of the United States, and they in consequence became insufferably insolent.[442]

These were the circumstances preceeding the 18th of August, 1862, when the outbreak began. It will be seen that the situation was tense. The annuity money had not arrived and the Indians believed it never would come. The authority of the government was despised. Inkpaduta five years before had defied authority, committed the most horrible crimes, and the government had made only the most weak and ineffectual effort to punish him. The Sissetons had defied the troops and broken into the warehouse and had been rewarded and not punished for what they had done. The government had a terrible war on its hands and its armies were being defeated in every engagement. It was so hard up for troops that it accepted the services of the halfbreeds. If ever they were to recover their lands and their old time freedom of action now was the time. Only the lighting of the first spark was required to set off the conflagration. Little Crow, at the Lower agency, was at the head of the malcontents, but it was not his intention to take any action as long as there was hope of the annuity money's coming. He proposed to fasten upon that first and then fire and blood, the tomahawk and the scalping knife were to have their sway. An incident unforeseen precipitated the conflict before the money came.[443]

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[442]Idem.

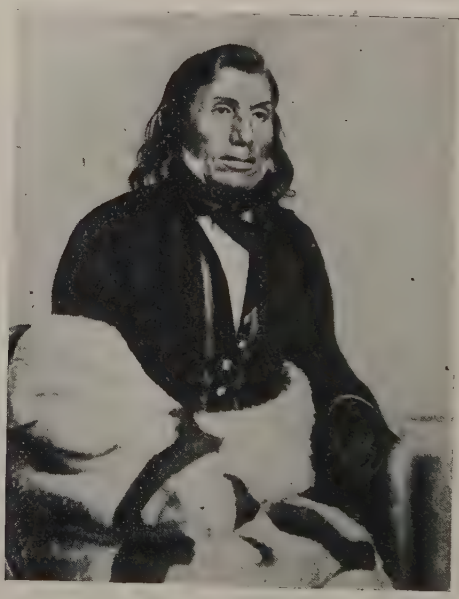
[443]While the writer has aimed to produce a substantial authority for every material statement, he is conscious that throughout this portion of the work he writes with something of personal knowledge, which aids to relate events and give color to the entire movement. The childhood of the writer was spent among the Wisconsin volunteers who took part in the suppression of the outbreak. In 1877 he came to Minnesota and carefully examined the localities of the fights at New Ulm and the Lower agency, and in 1883 went over the situation at Birch Coule and Fort Ridgely. From childhood he has been in almost daily association with men who were in some capacity or other connected with the outbreak and its suppression. In recent years he has personally examined the scenes of the battles and Indian camps, the homes of the massacred settlers and the points of rescue of captives from the Missouri River to the Upper agency. Knowledge obtained in this manner, and from a thousand sources which cannot now be identified, but upon which the author has come to rely as of the first authority and perfectly established, is used in bringing many of the events mentioned by other witnesses into their proper relation and in giving articulation to scraps of history which not so related have hitherto seemed not significant.

CHAPTER XXVI

The Outbreak—Massacre at Acton—News Carried to Little Crow—General Uprising Ordered—Attack on Agency—James Lynde First Victim—Fight at the Ferry—Captain Marsh Killed—The News Carried to Upper Agency—Heroism of the Christian Indians—The Missionaries Protected—John Otherday Conducts the Agency People to Safety—Missionaries in Hiding—Death of Amos Huggins—Marauders Sent to Remote Settlements—Attack on Fort Ridgely—Battle at New Ulm.

On Sunday, the 17th of August, 1862, four young M'dewakantons named Sungigina (Yellow Tail Feather), Kaomdeniyeyena (He who makes the Scattering), Nagiwićakte (A Killer of Souls), were hunting in the neighborhood of Acton, in Beeker county, about forty miles northeast of the Lower agency. These young men belonged to the band of Little Six.[44] Shortly after noon of that day they appeared at the house of a farmer named Robinson Jones and demanded food. Jones refused to feed them as his wife was away from home, at the residence of her son-in-law, Howard Baker's, less than a mile away. They became angry and boisterous and fearing violence from them Jones took his children, a little boy and girl, and also went to Baker's, but leaving at his own home a girl of 16 and a boy of 12, who were living there but were not related to him. The Indians followed him over to Baker's. There were assembled at Baker's besides Baker and his wife and infant child, Jones, wife and two children and Mr. Webster and his wife. After some time the Indians proposed that they engage in target shooting. The three white men consented and all of them discharged their guns. One of them proposed a trade with Baker and they traded guns, the Indian paying Baker $3 as the difference in the value of the guns. All of them began to reload

[44]Testimony of Solomon Twostars, Sisseton claims, 76.



Little Crow, Jr.

their guns but the Indians finished first and immediately one of them shot Jones. Mrs. Jones and Mrs. Baker were standing in the door and they leveled their guns at the women, but Mr. Baker seeing the movement, sprang in front of the gun and fell dead from the bullet intended for his wife. Mrs. Baker had her infant in her arms and thus seeing her father and husband murdered fainted and fortunately fell through a trap door into the cellar and so escaped. Mrs. Jones and Mr. Webster, however, were killed. Mrs. Webster was lying in their covered wagon while this tragedy was progressing and was not discovered nor disturbed, nor did they harm the two small children of Jones, though they were aware of their presence. They then returned to Jones' house and killed and scalped the girl, but did not touch the little boy, who was lying upon the bed, a silent witness to the fate of his sister. Nothing in the way of property was disturbed, but hastening to the home of another settler nearby they took a span of horses which stood harnessed in the stable, and attaching them to a wagon, drove with great speed in the direction of the Lower agency. Mrs. Baker, with her child and her little brother and sister reached a neighboring settlement and gave the alarm and next day a party from Forest City, twelve miles north, came down and buried the dead.[415] Thus began the great massacre. The murderers reached Little Six's village eight miles above the Lower Agency that night and told what they had done.

The story which they brought threw the Indians into the greatest excitement. Little Six, who had only come into his inheritance by the death of his father, Shakopee the second, a few weeks before, was the most incendiary of the tribe. He hastened the boys to the camp of Little Crow, two miles above the agency. The old chief sat up in bed to hear their story. He grasped the situation in a twinkling. "The time has come," he said. "War is declared. Blood has been shed; the payment will be stopped. The whites will take a terrible vengeance because the women were killed." A council was assembled at once. Wapasha, Wacouta and Big Eagle stood for peace, but they went down before the storm of the hostiles. "Kill the whites; kill the cut hairs, who will not join us," was the slogan. Little

[415]History of Minnesota Valley, 196, et seq.

Crow gave orders to attack the agency at sunrise and to kill the traders. When the Indians asked him for advice he would answer sneeringly: "Go to your new chief, Traveling Hail," but nevertheless his hand was in everything. Parties formed and dashed away in the darkness to rally the braves. The women began to run bullets and the men to clean their guns. War was on.[446]

Of all the lifelong friends of Little Crow's among the white settlers and employes at the agency, Little Crow had the decency to give warning to but two of them before the blow fell and to these only at the last moment and the general massacre had commenced before they got away. These favored two were Philander Prescott, the government interpreter, and the Rev. S. D. Hinman, the Episcopal missionary. The whites had not the slightest suspicion of the coming storm. Everything appeared to be serene. It was near midnight on the evening of the 17th that the decision was reached to begin the general massacre the next morning and the runners were started to the outlying camps. Some of these were forty miles away, but by sunrise they had assembled 250 or more warriors. Little Crow came to Messrs. Prescott and Hinman and told them that safety lay only in instant flight.[447]

There were three trading stores near the agency, owned by Nathan Myrick, Louis Robert and William H. Forbes. James W. Lynde was Nathan Myrick's manager. He was married to a Dakota wife and was a careful student of their history, habits and customs. He had been one of the leaders of the opposition to the government's Indian policy and of its war policy and had constantly declaimed upon the weakness of the government, and it is highly probable that to him more than to any other was due the belief of the Indians that the government was tottering to ruin and in consequence the propitious time had come to drive out the whites. There is no question that Lynde was a loyal citizen, but he had allowed political prejudice to destroy his good judgment and it appears to have been a marked example of the irony of fate that he should have fallen the first victim of the savage fury which he had so in-

[446]Story of Big Eagle, 6 Minn., 389.
[447]History of Minnesota Valley, 196.

dustriously but unconsciously kindled. He fell from the first shot fired, at the door of Myrick's store.[448] While Mr. Hinman was hitching his horse the massacre began. Fortunately his wife was visiting in Faribault. John Lamb, a teamster, was shot down near him. The Indians entered the government stables and began to take out the horses. A. H. Wagner, the faithful government farmer, entered the stable to expostulate with them when Mr. Hinman heard Little Crow order the Indians to shoot. Mr. Hinman waited for no further evidence but was soon across the Minnesota River. Philander Prescott, nearly 70 years of age, having lived forty-five years with these Indians and married to one of them, left his Indian family, knowing they would be safe, and started for the fort. He had proceeded several miles when he was overtaken. He stopped to reason with his murderers, telling of his long association with the tribe and the kindnesses he had shown them, but they said they could do nothing for him, as all white men must perish. J. C. Dickinson, the keeper of the government boarding house, and about forty others from the immediate vicinity of the agency, escaped to the fort. Dr. Philander P. Humphrey, with his sick wife and three children, started to walk the thirteen miles to the fort but after crossing the river and reaching the Magner house, four miles from the ferry, Mrs. Humphrey was unable to go further and they stopped to rest. The little boy, 12 years of age, was sent to the spring for water, and while he was absent the savages attacked the house, killed all of the inmates and set fire to the building. The boy escaped to the fort.

It is not the part of this paper to relate all of the horrors pertaining to this massacre. Nothing that savage ingenuity could devise in the way of fiendish destruction of life was omitted to be done. Aside from Mr. Hinman, who was warned in time to get beyond the reach of the murderers, only one white man was allowed to escape who came within the power of the monsters. This man was George Spencer, manager for William Forbes. When the Indians attacked Forbes' store at sunrise on that dreadful day, Spencer sought safety by attempting to reach the upper story of the building, but on the stairway he

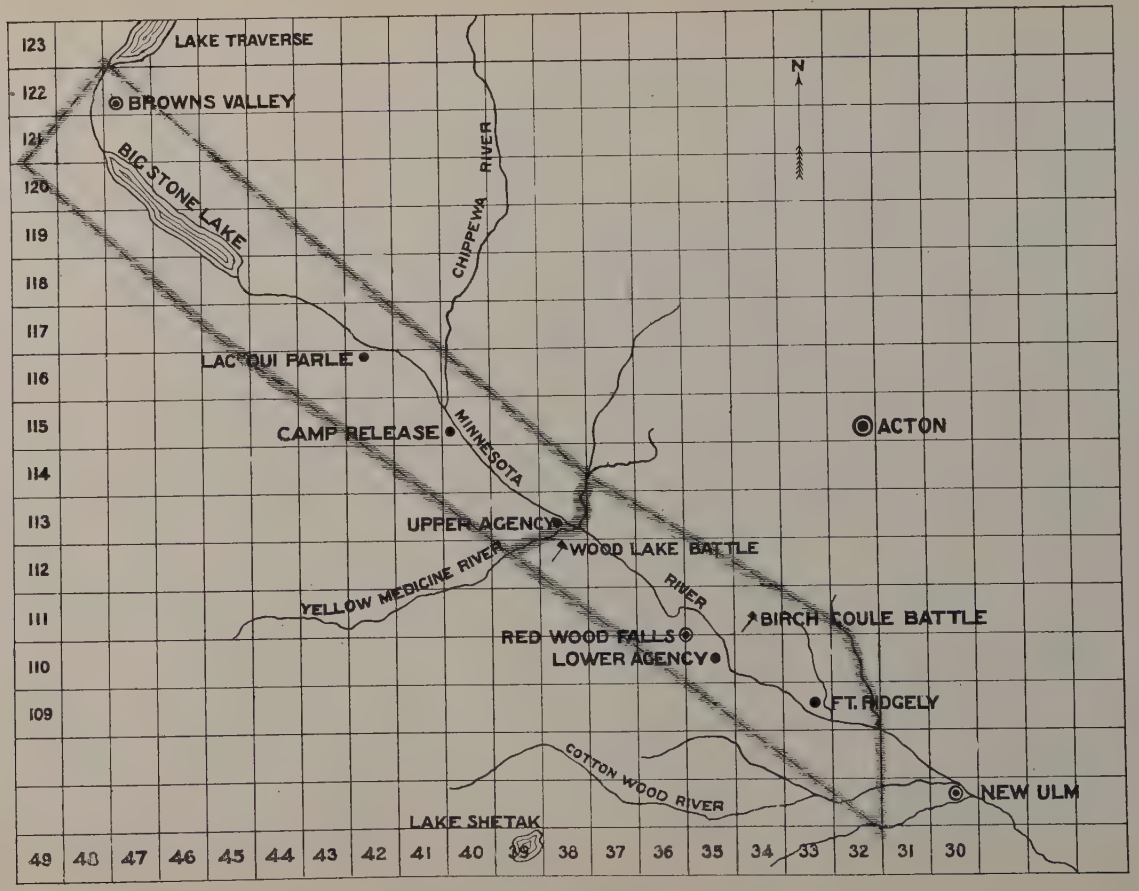
[448] Idem.

was shot and severely wounded. The Indians stopped to plunder the store. Spencer lying upon his bed heard the boasts and threats of the Indians and among other things their intention of burning the building when the goods had been removed. Out of the confusion he heard a familiar voice calling his name. It was Wakinyatawa (His Thunder), chief soldier of Little Crow's band, and the close friend of Spencer. Spencer heard his friend informed that he was up stairs and then he heard them mounting the stairs. "Kill him," shouted the crowd, and His Thunder answered, "I will protect him or die with him." The savages said no more and His Thunder came into the chamber and conducted the wounded friend down through the mob in the store, and taking him outside, placed him in a wagon and told two squaws to take him to his lodge, about four miles away, and take care of him. Enroute the squaws were several times stopped by war parties who asked what they were doing with Spencer. "He is His Thunder's friend," was the invariable response and it proved a passport to him and saved his life.

One of the most heroic circumstances among the many acts of heroism among the whites that day was the conduct of Martelle, the ferryman across the Minnesota upon the road from the agency to the fort. He refused to leave his post as long as there were any whites upon the west side of the river seeking safety.

News of the outbreak reached Fort Ridgely at 8 o'clock in the morning of August 18th and Captain Marsh at once selected forty-five of his men to accompany him to the agency, leaving the balance, forty men, under Lieutenant T. F. Gere to defend the fort. By 9 o'clock Captain Marsh set out with his intrepid little band. On the march they passed the bodies of ten victims of the massacre. On reaching the ferry not an Indian was in sight except one upon the west bank who tried to induce the soldiers to cross over.[450] The bottom was covered with brush and tall grass and Captain Marsh was suspicious of the presence of Indians by the disturbed condition of the water of the river and floating grass upon it, as well as by the presence of a considerable number of ponies without riders.

[450]White Dog was the name of this Indian. He was hung.



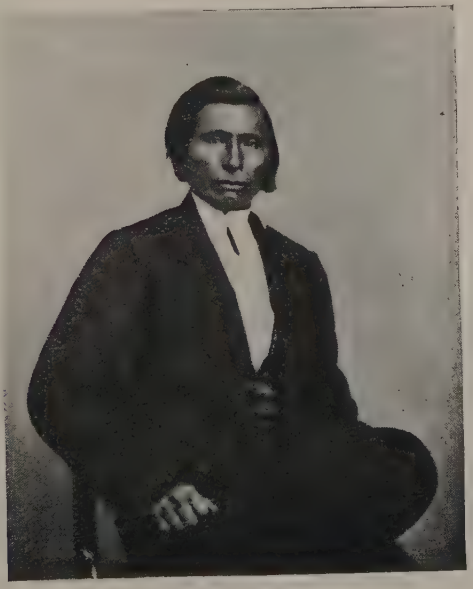
Map of the Campaign of 1862

While he waited, Indians in great numbers sprang from the grass about them and opened a deadly fire. Half of the squad fell dead instantly. The remainder finding themselves surrounded made a desperate fight, many of them in hand to hand encounters, but they were overcome by superior numbers and but fifteen lived to return to the fort. Captain Marsh was among those who fell.[451] Lieutenant Sheean of Company C, with his force of fifty men, had on the 17th started for Fort Ripley, but upon learning of the outbreak Captain Marsh had dispatched a courier to order him back and he was overtaken near Glencoe and that night reached Fort Ridgely to find his superior officer dead and himself in command of the garrison. On Sunday, the 17th, Major Galbraith had started to St. Paul with his company of Renville Rangers, recruited about the reservations and chiefly halfbreeds, and on the evening of the 18th just as he was arriving at St. Peter with his men, he was overtaken by a courier who informed him of the outbreak. He immediately turned about and hastened to Fort Ridgely where he arrived on the 19th. A few of the halfbreeds of the rangers deserted to the Indians, but most of them remained loyal and rendered good service. Fort Ridgely on the 19th, therefore, had fifty-five members of Company B, fifty of Company C, and forty-five of the Renville Rangers, making a total effective force of 150 men, besides a considerable number of refugees, including three men who arrived on the 18th with the long delayed annuity money. Sergeant Jones of the regular artillery was also at the post, which was equipped with several small guns.[452]

All day of the 18th the massacre kept up on the lower reservation. Every where the braves galloped up and down the land, murdering, scalping, burning, making captives, outraging women, braining children, plundering stores, destroying crops. No house in the valley was left unvisited, no household visited was spared. Finally, when death and distruction was strewn broadcast throughout all of that section Little Crow bethought him of the Upper and Western tribes and fleet runners were despatched to call to the work all of the Dakotas. In an in-

[451]Captain Marsh was not shot, but drowned in the Minnesota River in attempting to cross to the west shore and reach the agency.

[452]Sheean's report, Minnesota in Civil and Indian War, 171.



John Otherday

credibly short time Pahatka had reached the Upper agency.[453] Then came the manifestation of the value of the work accomplished by the missionaries during the long years of darkness and discouragement. Then it was that the seed of their planting blossomed into the wholesome fruit. Instantly the "Cuthairs," the Christian Indians, were alert. Simon, Little Paul, John Otherday, Lorenzo Lawrence and all of that noble band; Solomon Twostars, Gabriel Renville, men who in that awful hour won undying fame for themselves and blazoned forth the glory of the religion of Jesus Christ. In perfect security and absolute confidence the missionaries and the agency employes were about their accustomed tasks when the Christians came to them and warned them of the awful peril in which their lives were placed. The Lower reservation was ablaze with rapine and murder. The wild young men of the Upper bands had been called into the bloody work. The word had gone up to the wild tribes of the west that no white man was to be spared. Away from their farms and snug homes sped the Christian Indians and in an hour a camp was formed and armed guards patroled about the homes of the missionaries; guards of Dakota blood whose swarthy faces were set with the determination to protect their good white neighbors from the savage vengeance of their own people even at the cost of their property and their lives.[454] Like magic the wild and discordant elements came stealthily in; before midnight the stores under the bluff on the Yellow Medicine were sacked and the keepers massacred, strong liquor was found in the stocks and the revelry of Bacchus followed. In and out among the savage revelers moved the Christian Dakotas and soon conviction came upon them that the only safety for their white friends lay in flight.[455] To John Otherday, the intrepid rescuer of Abbie Gardner, was entrusted the agency people and the refugees who had gathered there, sixty-two souls in all, and as the first rays of dawn lighted up that August morning, while the roar of the revelry still came up from the stores on the bottom and from the fast augmenting camp of hostile and excited Dakotas on the hill, he moved off to the east with his white

[453]Pahatka arrived at the Upper agency before night on the 18th.
[454]Mary and I, 177. Testimony of the Sisseton claims.
[455]Idem.

friends, crossed the Minnesota and skillfully covering the trail bore them away to safety in the lands of the east, and when after a weary journey he landed them safely upon the lower Minnesota, without rest or delay he hurried back to the scene of the massacre to save more lives and assist in bringing the miscreants to justice.[456]

When John went to the agency, Simon, Paul, Solomon, Lorenzo, the Renvilles and others turned their attention to the safety of the missionaries, who it will be recalled lived some distance apart and must be removed in two parties. The Riggs were taken to an island in the Minnesota and secreted there until a more favorable opportunity for escape presented itself. In the haste a bag of provisions prepared by Mrs. Riggs was forgotten and when morning came they found themselves hidden in the brush of the island and without a morsel to eat, but they were not forgotten. Zoe, a Christian woman, had called at Hazelwood in the morning and finding the sack of provisions, divined the necessity for it, and brought it to the refugees upon the island. At noon they effected communication with the Williamsons, who were also refugees.[457] With the morning the fanatic and drink crazed savages, many of them from the lower reservation and some of them Yanktonais from the west, left the stores to attack the agency. Soon the provisions were thrown out; goods destroyed, scattered to the winds, thrown into the cistern, then up through the settlement of Christian farmers, and to the missions burning, plundering, filled with the very zeal of the evil one. On flew the messengers to the west. At Lac qui Parle, Amos Huggins, the son of the missionary, himself the government teacher, fell the first victim; on to the Sissetons at Lake Big Stone where Mr. Loth of St. Paul and four men fell before their relentless fury.* On to the Yanktonais, who came over to take council with the Sissetons and on to the Tetons of the Missouri, who wisely decided that it was not their affair.[458]

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[456]History of the Minnesota Valley, 205.

[457]"Mary and I," 177, et seq,

*History of the Minnesota Valley, 214. Testimony Sisseton claims, 91 and 198. Loth and his party were killed by Stripped Arrow, an adherent of Inkpaduta's.

[458]Interview with Charger and Swift Bird, June 4, 1900.

Everywhere went marauding parties, and no settlement, however remote, from Glencoe to Spirit Lake and on to Sioux Falls escaped. By the afternoon of the 20th of August the devastation of the frontier was complete and with the exception of a few marauding parties who were still upon their missions to outlying settlements the great body of the Lower bands, augmented by the uncontrollable young men from the Upper agency and by Inkpaduta's disreputables, were assembled at Little Crow's. "Now to take Fort Ridgely, and on through the settlements to the Mississippi," was the command from Little Crow, and the young warriors took up the cry and rushed pell mell for the fort. At 3 o'clock that afternoon the first attack was made. It came as a surprise to the garrison, the first intimation of it being from a volley of musketry poured into the buildings. Sergeant Jones brought his guns into position and to his horror found that they had been spiked by the deserters from the Rangers, but he soon had the vents open and the pieces in action. The Indians lay in the ravines surrounding the fort, hid in the outbuildings and from the clumps of bushes and for three hours kept up the siege. Three soldiers in the fort had been killed and eight others wounded. The Dakotas suffered no casualties. The next morning the attack was renewed for about one hour without loss on either side and again that afternoon for another hour the Dakotas poured their fire into the fort without effect. Little Crow then withdrew all of his force and they retired to his camp above the agency where new and elaborate plans were laid for their future course. The importance of taking the fort was fully realized and that it must be done at once before recruits arrived. It was decided to concentrate all of the forces upon it the next day at noon and keep up the siege until the post surrendered. Good Thunder, Big Eagle and Mankato were the chief leaders in battle, Little Crow staying back where he could direct the general movement. They of course were perfectly familiar with the arrangements about the fort, which was merely a collection of buildings, meant as a camp and a depot for supplies but not for defense, and they too knew a good deal of the white man's way of fighting, learned in the war of 1812. All of this knowledge they brought into play, coupled with Indian cunning, and the fight was kept up from noon until 7 o'clock in the

evening, when Little Crow becoming convinced that the white force was much larger than he had believed, and too, disconcerted by the bellow and the execution of the cannon, they withdrew and gave up the hope of reducing the place. The white loss was one man killed and seven wounded. The Indian loss was slight. There were 800 Dakotas engaged in this last attack upon Fort Ridgely.[450] It was now determined to make an attack by all of the forces upon New Ulm and early in the morning the braves were dispatched in that direction and by 9:30 were concentrated before that town. The place was defended by about 250 men under Judge Flandrau. They were volunteer citizens gathered up at LeSueur, St. Peter, South Bend and Mankato and there were from 1,200 to 1,500 noncombatants in the town. On the evening of the 20th a marauding party of about 100 Indians had attacked the town, and killed several citizens and burned a number of buildings, but they had been repulsed, and since that time a barricade had been erected in the center of the town and everything was in much better shape for resistance. The Indians brought down to this second attack upon New Ulm about 650 fighting men. Their approach from the vicinity of Fort Ridgely sixteen miles up the Minnesota was watched by the citizens and the little volunteer garrison at New Ulm, being marked by column after column of smoke, as they burned farm houses and stacks along the way. At 9:30 they appeared in force upon both sides of the river. Judge Flandrau determined to meet them upon the open prairie just west of the town. His volunteers were armed, generally, with shot guns, but among the men were thirty or forty squirrel rifles. The Indians were generally armed with good rifles. Judge Flandrau marched out his men by companies in a long line of battle with wide intervals between them covering the whole west front of the town. "Down came the Indians, in the bright sunlight, galloping, running, yelling and gesticulating in the most fiendish manner." The shortrange shot guns could not check them until their rifle fire began to tell upon the lines. They deployed to the right and left until they covered the entire front and then charged. Flandrau fell back before them into the town, instead

[450]Thomas A. Robertson.

of taking possession of the outlying buildings, in which the Indians at once secured shelter. The volunteers soon got into the barricaded portion and the Indians instead of charging into the town, by which manner Judge Flandrau says they probably would have captured it at once, surrounded the village and getting around to the side from which a strong wind was blowing began to fire it there. The flames swept into the town but did not reach the barricade and the volunteers soon rallied and kept the enemy in the outskirts. There were a number of brick buildings outside of the barricade which the whites kept possession of and loopholing them, were enabled to keep the Indians at bay. Near the village was an old windmill which was taken possession of and held by a company of thirty men calling themselves the LeSueur Tigers, who made a gallant fight. In the first ninety minutes Flandrau lost sixty men, only ten of whom were killed, however. By 2 o'clock in the afternoon the enemy had a great conflagration going which seemed certain to sweep the barricade and the situation was desperate indeed. At this time, Judge Flandrau with fifty volunteers made a sally which was sublimely heroic and which succeeded in driving the Indians from the lower town and gave the whites command of the burning district. Flandrau at once burned all of the remaining buildings outside of the barricade on that side and without the shelter of these buildings the Indians deemed the siege hopeless. The fight was kept up until dark and under the cover of night the whites dug a system of rifle pits outside of the barricade which increased their advantage, but in the morning the Indians were gone. The whites lost fourteen killed and sixty wounded. The loss of the Indians was about equal to theirs. One hundred ninety buildings were burned in the village, many of them substantial and valuable. The defeated Indians at once returned to Little Crow's where another council was held.[400]

[400]Flandrau's Minnesota, 150, et seq.

CHAPTER XXVII

Missionaries Providentially Reach Henderson—General Sibley Called—Battle of Fort Ridgely—McPhail Fails to Bring Relief—Sibley to the Rescue—Hostiles at Upper Agency—Intimidation of Friendlies—Christians Organize Soldiers' Lodge to Protect Captives—Little Paul in Council—Sibley's Correspondence with Little Crow—Paul's Fearless Oration—Release of the Captives Refused—Sibley Moves Out Against the Hostiles—Another Council—Preparing for Battle—Soloman Two Stars Outwits Little Crow—The Indians Defeated—Little Crow Flies—The Captives Rescued—Minor Incidents.

The missionaries we left in hiding on the Minnesota near the Upper agency at noon on the 19th. That night they all came together on the north side of the Minnesota and started upon a perilous journey in the direction of Fort Ridgely under the guidance of Andrew Hunter, a son-in-law of Dr. Williamson's. They reached a point near the fort after nightfall on the 22d when Lieutenant Sheean was sending up rockets as a sign of distress to any recruits which might have been sent into that vicinity. Andrew crept into the fort, but Lieutenant Sheean was unable to send out soldiers to escort the party in and advised them to go across the country toward the lower Minnesota. They adopted that advice and were providentially conducted in safety to Henderson.[461]

At daybreak on the morning of August 19th, just twenty-four hours from the time of the first attack at the agency, the news of the outbreak was delivered to Governor Ramsey at St. Paul. Considering there was no telegraphic communication, this transmission of the news was exceedingly quick. Without a moment's delay Governor Ramsey started for the home of Henry H. Sibley at the mouth of the Minnesota River and requested him to accept the command of such forces as could be rallied to

[461] "Mary and I," 180.

check the advance and punish the Indians. He accepted the position with the rank of colonel in the state militia. On the 20th Colonel Sibley started for the front with four companies of the Sixth Minnesota volunteer infantry which was being recruited at Fort Snelling for the civil war. On the 24th at St. Peter his force was augmented by 200 volunteers under William J. Cullen, who had been superintendent of Indian affairs for the Minnesota superintendency, during the Buchanan administration. This force was known as the Cullen guard. On the same day Colonel Sam McPhail joined him with 100 mounted men and six companies of infantry. These additions brought the command up to 1,400 men. They were inexperienced, badly armed and such as were mounted at all, upon raw undisciplined horses. The force moved out from St. Peter on the 26th, the cavalry pushing ahead, and reaching Fort Ridgely on the morning of the 27th. The infantry arrived there on the 28th. In the next three days Captain Sterritt arrived with forty-seven men and Colonel William R. Marshall with several companies of the Seventh Minnesota.[402]

On August 31st Major Joseph R. Brown was sent out by Colonel Sibley with one company of the Sixth under Captain Grant and seventy men of the Cullen Guard under Captain Anderson, with instructions to go to the Lower agency and to visit the country as far north as Beaver Creek to bury the dead and discover the position of the enemy. That day they found and buried sixteen corpses and camped on the Minnesota bottom opposite the agency. In the morning Major Brown left the main command on the east side of the river, while he went across to the agency with a detachment and looked over the ground about there and Little Crow's village and came to the conclusion that no Indians had been about there for four days, and that with heavy trains of goods they had gone to Yellow Medicine. Having satisfied himself on these points, Major Brown recrossed the Minnesota and at sunset rejoined Captain Grant who had gone into camp near the upper timber of the Birch Coule, three miles from the agency. The two detachments had buried that day fifty-four massacred persons. The camp that

[402]Flandrau's Minnesota, 158.

night was made on the smooth prairie about 600 feet back from the timber with the wagons parked around the camp and the horses tied to the wagons. It was about twelve miles from Fort Ridgely.[463]

After the battle at New Ulm on the 23rd the Indians as indicated, went back on Sunday the 24th to Little Crow's, where after a council it was decided to move up toward the Yellow Medicine, which was accordingly done. This move accomplished with all of their property, Little Crow set off with a strong party to harrass the settlements northeast of the agency about Forest City and Hutchinson, and Big Eagle and Mankato determined to go back and make another attack upon New Ulm upon their own responsibility. On the afternoon of the 1st of September, within half an hour after Brown retired from his reconnoisance at Little Crow's and in that vicinity, the advance of Big Eagle's force was at Little Crow's camp, from whence, looking across the river, they could see Grant's force to the north come out of the Beaver Creek timber going eastward, and at the same time they discovered "sign" that white men had been at Little Crow's but a short time before, and concluded that the men across the river were the same who had been at the agency. As a matter of fact Major Brown and his detachment was at that moment at the crossing of the Minnesota, not more than a mile away. Finding the recent presence of the soldiers the Indians waited until all of their force came up. Learning of the presence of so small a body of soldiers the expedition to New Ulm was immediately given up and it was determined to remain in the vicinity and attack the soldiers' camp, which they felt confident they could take. Five of the best scouts were sent across the river to follow the movements of the soldiers. They returned shortly after sun down and reported that they had gone into camp at the head of Birch Coulee. The presence of Brown's detachment escaped the notice of the scouts who thought that there were only about seventy-five men in the camp. There were 200 warriors so the Indians felt perfectly sure of making a capture. There were four chiefs with their bands in the party; Big Eagle's, Red Legs', Grey Bird's and Mankato's.

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[463]Flaudrau's Minnesota, 159. Major Brown's report, Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, 212.

They were armed with double barrelled shotguns loaded with buckshot and trader's balls.[464] In addition to the warriors of the Lower bands present there were many young Indians from the Upper tribes, some who had come to take a hand in whatever mischief was going and some simply to avoid trouble and keep on good terms with the hostiles, to enable them to assist the white captives. Among the latter were Joseph LaFrambois, Charles Crawford, Thomas A. Robertson, and many other well known men.[465]

Under the cover of nightfall the Indians went over and surrounded the camp, proposing to attack it at daybreak. When the camp was thoroughly surrounded the women came over and set up a camp near by and cooked for the warriors and kept them supplied with food and drink.[466]

At the first sign of dawn the attack began. The camp was wholly unprepared for it. Every one sprang to their feet and consequently many fell instantly. The horses were shot down at the first fire and made some protection and the men fought from behind them. After the soldiers got settled to business the fire from their rifles soon drove the Indians to the shelter of the woods. As soon as they withdrew the soldiers began to excavate rifle pits and after that but one man was killed and two wounded. The fire was kept up on both sides until 2 o'clock that afternoon when the report of a cannon brought joy to the hearts of the beleagured soldiers. From remarks made by the Indians within their hearing the soldiers learned that the reinforcements were but a small force, that they had halted and that the Indians believed that they could cut them off. The weather was exceedingly hot and the soldiers in the camp were almost perishing from thirst. Hour after hour passed

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[464]Big Eagle's story, 6 Minn., 392.

[465]Sisseton claims. Testimony of witnesses mentioned. They were helpless before the command of the soldiers' lodge. Being told to go by the lodge, the entire power of the tribe lay behind them to enforce the order. The only instance which has come to my knowledge where the soldiers' lodge has met with opposition among the members of the tribe was when the Upper Indians organized a soldiers' lodge of their own to combat the Lower tribes. The organization of that lodge came near to precipitating civil war among the Santees.

[466]Big Eagle, 6 Minn., 395.

but no relief came. The day passed into night and all night they lay in suspense. On the morning of the 3d they learned from the Indians that new recruits had arrived, and that the game was up.[467] The fact was that on the 2d, learning that there was fighting in the vicinity of Birch Coule, Sibley had ordered McPhail with fifty cavalry and three companies of infantry, a six-pounder and a field piece to reinforce Brown. He had proceeded until within a couple of miles of the beleagured camp at Birch coule when he discharged the cannon to apprise them of his approach.[468] The Indians at that moment were prepared to charge the camp and it is likely if they had done so they would have carried it. This was Mankato's plan from the beginning but Big Eagle did not wish to expose his men to unnecessary danger. The discharge of the cannon averted their attention and Mankato with his band were detached and went to meet McPhail. McPhail had about 300 men and artillery, but he dared not advance but sent to the fort for reenforcements. Sibley himself came out with a large body of men reaching McPhail's camp at midnight. The Indians then withdrew and went back to Yellow Medicine where Little Crow, having returned from his raid to the northeast where he massacred several citizens, joined with those who had been at Birch Coule. At the battle of Birch Coule there were fourteen killed and twenty-six wounded. The Indians lost but two killed and five or six wounded.[469]

It was the 28th of August when the Lower Indians first reached Yellow Medicine and went into camp, on the east side of the creek near the site of Hazelwood mission. They had in their possession 270 captives 104 of whom were white women and children.[470] During the ten days which had elapsed the Upper Indians had been variously occupied. Most of the Christians, as a matter of safety, had put on Indian dress and had in every way exerted themselves to save the whites.[471] As late as September 11th Simon arrived at Fort Ridgely with a German woman and her child whom he had protected and con-

[467]Brown's report, Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, 212.

[468]McPhail's report, idem, 214.

[469]Anderson's report, idem, 413.

[470]Sam Brown's story, Sisseton claims, 61.

[471]Testimony of various witnesses in Sisseton claims.

ducted to safety.[472] The young men had in a large measure thrown in their lot with the hostiles. Luckily for the Sissetons, after the attack on the warehouse on August 4th they had returned to Big Stone and went out onto the Sheyenne for a buffalo hunt, and so during the period of the greatest excitement were beyond the zone of its influence. When the runners from Little Crow reached them, Standing Buffalo and Wanatan, the head chiefs, came down to see what was going on, but left their people out on the prairie.[473] When the Lower bands arrived at Yellow Medicine on the 28th immediately after pitching their lodges they made a demonstration against the Upper Indians, several hundred of the mounted warriors howling and yelling about, brandishing arms and declaring that unless they joined the camp of the Lower Dakotas that their tipis would be cut up and their property destroyed and that they would be otherwise punished. The Upper men quickly assembled, armed with guns, knives, pitchforks and everything they could lay their hands upon in the form of defensive weapons, and instantly pitched a camp and organized a soldiers' lodge and placed themselves upon a military footing. Strong speeches were made and it was determined to take offensive measures to let Little Crow understand that he could not run roughshod over the Upper bands. The next morning the hostiles came again in force to put their threats into execution but observing the soldiers' lodge they withdrew. The friendlies then armed, went to the hostiles' camp and demanded the property of the halfbreeds and compelled them to give it up and restore it to the owners. Little Paul at this time made his remarkable speech in which he first demanded that the captives be turned over to him that he might restore them to their friends.[474]

After the return of the two war parties, which occurred on the night of the 3d of September, councils were frequent in the camps and the band of the friendlies was constantly augmented in number and the hostiles lost in a corresponding degree. On the 8th both camps moved up the river several

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[472]Sibley's report, Minnesota in Civil and Indian Wars, II, 227.

[473]Testimony of Little Fish in Sisseton claims.

[474]Many witnesses in Sisseton claims.

miles. At this time a correspondence was entered into between General Sibley and Little Crow, the general's first interest of course being to rescue the prisoners alive. He left a message upon the battle field of Birch Coule telling Little Crow if he had any proposition to make to send a message by a halfbreed and he would be protected in and out of camp. Consequently on the 7th Little Crow sent an answer by Thomas A. Robertson, in which he justified himself in his course by reason of the failure of the government to keep its treaty obligation and because of the conduct of the traders. To this General Sibley replied:

Little Crow: You have murdered many of our people without any sufficient cause. Return the prisoners to me under a flag of truce and I will talk to you like a man.

To this Little Crow replied on September 12th stating that he had 155 prisoners, exclusive of any held by the Sissetons and Wahpetons. Sibley replied that no peace would be made upon any terms that did not safely surrender the captives. He told them he was strong enough to crush them and that he would march against them in three days. On the receipt of this letter a great joint council of the friendlies and hostiles was held and the whole proposition gone over. About all of the annuity Indians were present except the Sissetons. Many speeches were made, some in favor of surrendering the captives and making peace and others for fighting it out. Mazawamnua a hostile said:

You men who talk of leaving us and delivering up the captives, talk like children. You think if you do so the whites will think you have acted as their friends and will spare your lives. They will not and you ought to know it. You say the whites are too strong for us and that we will all have to perish. Well, by sticking together and fighting the whites we will at all events live for a few days, when by the course you propose we would die at once. Let us keep the prisoners with us and let them share our fate. This is all the advice I have to give.

To this Little Paul replied with great spirit:

I am going to tell you what I think and what I am going to do now and hereafter. You M'dewagantons and Wakpekute Indians have been with the white men a great deal longer than us Upper Indians. Yet I, who am an Upper Indian have put on white men's clothes and consider myself a white man. I was very much surprised to learn that you had been killing

the settlers for you have had the advice of the preachers for so many years. Why did you not tell us you were going to kill them? I ask you the question again: Why did you not tell us? You make no answer. The reason was if you had done so and we had councilled together you would not have been able to involve our young men with you. When we older men heard of it we were so surprised that we knew not what to do. By your involving our young men without counseling us you have done us a great injustice. I am now going to tell you something you don't like. You have gotten our people into this difficulty through your incitements to our rash young soldiers without a council being called and our consent being obtained, and I shall use all the means I can to get them out of it without reference to you. I am opposed to them continuing this war, or of committing farther outrages and I warn you not to do it. I have heard a great many of you say that you are brave men and can whip the whites. This is a lie. Persons who will cut women's and children's throats are squaws and cowards. You say the whites are not brave. You will see. They will not, it is true, kill women and children as you have done but they will fight you who have arms in your hands. I am ashamed of you, the way you have acted towards the captives. Fight the whites if you desire to, but do it like brave men. Give me the captives and I will carry them to Fort Ridgely. I hear one of you say that if I take them the soldiers will shoot me. I will take the risk. I am not afraid of death, but I am opposed to the way you act toward the prisoners. If any of you have the feelings of men you will give them up. You may look at me as fierce as you please but I shall ask you once, twice and ten times to deliver these women and children to their friends. That is all I have to say.

These speeches give the tenor of the debates. The hostiles determined to hang on and take their chances.[470]

On the 13th when Simon returned from Fort Ridgely after safely delivering the German woman, he bore a note from Colonel Sibley to the halfbreeds and friendlies telling them that he had no desire to injure any innocent person but to punish the wicked and he advised them when they saw his troops coming to withdraw into a camp by themselves and float a flag of truce which he would respect.[470]

After the battle of Birch Coule, Colonel Sibley returned to Fort Ridgely and remained quietly there, disciplining and arming

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[470]Minnesota in Civil and Indian Wars, I., 742.

[470]Idem, II., 229.

his men and hoping to get Little Crow to peaceably surrender the captives, until the 18th of September, a little over two weeks, when he moved out with the Sixth regiment under Colonel Crooks, 300 men of the Third under Major Welch, a battalion of the Seventh under Colonel William R. Marshall, a troop of cavalry under Colonel Sam McPhail and a battery under Captain Mark Hendricks. He crossed the river at the ferry and moved up the wagon road to Yellow Medicine. Every mile of the way his progress was watched by Little Crow's scouts who by some means kept the camp on the Minnesota, which by this time had moved up as far as Red Iron's village at the mouth of the Chippewa, perfectly informed as to his progress. On the evening of the 23d Sibley had reached Lone Tree Lake, since called Battle Lake, two miles south of the Yellow Medicine agency and three miles east from Wood Lake, where he encamped.[477] Little Crow had determined to meet him at Wood Lake and make a bold resistance there.[478] Just before going down to meet Sibley a great council was held between the hostiles and friendlies at the hostiles' camp at Red Iron's village. It will be remembered that immediately after the outbreak Standing Buffalo, and Wanatan had come down from the buffalo ranges to see what the state of affairs was.[479] After taking a survey of affairs these Sissetons had returned to their own people resolved to keep out of the trouble. Now with Sibley advancing upon them Little Crow was anxious to unite all of the Upper Indians and the Yanktonais in a body for the defense of the camp and to drive Sibley back; hence he had again sent for the upper chiefs and Standing Buffalo, Scarlet Plume and Wanatan came down. This last great council was intended for the express purpose of drawing the Sissetons into the war. Little Crow argued speciously to draw them into this course and boasted the power of the Lower Indians, alone, to drive the whites east of the Mississippi and therefore he wanted all of his red brothers to share in the glory of so splendid a cause. Wanatan was the first to reply: "I live by the white men and the buffalo," he

[477]Flandrau's Minnesota, 169.

[478]1 Minnesota in Civil and Indian Wars, 743. Sam Brown's story, Sisseton claims, 59.

[479]Idem, 52.

said, and it is not advisable for me to be an enemy of the whites. I think we should write a letter to General Sibley, who raised me. I do not wish that these people who have done evil shall go across my country."[480] Standing Buffalo was also opposed to the war, and he said: "I am but a boy; my father being an old man has turned his position over to me. He has always had kindly feelings toward the white people. I cannot be an enemy to the whites nor an enemy to the buffalo. All of you hear me. I came here to write a letter to General Sibley." Little Crow was unable to gain any sympathy or assistance from any of the Upper chiefs. Even if he might have been able to do so in the earlier days of the outbreak, the war by this time had become exceedingly unpopular. The hostiles themselves were only continuing it as the least of two evils; believing that by keeping up a bold front and holding on to the captives they could obtain better terms than if they laid down their arms and meekly surrendered. Much of the hostile argument in the council was along this line. Unfortunately the speeches of the hostile orators have not been preserved.[481]

That evening, by the light of the candle Mrs. John B Renville, a white captive, and Miss Julia LaFrambois, a half Indian girl, each at the dictation of Wanatan and Standing Buffalo wrote letters to General Sibley which were faithfully delivered to him at the earliest opportunity after the then impending battle. After writing these letters the three Sisseton chiefs returned to the buffalo hunt on the Sheyenne.[482] This left about 250 friendly warriors and 800 hostiles in the joint camp at Red Iron's where the captives also were when the battle of

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[480]Sisseton claims, 95 and 109.

[481]Any of the older Indians who were present will still tell in substance what was said by the respective speakers, but no Indian ever forgets precisely what he himself said in any council. Many of the speeches were taken down within a few days after they were spoken from the dictation of the speakers themselves, but it naturally happens that the friendly Indians have been most accessible to the reporters and historians. The testimony before the military court which tried the hostiles gave the best and most authentic report of what was said in the councils, and Lieutenant Heard, the secretary to the court, preserved the most forceful and more picturesque of these addresses.

[482]Testimony of Solomon Twostars and Little Fish in the Sisseton claims.

Wood Lake came on. Little Crow branded every one who talked of peace as an enemy and the friendlies were compelled to act in secret.[483] They were all ordered to get ready for the battle. Everyone put on the breech clout and painted their faces. The highest honors were promised to the warrior who would bring in the scalp of Sibley, Brown, Forbes, Robert or Myrick. Before leaving, the friendlies told the captives to prepare to defend themselves upon the return of the hostiles from Wood Lake, for they had learned that in the event of the defeat of the Indians there that they proposed to massacre the captives. Therefore immediately upon the leaving of the warriors for the expected battle the captives set at work. In the center of the lodges they dug deep holes for the women and children to get into and trenches around the outside for the men. They had some arms and expected to have assistance from the friendlies when the worst came.[484]

The forces of General Sibley, on the night of September 22d camped on the open prairie just northeast of Battle Lake and about a mile south of the edge of the bluff which forms the south bank of the Yellow Medicine. This bluff is about 300 feet high and is covered with small timber. The adjoining prairie where the military was encamped is rolling and a shallow draw makes down through it from Battle Lake to the river. The Indians had gathered in the timber on the side of the bluff.

General Sibley had with him 1,450 troops, but he started out from Fort Ridgely with only ten days' provisions, all that was available and he had but twenty-seven horses, all of the others having been killed at Birch Coule. His troops were badly clothed and had no blankets.[485]

After nightfall Little Crow called the Indians in council to talk over the plan of action. When assembled he outlined his plan which was to attack the soldiers at once. Crawl towards them through the tall grass under cover of the darkness until the outer guards fired, then raise up in a body with yells and whoops and rush upon the sleeping soldiers and mas-

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[483]Testimony of Solomon.

[484]Sam Brown's story, 61.

[485]Sibley to Pope, Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, II., 235.

sacre them. "We are many and strong" he said, "this plan will not only secure for us an easy victory but lots of plunder, especially provisions. Remember the starving ones at home." The idea was a plausible one to the Indian mind and was received by the hostiles with great satisfaction. The astute leader sought to arouse the passions of his men and to encourage and unite them and made use of his wonderful eloquence and all of the ingenuity at his command to impress the warriors with the belief that an easy victory was in sight for them. "I have just been," said he, "to the edge of the bluff and looked over and saw to my astonishment but a few tipis there; only five officers' tents." The hostiles were worked up to a high pitch of excitement, and were impatient for the slaughter. Had they proceeded at that time and upon the lines proposed by Little Crow the result can only be surmised, but with the darkness and the undisciplined troops it is highly probable that it would have proven calamitous to the troops. Gabriel Renville, present in the council, dressed as an Indian and his face blackened with charcoal was fully impressed with the peril in which the troops were placed, but he was a mixed blood and if he spoke it would be certain to drive the full bloods to believe he was acting in the interest of the whites and intensify the enthusiasm for Little Crow's plan. Gabriel whispered a hint to the ever faithful Solomon Twostars, who instantly was upon his feet. Few, even of the full bloods would have cared to oppose Little Crow at that time, notwithstanding the hereditary democracy of freedom of speech in council. Solomon is an orator of great reputation among the Dakotas even to this day. Ridicule is his favorite weapon, and he still uses it with telling effect. He ridiculed the plan of Little Crow's with withering sarcasm and denounced it as most preposterous and cowardly, "so cowardly as to be unworthy of a Dakota brave and of the great chief who proposed it." It was weak too, and ingeniously and diplomatically he showed how it would fail. He was earnest, persuasive and so forceful that the hostile warriors were before its conclusion filled with distrust of their leader and with want of confidence in each other. Little Crow was fairly defeated in the house of his friends and as a result his plan was abandoned and in its stead,

it was agreed to attack the camp at daylight in the morning.[486] At the close of the council Gabriel Renville passed the word about for the friendlies to assemble in a ravine farther west and so industrious were they that by morning out of the more than 1,000 warriors in the vicinity only 300 actually took part in the battle.[487] At break of day on the morning of September 23d a party of the soldiers with a four horse wagon, started to the Indian farms near the Upper agency, a couple of miles away, to gather potatoes for the camp. They had just started when they ran upon some Indians hiding in the grass near the camp. The battle was at once precipitated. The Indians came howling in their usual style and firing with great rapidity. The Renville guards under Lieutenant Gorman was sent to check them and Major Welch with his detachment of the Third regiment was instantly in line and his skirmishers in advance met the enemy most gallantly. Another body of the Indians under Big Eagle passed down the draw to flank Welch but Colonel Marshall advanced at a double quick under a heavy fire and soon cleared the ravine. Major McClaren took a position on the extreme west and fought off a considerable body of the enemy who were endeavoring to get at the rear of the camp. Little Crow, realizing that every thing depended upon the result of this encounter, fought his men disperately and with admirable valor throughout the engagement, which lasted two hours, when the Indians were compelled to withdraw. Four white soldiers were killed and forty wounded. The Indians lost thirty killed and a large number wounded, among the killed was the chief Mankato.[488]

During the engagement the friendlies gathered on the prairie west of the battlefield and out of gunshot and took no part in the fight.[489] The friendlies at once entered into correspondence with Colonel Sibley through Simon and John Otherday, who were with the army. He notified them that he expected them to bring in the captives and that he would remain at the battlefield two days waiting for them to bring them. The Ind-

[486]Gabriel Renville's narrative, Monthly South Dakotan, March and September, 1903.

[487]Idem.

[488]Sibley's report.

[489]Testimony in Sisseton claims.

ians retired to the camp at Red Iron's, and General Sibley remained at Wood Lake until the 25th, when he too came up. Little Crow did not wait for his arrival. His force was constantly diminished by desertions to the friendlies. He was desperate and would no doubt have destroyed the captives had not the friendlies, now strong enough to do so, afforded them protection. The friendlies, however, were exceedingly suspicious of the military. They believed that the whites were so exasperated over the murders and abuse of the women and children that they would use no discretion, nor make any distinctions, but would destroy every Indian upon whom they could lay their hands. This sentiment had been impressed upon them in all of the councils by Little Crow during the times that means of making peace were under discussion, so that while the friendlies had protected the captives they had not had the courage to deliver them. By strong representations of friendliness however Colonel Sibley had sufficiently secured their confidence so that generally they remained to meet him when he came up on the 25th. He found the captives as well and in as good condition as could be expected and they received him with indiscribable joy.[400]

Little Crow on the 24th with a portion of his hostile army left for the northwest. At Lac qui Parle he gave to the Indians there so alarming a narrative of the fury of the whites, whom, he represented, were coming in overwhelming numbers to annihilate the Dakotas that good old Spirit Walker, the friend of the missionaries and the father of Sounding Heavens and Grayfoot, the rescuers of Mrs. Marble from the terrible Inkpaduta, gathered up his people and abandoning their homes and property set out for the west, intending to spend the winter with the Yanktonais on the James River.[401] Little Crow left Camp Release on Wednesday morning, the 24th. At 7 o'clock on the morning of Friday, the 26th, he was at Fort Abercrombie where he made an attack upon the garrison but was repulsed. He escaped into the timber along the river below the fort and Captain Burger sent out two companies of infantry to surround the woods and capture the Indians but they got away, leaving

[400]Sibley's report. Sam Brown's story.

[401]Narrative of Grayfoot to writer at Sisseton agency, August, 1901.

their camp equipage, blankets, etc., which the soldiers burned. Thus at the beginning of winter the proud chief who six weeks before set out, with high boast of power, to drive the whites from the state of Minnesota passed out into the wilderness empty-handed, naked, held in horrible hatred by all of the white friends with whom he had associated from his birth and detested by the Indians of his own tribe. Even worse fate awaited him.

Without horses and without provisions it was impossible for Colonel Sibley to have pursued him at that time. Otherwise it is probable that the entire difficulty might have been settled up almost instantly. Having accomplished the relief of the captives Colonel Sibley at once asked to be relieved and that further operations be placed in the hands of experienced military men, but the government promptly made him a brigadier general in recognition of his services and insisted that he should continue in command. He consented.[492]

Colonel Sibley did all that he could to convince the Indians of his friendly disposition to all that were not guilty of outrages and the suspicious ones began to return to the camp. Effort was at once undertaken to distinguish between the guilty and the innocent in a general way and to accomplish this a strategem was resorted to. The Indians had not yet been paid their cash annuity and young Sam Brown was instructed to inform them that they must come in and be counted so that the annuity rolls could be made up. The Indians appeared and were duly enrolled, the men being asked to step into a warehouse for the purpose. They passed in without suspicion, where they were quietly disarmed and 234 of Little Crow's fiercest warriors were thus placed under arrest without creating any disturbance.[493]

On the 13th of October Colonel Marshall was directed to go with a small force to the coteau directly west of Lac qui Parle and scout that region for straggling bands of Indians. He went as far as Lake Nicholson in Codington county, South Dakota, where he found ten lodges of Spirit Walker's refugees and ten miles further on toward the west he overtook fifteen more

[492]All of the field officers under him joined in a petition that he should continue in command, and that petition was what induced him to remain at the head of the forces.

[493]Sam Brown's story.

lodges, 39 men and more than 100 women and children. He scouted the country from Big Stone to Lake Poinsett but found all of the villages deserted.[494]

Colonel Sibley appointed a military court of five members to try the braves accused of having participated in the murders of the settlers. General Sibley as stated, by reason of lack of provisions and cavalry was unable to proceed at once to bring in the hostiles, but the delay proved providential. Little Crow's Indians, stripped of their camps, at the point of starvation, learning that the soldiers had not fallen upon those who remained behind and destroyed them, began to wander back and by the middle of October all but five lodges had deserted the old chief and surrendered themselves to General Sibley. In addition to these five lodges the bands of White Lodge and Sleepyeyes had not been accounted for.[495]

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[494]Marshall's report.

[495]Pope's report. Story of Martin Charger related to writer by the old chief June 4, 1900.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Trial of the Hostiles—Three Hundred Convicted—Lincoln Delays Execution—Exasperation of People—Lincoln Takes His Time—Two Hundred Sixty Sentences Commuted by President—Thirty-eight Finally Hanged—Treaties Abrogated—Massacres at Shetak, Sioux Falls and on the James—The Shetak Captives—White Lodge the Villain—Carries Women to Missouri—Discovered by Major Galpin—The Fool Soldier Band—Their Effort on Behalf of Captives—How Rescue was Effected—Credit Due Charger and His Fellows—Yanktonais Assist—The Scare on the Missouri—Settlers Fly for Safety—Stockades at Yankton and Elsewhere—Strike the Ree's Friendship—Inkpaduta at Sioux Falls.

The court for the trial of the hostile Indians captured was set up at Camp Release and proceeded in its work with what seems to many with undue rapidity, but military courts do not as a rule stand upon technicalities in testimony, nor is there the difficulty in obtaining testimony to convict Indians of murders that there would be to convict white men. They are given to boasting of their crimes, and very few of them were inclined to deny their guilt when charged. A negro halfbreed named Godfrey, who was compelled to accompany the hostiles and intimidated into the commission of many crimes himself, turned states evidence and upon his testimony, in corroboration of the confessions of the accused and other testimony 300 of the hostiles were convicted and condemned. It was the purpose of General Sibley to execute them upon the spot but before the court completed the trial of the cases he was ordered to remove all of the Indians to Fort Snelling, which was done and a camp established at Mendota, called Camp Lincoln, where the trials were completed. It was deemed incumbent to secure the president's warrant for the execution of the Indians, and on November 10th the trials being completed, and the lists of the condemned made up, General Pope, in command of the depart-

ment of the northwest, wired the list of their names to President Lincoln and requested that he should authorize the execution by wire. To the surprise and disgust of the people of Minnesota, Lincoln wired back to have the "full and complete record of the convictions" sent him by mail. Pope immediately sent a most vigorous protest, declaring that every man convicted was guilty of murder or the violation of young girls. That most of the people of the state had had relatives murdered by them and that they were exasperated to the last degree and if the guilty were not executed it would be impossible to prevent the indiscriminate massacre of all of the Indians, men, women and children. That the soldiers guarding the Indians were in full sympathy with the people and would assist in the annihilation of the Dakotas. Governor Ramsey added his protest. He wired: "I hope the execution of every Sioux Indian condemned by the military court will be at once ordered. It would be wrong upon principle and policy to refuse this. Private revenge would on all this border take place of official judgment on these Indians." But they had gotten the matter into the hands of the president and he would not be coerced. He secured the vast volume of testimony involved in the trial and conviction of 300 men and laboriously waded through it, carefully weighing the evidence in each case. By November 24th, no action having been taken, the people became wild and Pope telegraphed the president that the people were organizing to seize and destroy the Indians indiscriminately.

On December 6th 200 men attacked the Indian camp but were driven back by Colonel Miller; still the conscientious president toiled over the record. The delegations in congress headed by William Windom called upon Lincoln and implored him to hang the whole lot. Finally on December 6th he had sifted the matter out and gave his warrant for the execution of forty of the leaders in the mischief and that the other 260 be held in confinement. Of the forty condemned by the president one had died before his warrant reached Minnesota and one other, Henry Milford, a halfbreed, he subsequently commuted to imprisonment for life, so that but thirty-eight were finally hanged. The warrant was given for their execution on December 19th but for some reason General Sibley desired this time extended until the 26th which was granted. During all of the time from the

battle of Wood Lake, Dr. Riggs labored with the accused Indians and with the condemned. After the arrival at Camp Lincoln Father Ravoux also gave them constant attention, and Rev. S. D. Hinman was much with them to the end. They were taken to Mankato for execution and all hanged from the same gallows.[496] One of the executed was Tatagaga, the grandson of old Spirit Walker, charged and convicted of being implicated in the murder of Amos Huggins, but from evidence subsequently procured it is reasonably well established that he was not guilty. He was a boy and present when Amos was killed but the act was undoubtedly performed by a Lower Indian whom Little Crow had sent with the message of the outbreak to the Upper bands.[497]

The close of 1862 found the Dakotas entirely driven from their hereditary estates in Minnesota. Except the captive band of about 1,500 at Fort Snelling, there was not a Dakota Indian in the state. On 21st of the succeeding February congress by solemn act abrogated all existing treaties with them.[498] When the massacre came on in August, 1862, the white settlement in South Daktoa consisted of a few settlers at Sioux Falls and a little fringe along the Missouri River from the Yankton reservation to the Sioux, and up the Sioux as far as Brule Creek. At Fort Randall there was a small garrison consisting of several companies of the 14th Iowa. One company of the Dakota cavalry under Captain Nelson Miner was divided into three squads and were at Yankton, Vermillion and Sioux Falls respectively. When on August 18th Little Crow after the first furor of the attack had somewhat spent itself, bethought himself of the outlying settlements, no point was forgotten. White Lodge with about forty warriors resided at Lake Shaokatan, (The lake where they spiked the Cheyenne) on the line dividing Minnesota and South Dakota about midway between Lake Benton and Gary. Lean Grizzly Bear lived at Two Woods Lake near Altamont. To these bands were assigned the duty of

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[496]Sibley's report.

[497]Solomon Twostars.

[498]I S. D., appendix A.

[499]Joseph LaFrambois, Solomon Twostars and John B. Renville each gave evidence upon this point.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, December 6th, 1862.

Brigadier General H. H. Sibley
St. Paul
Minnesota.

Ordered that of the Indians and Half-breeds sentenced to be hanged by the Military Commission, composed of Colonel Brooks, Lt. Colonel Marshall, Captain Grant, Captain Bailey, and Lieutenant Olin and lately sitting in Minnesota, you cause to be executed on Friday the nineteenth day of December, instant, the following named, to-wit

"Je-he-hdo-me-cha."	No. 2.	by the record.
"Jazoo" alias "Plan-doo-ta."	No. 4.	by the record.
"Wy-a-teh-to-wah"	No. 5	by the record.
"Hin-han-shoon-ko-yaz."	No. 6	by the record
"Mun-za-koon-a-du."	No. 10.	by the record.
"Wah-pay-du-ta."	No. 11.	by the record
"Wa-he-hnuo."	No. 12.	by the record
"Shna-ma-ni"	No. 14.	by the record.
"Ja-te-mi-na."	No. 15.	by the record.
"Rda-in-yan-kna."	No. 19.	by the record.
"Do-wan-pa."	No. 23.	by the record.
"Hay-pen."	No. 24.	by the record.

"Shoon-ka-ska." (White Dog) No 35. by the record,
"Toon-kaw-e-chah-tay-mane." No 67. by the record.
"E-tay-hoo-tay." No 68. by the record,
"Am-da-cha." No 69. by the record,
"Hay-pee-dow or Wamne-omne-he-tah" No 70. by the record,
"Mahpee-o-ke-na-jin" No 96. by the record.
"Henry Milord" a Half breed. No 115. by the record.
"Chaskay-dow" or "Chaskay-tay" No 121 by the record.
"Baptiste Campbell" a Half breed. No 138. by the record.
"Jah-tan-kay-gay" No 155. by the record.
"Ka-pishe-pa" No 170 by the record.
"Hyppolite Ango" a Half breed. No 175 by the record.
"Nar-pay-shne" No 178. by the record.
"Wa-kaze-taw-ka" No 210. by the record.
"Toon-kaw-ka-zaga-e-na-jin" No 235. by the record.
"Mar-kate-e-na-jin." No 254. by the record
"Pa-zee-koo-tay-ma-ne." No 264. by the record.
"Ja-tay-hdo-dow." No 275. by the record.
"Wa-she-choon" or "Toon-kaw-shkaw-shkaw-mene-hay." No 318. by the record.
"A-e-cha-ga" No 327. by the record.
"Ha-taw-in-koo." No 333. by the record
"Ohey-tow-hoon-ka" No 342. by the record
"Ohew-ka-hda." No 355. by the record,
"Hda-hin-hday." No 373. by the record.
"O-yan-tay-a-koo." No 377. by the record.
"Maz-hoo-way-wa" No 382. by the record.
"Wa-kin-yan-na" No 383 by the record

The other condemned prisoners you will hold subject to further orders, taking care that they neither escape, nor, be subjected to any unlawful violence.

Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States.

EXECUTION OF THE THIRTY-EIGHT SIOUX INDIANS

AT MANKATO, MINNESOTA, DECEMBER, 26, 1862

picking off the settlement at Lake Shetak and on the Sioux River.[499]

Early on the morning of the 20th of August the braves of these bands were at Lake Shetak to carry out their commissions. At Lake Shetak there was a settlement consisting of about a dozen families, fifty souls in all. They massacred the settlers indiscriminately. A few escaped and reached the settlements on the Minnesota, but two women, Mrs. John Wright and two children, Mrs. William J. Duly and three children, two little daughters of Thomas Ireland's, and Lillie Everitt, were taken captive. Lean Bear was shot dead by one of the settlers.[500] White Lodge himself, with a few of his men went over toward the Yellow Medicine while the main body went out to the Sioux River and a party was sent down to break up the settlement at Sioux Falls. They found Judge Joseph B. Amidon and his son making hay north of the village near the present site of the penitentiary and they killed them, but an examination of the village convinced them that it was too strong for them and they withdrew.[501] They returned up the Sioux to Two Woods where they were joined by White Lodge and his party and set out for the Missouri going first to the Yanktonais on the Elm, who not liking to harbor the captives sent them along. At the James River they got information of the defeat of Little Crow at Wood Lake and they knew it was time to seek far countries. They went on toward the northwest and stopped at the mouth of Beaver Creek in North Dakota, where Waneta's camp formerly stood.[502] While enroute they had made some meat but had had poor success and went into the winter very poorly provided. In the camp were eighty lodges, belonging to the bands of White Lodge, Lean Bear and Sleepyeyes. They stayed for some weeks at the mouth of Beaver Creek until November when Major Charles E. Galpin, coming down the river with a party of miners from Idaho, discovered them there. Major Galpin was also accompanied by his Dakota wife, a very intelligent woman. The Indians hailed the boat, which

[500]History of Minnesota Valley, 215. Testimony in Sisseton claims.

[501]Joseph LaFrambois. Little Fisn testified that some time during the fall of that year White Lodge came to the buffalo camp of the Sissetons on the Sheyenne.

[502]Major Galpin's story. Charger and Swift Bird.

carried a fair quantity of provisions, and invited the party to land. Mrs. Galpin, although they had been at the headwaters of the Missouri through all of the troubles and had no knowledge of the outbreak, discovered that things were not right at the village and advised her husband to beware of the strange Indians. He, however, drew up to the bank and was engaging in conversation with the Indians, having jumped from the boat and made it fast by a rope to a small tree. While he was talking Mrs. Galpin discovered armed Indians skulking in ambush about them and she called to her husband, who leaped into the boat and Mrs. Galpin cut the rope with a hatchet which she happened to have in her hand, and all hands threw themselves flat in the bottom of the boat which drifted out into the stream. At the moment the Indians discharged their guns at them but did no damage. While they were still within hearing a white woman ran down to the shore and shouted that a party of white women and children were held captive in the camp.[503]

Major Galpin's party proceeded down the river and just above old Fort Pierre stopped at Primeau's trading house and told there of finding the white captives in the camp of the hostile Indians. This was on or about the 15th day of November. When Little Crow's emissaries visited the Two Kettles, residing near Fort Pierre in August to invite them to join in the uprising there was a considerable faction among them who desired to avail themselves of the occasion to punish the Santees for trespassing upon their buffalo preserves. There were others who were shocked by the stories of the awful massacre of white women and children, while others were ready to help out the Santees. The result of the council upon the proposition was that it was determined to hold aloof and take no part in it one way or another. Many motives actuated them to this wise course but the chief one was the fact of their dependence upon white traders for most of the comforts of life and the belief that if they went to war with the whites the traders would leave them and they would consequently suffer for the indispensable goods. Among them was a party of young men who had always manifested notions along ethical lines which rendered them subjects of ridicule. The leader of this party

[503] Autobiography of Colonel John Pattee, in possession of this Society.

was a boy 19 years of age, known by the familiar name of Waneta, the Charger. By well authenticated tradition he was the grandson of Captain Merriweather Lewis.[504] After the council was held in which the neutrality of the Two Kettles was determined, he went out to the bank of the river accompanied by a chum of his own way of thinking known familiarly as "Kills and Comes," literally "he who kills game and brings it home." They talked over the horrible atrocities committed by their relatives on the Minnesota and were horrified by them and they resolved then and there that if an opportunity was afforded them that they would do all in their power to help the poor white women and children and save them from such a fate. They set about to organize a company of young men who would go with them to the Minnesota and assist in rescuing the white captives whom they had been informed by Little Crow's emissary were held there. When they made their mission known their notions of benevolence were so heretical, as measured by any known Dakota standards that they were derisively called "Fool Soldiers" by the tribe and they were able to win but nine others to their way of thinking. The opposition and ridicule of their people made them only the more steadfast in their purpose, but of course they could not set out to recover the captives from the Santees of the Minnesota with so small a band. They, however, prefected their organization and boasted vauntingly of what they proposed to accomplish, to the vast amusement and delight of their fellows.[505]

When Major Galpin brought information of the white captives which he had discovered up the Missouri the "Fool Soldiers" were jeeringly told that their opportunity had come

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[504]Louis LaPlant informs the writer that Charger's relationship to Captain Lewis was a matter of common notoriety among the Indians. That when he came on the river in 1855 there were many Indians living who vividly remembered the visit of Lewis and Clark, and all of the circumstances surrounding the event. That it was well known that Charger's father, who was then living, was Clark's son, and that he was very proud of it. I did not learn this story until after Charger's death, and so lost the opportunity to get from himself his knowledge of his family history.

[505]I have this from Charger and five others of the Indians of the "Fool Soldier band."

and they took the jest seriously. That very day they set about the business and securing from Primeau a quantity of provisions, they crossed the river with their ponies that afternoon and started for the Santee camp.[506] The second day out they came to the camp of Bone Necklace, a Lower Yanktonais, who was living on Swan Lake Creek about where LeBeau postoffice is located. From Bone Necklace's people they learned that the Santees with the captives were moving down the river, and that they had visited with them. They were informed that it was the band of White Lodge, and that he had intended only to capture Galpin's boat for whatever provisions it might contain, as the camp was fast approaching destitution, and that he was now moving down the river in order to find Indians or others who had a supply of provisions. With this information the boys pushed on and fifteen miles further, in the timber opposite the mouth of Grand River they found the hostiles encamped.[507] Whether or not they were actually accompanied that evening by any of Bone Necklace's Indians is a matter of dispute, but it may be said with confidence that if any of them did go up it was out of curiosity, to visit, or in the hopes of participating in the feast which they knew the Fool Soldiers were to give. It was near evening when they reached the hostile camp and pitched their one small tipi. They were cordially greeted by the hostiles, and after some preliminary talk the boys told them their mission but received no encouragement. They then made a feast of coffee, sugar and hard bread to which the hostiles were invited and at the conclusion a formal council was held. Charger was the first speaker: After the usual talk about their hearts being good he said: "You see us here. We are only young boys. Our people call us crazy, but we want to do something good. If a man owns anything he likes it and he will not part with it for nothing. We have come here to buy the white captives and give them back to their friends. We will give our own horses for them, all of the horses we have. That proves that we want the captives very much for our hearts are good and we

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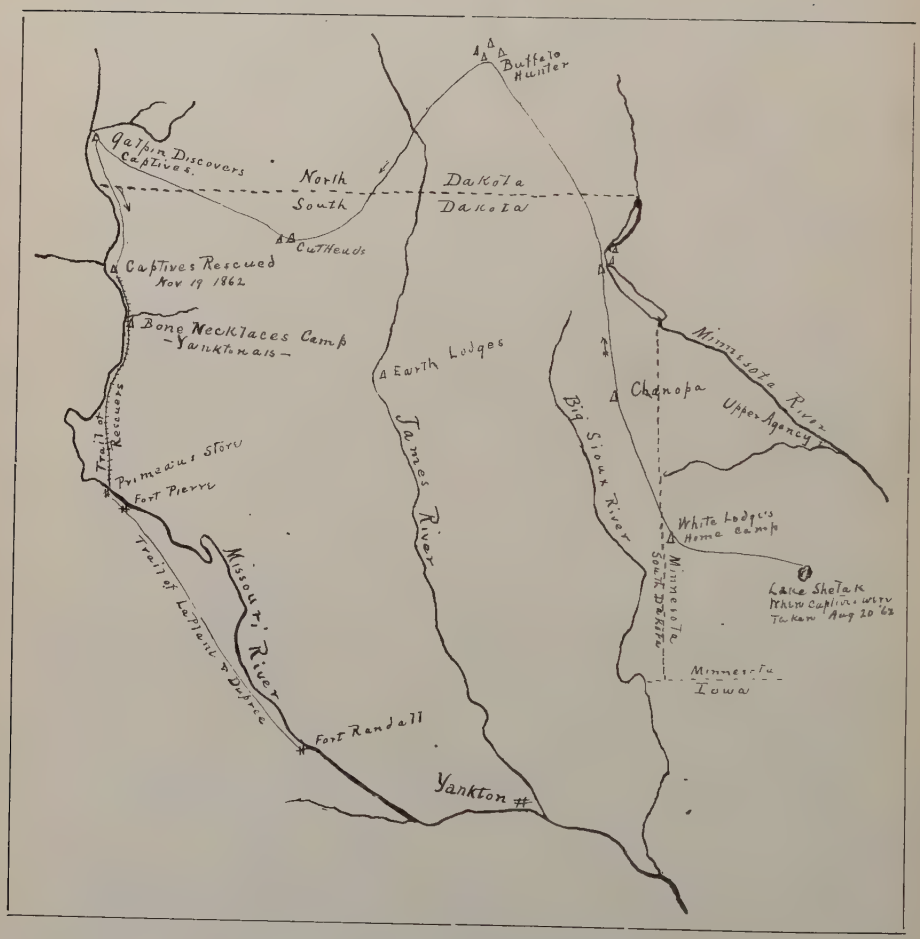
[506]Colonel Pattee says that Primeau informed him that he provided the provisions for the trip, but the survivors are positive in their declarations that they purchased them.

[507]See the testimony of D. K. How and Fastwalker in Sisseton claims.

want to do a good thing." The other boys gave assent and White Lodge responded: "We come from the east where the sky is made red by the fires which burns the homes of the whites and the ground is red with the blood of whites that the Santees are killing. These white captives we have taken after killing many of the people. We will not again be friends to the whites. We have done a bad thing and now we will keep on doing bad things. We will not give up the captives. We will fight until we drop dead."

There was more discussion and a third time the boys proposed to trade for the captives, to be met by a more determined refusal than before. They had another card in reserve and the time had come to play it. It was as usual Charger that spoke: "White Lodge," he said, "you talk brave. you kill white men who have no guns, and you steal women and children and run away where there are no soldiers. If you are brave why did you not stay and fight soldiers who had guns? Three times we have offered our horses for the captives. Now we shall take the captives and place them on the horses and take them home. If you make us trouble the soldiers with guns will come against you from the east and the Tetons will come against you from the west and we shall see if you are brave." At this a brave from outside who did not sit in council cried out to Black Hawk, the eldest son of White Lodge: "Black Hawk, why do you not speak? Why sit so still?" Black Hawk then spoke: "You young people have done right. Your food tastes good. You are straight young men, respected among your own people. I know some of you, but my father White Lodge does not know you. We are starving. I have one white child which I will give up. Let the others do as I have done and give up the captives."

After much parleying it was finally agreed that the captives should be exchanged for the horses and the Santees returned to their camp to prepare the captives for the exchange. At length the boys were invited to bring their horses and come into the village. A large lodge had been erected in the center of the camp to which they were directed. They fastened their horses near by and entered. They found Mrs. Duly and six children sitting in a row on one side of the lodge. They were almost naked and in a condition so pitiable that even the young Indians



Route of the Shetak Captives

were moved by their grief. An unexpected obstacle was here encountered. Each captive was claimed as the property of some individual and no proposition looking to a wholesale exchange of horses for captives would be entertained. Each proprietor was bent upon driving the best possible bargain for his chattel. The youngest child was first offered, and after a protracted parley its purchase was effected and it was removed to the other side of the lodge. It had cost a horse and some other property. Another child was put up and another bargain struck, and so each in turn was purchased, after all of the jockeying and bluffing of which the Dakota is master. When at length Mrs. Duly was secured, all of their property was exhausted except one horse and four guns. Mrs. Wright, whom White Lodge claimed, had not yet been seen. White Lodge had given grudging consent to the proceedings thus far, but now he refused to proceed further. He would not sell Mrs. Wright. He was an old man and she took good care of him and he could not spare her. The boys begged, cajoled, threatened. Another period of great excitement ensued. White Lodge in a great fury sprang to massacre all of the captives but was restrained by his own people. He threatened to kill the boys, but they were not alarmed at this but did fear he might do injury to the captives. Charger again suggested that he was in communication with the soldiers and that the Tetons would support his demand for the captives, and the hostiles came to their senses, though White Lodge himself obstinately refused to part with Mrs. Wright. His sons Black Hawk and Chased by the Ree seem to have been young men of sense and decent impulses. They were at the head of a peace party among the hostiles, which by this time was stronger than the hostile element headed by their father. They proposed, in consideration of the last remaining horse to take the woman forcibly away from the old man and turn her over with the other captives. The proposition was agreed to and Red Dog and Strikes Fire were entrusted with the execution of the bargain so far as the boys were concerned. By this time the boys had been twenty-four hours at the hostile camp. Mrs. Wright was soon in the possession of the rescuers, though White Lodge threatened to take all of the captives away from them. They struck camp at once and moved down the river a short distance and went

into camp for the night. They had one small tipi, and four guns. A part of their blankets they had been compelled to trade out for the captives. They had not a single mouthful to eat. The captives were naked and had to be covered with what blankets remained. A November blizzard was upon them. Momentarily they expected an attack from White Lodge. They were 100 miles from home or hope of assistance. A condition more desperate would be hard to imagine. From the testimony of Don't Know How and Fast Walker, Yanktonais, they were with the boys that night, but Charger and Swift Bird and others of the Fool Soldier band informed the writer that they came up the next morning. It is probable that D. K. How and Fast Walker were present in the hostile camp and witnessed the purchase of the captives. In any event they were at the camp of the rescuers early in the morning of the day following the rescue and the horse of Walking Crane was secured from D. K. How, a travoix rigged up and some of the children placed upon it. Charger told the writer that they were compelled to give D. K. How a gun for the horse but How thinks he gave them the horse. Almost immediately White Lodge appeared to rescue the prisoners. The boys were strongest in number but poorly armed. In the entire party there were but six guns. They immediately prepared to defend the captives. Mrs. Duly, who was lame, was placed upon the horse, and Fast Walker assigned to lead it. Mrs. Wright was well but barefooted. Charger gave her his moccasins, wrapping his own feet in some old clothes in which the children had been clothed. They proposed not to stop to parley but to keep moving. The arms were prepared and Swift Bird given command of the rear guard. His order was to kill White Lodge at the first hostile demonstration and the order would promptly have been obeyed had White Lodge given them occasion. The old chief was rheumatic and he limped along after them, threateningly for a long distance, but finally gave up the chase and returned to his camp. The rescuers proceeded to Bone Necklace's camp where they remained until the next day and were fed and given a supply of food to last them until they reached their homes. From Bone Necklace they procured an old cart. Charger says they gave two more guns for the accommodations and assistance they received there, but the Yanktonais are of opinion that they

rendered those things in charity. Whatever the Yanktonais had done prior to this time to assist in the rescue, they gave up when they reached their own camp at Swan Lake Creek and next day the Fool Soldiers went on alone. Mrs. Duly and the children were placed in the cart but Mrs. Wright continued to walk. The load was too heavy for the pony to handle unassisted and the boys and Mrs. Wright divided into three parties, helped to push the cart, relieving each other in turn. They reached Forest City that night, camping on the present mill site there. Next morning they left the Missouri, climbing up to the prairies and cut across the oxbow and that night did not camp but kept up the tramp all night long, at daybreak finding themselves on Peoria bottom, opposite their homes. The first ice of winter was forming upon the Missouri, making it most difficult to cross, but the Indians were assisted by Primeau, LaPlant and Dupree in effecting a crossing and the captives were taken to Primeau's and clothed as well as could be and then to Dupree's house, where they rested for a day or two, and were taken to Fort Randall by LaPlant and Dupree, where they arrived on November 30th or December 1st and thence were restored to their relatives. The heroism of these young Tetons escaped attention for many years, though it was a matter of constant repute and conversation among the Indians themselves. In 1898 it was called to the attention of the secretary of this society by Rev. Philip Deloria, a half Dakota minister of the Episcopal church, and a careful investigation of all of the facts made, revealing the circumstances above narrated. No official recognition of the effort of these men has been made by the government nor have they been compensated for the horses and other property which they exchanged for the prisoners.[508]

The news of the massacre at the Minnesota River naturally produced profound excitement among the scattered settlers of Dakota and when the killing of Judge Amidon and his son by

[508]The eleven men who performed this remarkable service were Martin Charger, Kills and Comes, Swift Bird, Four Bears, Mad Bear, Pretty Bear, Sitting Bear, One Rib, Strikes Fire, Red Dog and Charging Dog. The writer spent much effort in ascertaining and verifying the facts as above related, interviewing severally and separately each of the surviving Indians concerned in it and securing from other Indians, rivermen and soldiers corroborating testimony.

White Lodge's young men at Sioux Falls was told to the settlers on the Missouri a panic ensued and many left the country for safety. The settlement at Sioux Falls was broken up and the town wholly abandoned for several years. At Yankton and Vermillion, Elk Point, Jefferson and Brule Creek the settlers were gathered in stockades.[509] On the 13th of August Governor Jayne called out every able bodied man in the territory for the public defense. A deputation was sent to the Yanktons and Strike the Ree assured them of his friendship and intention to, as far as possible hold his people upon the reservation and keep them out of the trouble though he expressed doubts of his ability to keep all of the reckless young men at home, who, fired by the tales that had come to them of the outbreak, were wild to join in it. The action of the Yanktons in a measure restored confidence and as Strike the Ree was true to his professions his band stood through the troubles as a barrier between the settlers and the wilder tribes from above. A prowling party of savages whom I have been unable to identify, visited the James River bottoms east of Yankton and fired upon the ferrymen. They were followed by Sergeant English of the Dakota cavalry with a squad of men and one of them killed at Gayville.[510] Late in the autumn some of the settlers went back to Sioux Falls to recover their goods which they had cached there at the time of the flight in August. They were escorted by a squad under Captain Miner of the Dakota cavalry. They found all of the buildings burned and the town in the possession of Inkpaduta and about forty braves, stragglers who had gathered about his forlorn standard. In the skirmish which followed one Indian was killed.[511]

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[509]Dakota war claims. Senate document 241, 58. Cong. 2, Session, compiled by Robert E. McDowell, a member of this society.

[510]Sergeant A. M. English's History of the Dakota Cavalry.

[511]This Indian was killed by Charles Wright, of Yankton. He was a nephew of Inkpaduta's and a vicious fellow. Joseph LaFrambois knew him. His name was Wakeyandoota (Red Lightning.)

CHAPTER XXIX

Little Crow's Escape—Alarm of the Sissetons—Campaign of 1863—Pope's Plan of Action—Sibley's Army Starts for Devils Lake—Capture of Wowinapa—Death of Little Crow—Sissetons in Bad Company—Dr. Weiser Shot—Battle of Big Mound—Sissetons Escape with Their Families—Affair at Dead Buffalo Lake—Display of Strength at Stony Lake—Hostiles Cross Missouri—Sibley Returns to Minnesota.

When General Sibley had secured the release of the captives at Camp Release on September 25, 1862, he rested rather easy in the belief that when Little Crow reached the country of the Sissetons he would be turned back by them or else held, and that his apprehension therefore would be easy. He felt justified in this belief by the reported action of Standing Buffalo and Wanatan in the council just before the battle of Wood Lake, when those chiefs had notified Little Crow that they would not permit him to retreat through their country. By October 1st, however, Sibley had learned through his scouts that Little Crow had passed unmolested through the Sisseton country. He therefore on that day addressed a letter to Wanatan, Standing Buffalo and Wamdeonpeduta, reproaching them for letting Little Crow pass through their lands and informing them that they would not be injured. At the same time he told them that there were very many white men who were very angry because so many of their white relatives had been killed and that they might not be able to distinguish them from the guilty bands and fire upon them. He told them therefore, to remain at their own villages and keep their bands separate from the hostiles. He added that there were many more troops going in search of the bad Indians besides those which he had."[512] This letter had an opposite effect from what was intended. It

[512] II. Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, 262.

was delivered to the Sissetons, not at their villages on Big Stone Lake where Sibley supposed it would reach them, but at the Buffalo camp far up on the Sheyenne River. Rumors had already come to them of the terrible anger of the white men and they did not find much assurance for the safety of any Indians in the letter of General Sibley, and if the country was to be overrun by troops it was deemed wise to remain as far away as possible. They therefore concluded to get together as much food as possible and spend the winter at Devils Lake, where in case of trouble they could fly to the safety of the British possessions.[512] Little Crow himself spent the winter near the British boundary in North Dakota, having with him his numerous family and about twenty men all told, chiefly renegades flying from the soldiers.[513] In truth the Sissetons were in no wise responsible for the escape of Little Crow. They did not see him and had no knowledge of his action, or passage through their lands. It will be recalled that Little Crow went directly from Camp Release to Fort Abercrombie and that after the bootless attack upon that post he escaped with the loss of his camp equipage down the valley of the Red River to the British line, not going near the Sissetons, who at this period were far away on the Sheyenne, hunting the buffalo for their winter meat.

During the winter General Pope, acting upon the belief that Little Crow had assembled a large army of hostiles in the neighborhood of Devils Lake, fixed upon a plan of campaign by which he hoped to crush at one blow the hostility of the Dakotas. At that time there were but two disturbing elements among the Indians, and they were seeking an opportunity to make peace and there can scarcely be a doubt that had the true situation been understood those two elements of hostility, Little Crow and Inkpaduta, would have been apprehended and brought in by the Dakotas themselves. General Pope's plan, however, contemplated sending two columns of troops into the Indian country, one under Sibley to cross Dakota territory by way of Devils Lake, and the other to go up the Missouri under Sully, and the two columns to catch and crush the hostiles between them, as they came to a junction upon the upper Missouri.[514]

[512-3]Testimony of Little Fish.

[513]Joseph LaFrambois.

[514]General Pope's order of February, 1863.

Pursuant to this plan General Sibley on June 16, 1863, with 1,400 infantry and 500 cavalry, started from the upper Minnesota where he had rendezvoused his troops, and proceeded liesurely by way of Brown's valley, where he remained several days, to the upper James River south from Devils Lake and at a point forty miles from the latter lake established a permanent, entrenched camp which was called Atchison. From there he sent out scouting parties, one of whom picked up in an exhausted condition, Wowinapa, a young son of Little Crow's, from whom it was learned that in June, Little Crow, accompanied by this son, 16 years of age, and sixteen other Indians, had started from St. Joseph's, a halfbreed town on the British line, to go into the Minnesota settlements and steal horses, the band being unmounted. That it was the intention of Little Crow to mount his men and then return to St. Joseph's and go off into the British possessions and take up a home where the soldiers could not reach him. By Friday, July 3d, the party had reached the Big Woods and scattered out for the purpose of stealing horses, Little Crow and his son being in the woods about six miles north of Hutchinson, in McLeod county, Minnesota, where they were picking berries to relieve their hunger when they were discovered by a farmer and his son named Lampson, who fired upon them without notice. The boy escaped unhurt, but two shots hit the old chief and his death soon ensued. The white men fled without awaiting the results of their shots. The boy took up both guns and started for the northwest and alone, exhausted, starving, he was found and picked up by Captain Burt upon a scout to the Devils Lake. Investigation established the truth of all the boy had reported.[515]

The scout from Camp Atchison developed that the great body of the Indians had passed down from Devils Lake in the direction of the Missouri, and leaving all of the defectives and much of the camp baggage there, Sibley made a rapid march southwesterly from the camp to the top of the Missouri coteau. Here his scouts came upon a large number of Indians hunting buffalo.[516] Marvelous as it seems, and unusual in all Indian history, the Dakotas were taken wholly by surprise and were

[515]Sibley to Meline from Fort Abercrombie, August 3, 1863.
[516]Sibley to Meline, August 7, 1863.

entirely unprepared to meet a hostile army. They had no information whatever that Sibley was in their country. The Sissetons and Wahpetons under Standing Buffalo, Wanatan, and Scarlet Plume, after spending the winter upon an island in Devils Lake, had spent the spring idling about the country in the neighborhood of the lake, hoping that they might learn that the government had found them innocent of any part in the outbreak and that they would be called down to their reservation to receive their annuities. They waited in this expectation until about the 1st of July and then started off toward the Missouri River upon a buffalo hunt. In passing down toward the south they had on the 23d of July come to the vicinity of the Big Mound in what is now Burleigh county, North Dakota, where they had come upon Inkpaduta, also following the buffalo. From him they learned that a large party of Tetons were crossing the Missouri to hunt on this side, but they had not yet arrived.[517] By this time Inkpaduta had come into a good deal of influence and had acquired a large following, chiefly Yanktonais, but a large number of the Sissetons were with him, especially the band of Lean Bear and some of White Lodge's people. They quietly hunted until afternoon the next day, July 24th, when one of their outriders reaching the top of a coteau, looked out to the east and beheld a large army almost upon them. In alarm he turned back to the Indians and reported that "all the Americans in the land are right here."[518]

Almost immediately Joe LaFrambois, Sibley's scout, came up and told them General Sibley wanted to see Standing Buffalo and have a council with him. That he had not come to fight the friendly Indians but to reward them, but to fight the bad Indians. There were a large number of Upper Indians and halfbreeds accompanying Sibley and immediately there was a general greeting and handshaking among them. Little Paul was along with Sibley, and one of his sons was in Standing Buffalo's camp and they had not seen each other for almost a year; their meeting was affectionate and the young man was at once made a scout for Sibley. Scarlet Plume told the scouts that there was

[517]Testimony of Little Fish and Joseph LaFrambois, Sisseton claims.
[518]Little Fish.

a conspiracy to get General Sibley into a council and kill him.[519] Dr. Joseph S. Weiser, of the First Minnesota Mounted Rangers, was curious to know what was going on and went out onto a knoll in advance of the troops where the scouts and Indians were visiting. The Sissetons were going as rapidly as possible to visit General Sibley in response to the friendly message to them brought by LaFrambois. The friendly Sissetons were overjoyed at the situation when, without warning, a desperate young fellow of Inkpaduta's band shot Dr. Weiser dead.[520] Instantly the battle was on, the Indians flying and the soldiers in hot pursuit. The first to become the victims of the treachery of the renegade were the older men of the Sissetons, who, quite unprepared for anything of the kind, were proceeding to Sibley's camp for the council. They turned to flee with the others but being in the rear were the first to be reached by the avenging soldiers and many of them fell. The greatest mortality of the succeeding fight was among them. All of the tactics of the Indians were executed to protect the rear of the fleeing column and give the women and children an opportunity to get away. This they managed wth consummate skill, and the fatalities were very few indeed. The chase was kept up until nightfall, when the soldiers retired, and having proceeded more than twelve miles after an already long day's march, made their way back to the camp at the point where the battle began. It was morning before the last of them were in. The pursuit was made with two or more companies of cavalry under Colonel Sam McPhail, a portion of the Seventh regiment under Colonel W. R. Marshall and Major George Bradley and one company of the Tenth regiment under Captain Alonzo J. Edgerton. At the outset Whipple with a six-pounder opened upon the enemy from the hill but they were soon out of his reach. Hon. Abraham VanOsdel, a member of this society, was a member of Colonel McPhail's command, and he has published a graphic account of this chase, from which I take the liberty of quoting; taking up his story after the first forward movement of his company following the shooting of Dr. Weiser.[521]

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[519]Sibley to Meline, August 7, 1863.

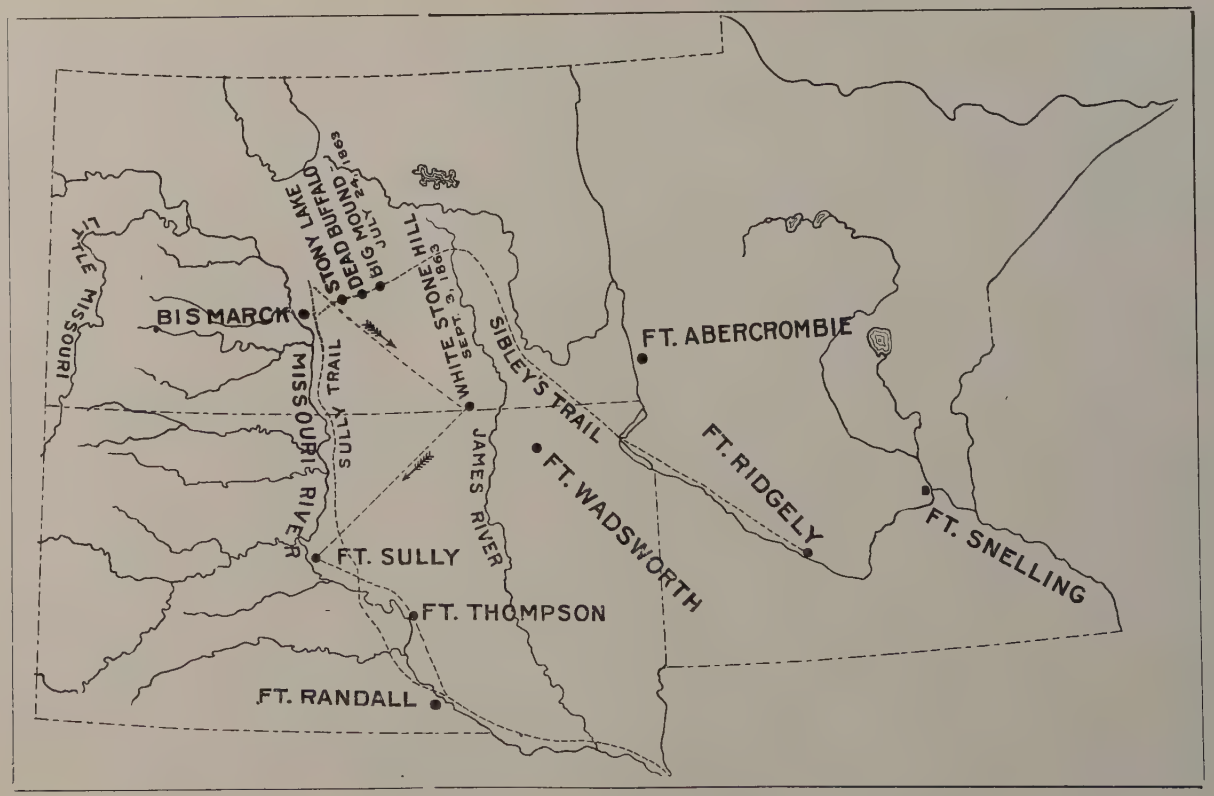
[520]Little Fish.

[521]The Sibley expedition, Monthly South Dakotan, October, 1899.

In passing over the summit of the hill I looked back and saw our whole cavalry force coming thundering along, company colors flying, with the armor of our men flashing and glistening in the sun, while far back in the rear three or four mounted howitzers and a regiment of infantry were coming up on the double-quick.

We soon distanced the infantry in our headlong march, passed over the brow of another hill and came in sight of the deserted Indian village. It was situated on a level plateau at the foot of a hill which ranged along the western verge of the grand coteau. Old tepees, fresh buffalo hides and meat, camp kettles and other domestic articles appertaining to an Indian camp lay scattered around, denoting that the village had been hastily abandoned, while away to the southwest, as far as the eye could see, the prairie was dotted with flying fugitives. We soon overtook them, when a general running fight commenced. Occasionally a light wagon or cart would be seen in the train of flying Indians propelled by a pair of ponies that were urged along by an old squaw, who sat with whip in hand on top of the mass of camp equipage; but generally the effects were transported upon travoix. * * * The horses while dragging burdens of three or four hundred pounds were also frequently ridden by the squaws with a child behind and another sitting on top of the pack behind, holding a couple of favorite pups. In this way the caravan, composed of 3,000 or 4,000 souls, with twice that many horses and dogs, dashed along in three parallel lines, while their chiefs and braves rode behind and on either flank, ever ready to defend them from our attack.

If one of the ponies was unable to keep up and drag its load the fastenings were cut and the owner would mount the pony and dash away. Thus they were continually dropping their burdens from their overloaded animals until the prairie was dotted over with bundles and packs, which contained a mixed and multiform assortment of the habiliments and trappings and toggery of an Indian's outfit. The fighting force of the Indians exceeded that of our cavalry, and as we rode up to open fire upon them they spread out in a semi-circle in the rear of their moving train to prevent us from flanking them, causing our line of battle at times to become extended for about a half mile in length. The warriors fought like tigers and in their repeated attempts to check us performed many acts of brave and dauntless intrepidity and rash defiance. Their mode of tactics was to concentrate their forces and come galloping forward in a body, whooping and yelling as if about to make a furious charge, but as we were constantly on the alert and rushed up to prevent them from penetrating our line of battle, they would wheel round, discharge their guns and retreat. While some of them were armed in primitive style and fought



Map of the Campaign of 1863

with bows and arrows, the majority carried an inferior lot of shotguns, with an ocasional rifle, and judging from the way they held their fire—seldom shooting except when at close range or hard pressed—we concluded that they did not have much ammunition. The battle lasted from 5 o'clock until dark. Just before sundown they made their last attempt to check us. A band of warriors had gained a low piece of land bordering on a slough and made a stand, which brought on a brisk fire from our men, lasting fifteen or twenty minutes, and thirteen warriors were killed before they were routed and driven back. * * * After that they did not make any further resistance, but seemed panic stricken, and acted as though they thought it was useless to fight us.

As before stated, the soldiers withdrew at nightfall and made their weary way back to camp. The Sissetons and the few Wahpetons, who were with them under the cover of darkness turned to the north and passed between the military and the river and escaped from the vicinity. During the night Inkpaduta made a junction with a large body of Tetons who had crossed the river that day to join in the buffalo hunt and they believed themselves strong enough to attack and destroy the soldiers. The Tetons were chiefly Uncpapas and Blackfeet, and among them were Gall, Blackmoon, and Sitting Bull. Gall and Sitting Bull were young men, the latter but 24 years old, and he had not yet established any reputation.

Sibley remained in camp the next day to allow his exhausted men and horses to recuperate and the succeeding day, the 26th, advanced as far as Buffalo Lake. Here at 2 o'clock in the afternoon the scouts brought intelligence that a large body of Indians were in front and near at hand and a camp was immediately made and everything placed in security. By this time a large body of Indians had appeared upon the nearby hills, mounted and ready for action. A moment later they came dashing down toward the soldiers, howling like demons, but several shells from the howitzers checked their flight and they withdrew beyond reach of the guns. There they made an occasional sally toward the camp but wheeling before coming within reach of the guns. There they would by signs defy the soldiers and do all in their power to draw them out of the camp. Presently Sibley set about forty sharpshooters to crawl up a ravine in the direction of the Indians, and then sent a company of the mounted rangers in pursuit of the Indians. The hostiles fell

back, but when the rangers reached the top of the hill they found the Indians charging towards them, and Captain Oscar Taylor, in command, deeming discretion the better part of valor, beat a hasty retreat. In doing so he passed very near to the ravine where Captain Chase lay with his sharpshooters, and the pursuing Indians dashed down within reach of their guns. Three Indians were killed and several wounded. After dashing about the camp, just out of gun fire for a while, the Indians withdrew and the battle of Buffalo Lake was ended. No attempt was made by the military to pursue and punish them, General Sibley considering his horses too worn to effect much against the fresher ones of the enemy. That evening the Indians made another attack, this time upon a detached party under the escort of a company of cavalry who were out some distance from the camp making hay for the cavalry horses. A sharp skirmish repulsed the Indians, a band of about seventy-five, under Grey Eagle, who with four braves was killed. John Platt of the Minnesota rangers was killed.[526]

The next day the military moved twenty-one miles over to Stony Lake, where the night was spent without incident. After the affairs at Buffalo Lake the Indians had retired toward the Missouri and the march of the 27th was along their trail. On the morning of the 28th camp was broken and the lines for the day's march were forming just west of the lake when the scouts came tearing back, shouting "Indians." Immediate preparation was made for the reception of the enemy, when a force of about 1,600[527] Indians came down upon them, spread out into a line from five to six miles long, and as they came down to gun range they parted at the center and attempted to flank the column both right and left, and get at the baggage train in the rear, but being met by a heavy fire at every point,

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[526]Idem.

[527]II. Minnesota in the Civil and Indian Wars, 310. General Sibley estimates the Indian strength at from 2,200 to 2,500 warriors. Turning Hawk, who was present and participated, says there were but 1,600, which is consistent with the probable numbers in the bands engaged. Sibley appears to have been of the opinion that the Sissetons were present at Dead Buffalo and Stony Lakes, but he learned later that they stayed with the hostiles only so long as compelled to do so to protect their families from slaughter on the afternoon of the battle of Big Mound.

soon withdrew and retired to the Missouri. This affair is called the battle of Stony Lake. It was claimed that ten or fifteen Indians were killed, but the Indians claim to have lost but one man. Two soldiers were slightly wounded. The soldiers followed along the Indian trail and some time after noon reached the Missouri about two miles above the mouth of Apple Creek.[528] The Indians had crossed the river before their arrival and seemed to literally cover the hills on the opposite shore, from which point of vantage they flashed defiance to the soldiers with their small mirrors.[529] They had left some of their wagons and camp plunder on the east shore, which was destroyed. As the men went down to the water the Indians fired upon them from the other shore but were unable to reach them. A few of them had remained on the east side as scouts and succeeded in picking off two or three soldiers who carelessly had gone away from the protection of the camp.[530]

Sibley remained in camp two days waiting for Sully to come up from below, and at night fired rockets and cannon to attract his attention if he was anywhere in the vicinity, but receiving no response withdrew, and returned across Dakota to Minnesota.[531] The Uncpapas returned to their own camps and made their fall hunt in the vicinity of the Black Hills, but Inkpaduta, the moment he was satisfied that Sibley had gone east for good, returned to the east side of the river and again starting in pursuit of the buffalo which had been driven away by the coming of the soldiers, and located them to the southeast, down in the James valley. He had the remnant of the hostiles from Minnesota and the Yanktonais with him, about 950 warriors in all. In the three fights just described Inkpaduta had been the leader. There were about 650 of the Uncpapas and Blackfeet in the two affairs at Buffalo Lake and Stony Lake respectively. The Indians claim their total loss in the three skirmishes were twenty-four braves. The Sissetons joined in

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[528]A. L. Van Osdel, Monthly South Dakotan, October, 1899.

[529]Idem.

[530]Idem.

[531]Sibley to Meline, August 7, 1863.

the defense of their families in the retreat from Big Mound and, as stated, that night went north out of reach of the soldiers and spent the fall and succeeding winter in the rough country north of Devils Lake, near the Canadian line.

CHAPTER XXX

Hostiles Recross the Missouri and Hunt on East Side—Sully Comes Up River Too Late to Join Sibley—Battle of White Stone Hill—Fort Sully Built—Rescue of Mrs. Kelly—Outrages on the Missouri—Campaign of 1864—Sully in Command—Death of Fielner—Sully's Revenge—Fort Rice Built—Battle of Kildeer Mountain—Trip Through Bad Lands—Fisk and His Emigrant Train—Building of Fort Wadsworth—Jack Campbell's Raid—Solomon Two Stars Fights Red Iron's Young Men at Bristol.

Inkpaduta and his hostile camp now felt perfectly secure and proceeded industriously in the hunt to make up for the supplies they had lost at Big Mound, and they met with very satisfactory success and were fast placing themselves in condition to pass a comfortable winter. They were in the country of the Yanktonais and expected to spend the winter at the old home of the Cut Heads on the Elm.[532]

Sully had started up the river in ample time to join Sibley at Bismarck toward the end of July, but he had depended upon bringing his supplies up on steamboats and that season the river was extraordinarily low and he was subjected to many annoying delays, in consequence of which he was almost a month too late. He crossed Sibley's trail and went up almost to Fort Clark when from a captured fugitive Indian he learned of Sibley's exploits and that the hostiles had gone over into the James valley. He therefore turned his column toward the southwest and got onto the trail of the Indians. By September 3d he found by the remains of recently killed buffalo and other "signs" infallible to the frontier guide that the Indian camp was near at hand. The brigade remained in camp while Major A. E. House, in command of four companies of the 6th Iowa, was sent out upon a scout. The detail was under

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[532]Joseph LaFrambois, Wizi and Solomon Twostars.

the guidance of Francois LaFrambois, a well known half Indian character of the Dakota country, a nephew of the older Joseph LaFrambois, the trader.[533]

At noon Major House's party was resting and grazing their horses. when LaFrambois, who had been some miles in advance, came in and reported twenty lodges of Indians five miles to the southeast. Major House at once ordered his men forward and they proceeded upon a sharp gallop. The Indian camp was in the rough country twelve miles west of the present village of Ellendale, Dickey county, North Dakota. Under the direction of LaFrambois, House kept his men upon the low ground and behind the hills out of sight of the Indians, who were camped on a small lake among the rocky hills. Sully with the main force was twelve miles away. House proceeded down a draw toward the lake where the camp was, and turning about a bend in the ravine found himself directly upon the entire force of the enemy, which he thought contained about 5,000 Indians and 2,000 fighting men. This estimate, however, was excessive. As before stated the entire strength of the band was about 950 effective men, but the number of women and children was probably disproportionately large. There may have been 4,500 in all, but it is more probable that this figures is 1,000 too many. The battalion was fairly trapped. Though the Indians were as much surprised as if the military had dropped from the clouds, they immediately prepared for action, and before Major House could turn he discovered that both of his flanks were covered. His men sprang from their saddles to the earth and stood with guns in hand waiting for the order to fire. LaFrambois had been dispatched to summon Sully. The Indians were in position to destroy the battalion almost instantly and would have done so had it not been for the innate deviltry of Inkpaduta. Seeing that but few soldiers were in the detail he instantly resolved to make a great event of the killing. One that would forever resound to his great fame. One that would make his mighty achievment at Spirit Lake tame and colorless. "They are but few," he cried, "let us wait." With the soldiers hemmed in, captive as it appeared to them, and of which the Indians felt assured, the camp set about to prepare for a mighty

[533]Drip's History of 6th Iowa.

carnival. The women began to cook and the warriors to paint themselves, meanwhile the untrained volunteers, standing at their guns but a few yards distant were subjected to all of the jeers and insults, in which the Dakota is so proficient. House, too, was maneuvering for time and his men stood unflinchingly in the presence of death. The warriors on the battle line, unable to obtain the ordinary paints, had daubed their faces and bodies with mud. It was drawing near evening and Inkpaduta was ready for the execution of his captives when Sully appeared upon a hill less than a mile away, approaching at the utmost speed of his cavalry. In the twinkling of an eye the aspect of the camp was changed. Tipis came down like magic and every thought of the Indians was turned toward escape. In an incredibly short time the camp was in full retreat. Sully struck them from the rear and House managed to cut in from the east; the Indians were caught in the ravine. Shouting the death song, the warriors sprang to the attack. It lasted but a moment but that moment was a bloody one. The warriors fell back into the ravine and pandemonium reigned. A nation was hemmed in that narrow space and the hour of extinction seemed at hand. "Get away; get away," came the cry and the warriors with buffalo robes over their heads again dashed out and the cavalry horses were stampeded and in the falling darkness many of the Indians escaped. The fight had lasted for an hour. Twenty-two soldiers were killed and fifty were wounded. Three hundred braves were left dead on the field and 250 women and children were taken prisoners. All of the camp equipage and supplies of the Indians were destroyed, and at the beginning of the winter the survivors of the hostile camp were left destitute.[534] Sully gathered up his captives and carried them down to Crow Creek, where the remnant of the Santees from the Minnesota had been brought during that summer by steamboat from St. Paul, by way of the Missouri, and established on the reservation there and Fort Thompson erected for its protection. The survivors of the hostile camp from White Stone Hill, as the battle of September 3d was called, crossed the Missouri and remained there with their Teton relatives until winter, when they came back to the east side, and with affected innocence

[534]House's report. Sully's report.

approached the forts at Pierre and Crow Creek and eked out a precarious existence through the winter upon rations issued by the military and Indian agent.[536] In the fall Sully built old Fort Sully on the east side of the Missouri six miles below the present city of Pierre. White Lodge, with his band, returned to western Minnesota and succeeded in stealing enough provisions to keep them alive, meanwhile committing several murders. They continued along the frontier all of the next summer, going as far east as the Blue Earth, where they were driven away by the soldiers. After that they went to the British possessions by way of the Red River valley.[537]

During the winter of 1863 the Blackfoot Tetons brought in and delivered up to the soldiers at Fort Sully Mrs. Frances Kelly, who had for several months been a captive among them. Mrs. Kelly, with her husband and little daughter, had the previous summer started from Kansas to emigrate to California. and they were attacked by Indians and Mr. Kelly was severely injured and the child killed. Mrs. Kelly was more kindly treated than was the usual lot of captives. Her husband recovered from his wounds and came to Fort Sully to meet his wife. She still resides at Washington, D. C., and has written a very interesting book detailing her experiences with the Dakotas.

Several outrages were committed upon the Dakota frontier during the spring and summer. In early May, Messrs. Thompson and Jacobson, two farmers of Clay county, encamped near the James River ferry east of Yankton, were attacked at daybreak by Indians and Mr. Jacobson was killed and Mr. Thompson wounded. A few days later Sergeant Trask of the Fourteenth Iowa infantry was killed at Tackett's station at the crossing of Chouteau Creek. In July the family of Henson Wiseman, a soldier of the Second Nebraska, who was up the Missouri with his regiment, was massacred at their home near Helena, Nebraska, by a party of young savages of the bands of White Lodge and Inkpaduta, who spent the summer stealing horses and harassing the settlements all along the frontier.

Another campaign was planned for 1864 somewhat upon

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[536]Governor Edmunds' report and letters.

[537]Sibley to Pope, October 10, 1864. Joseph LaFrambois.

the lines of that of the previous year. Sully was to have command. He passed up the river with a strong battalion and at Swan Lake was joined by another expedition under Colonel Thomas, who came across the northern part of South Dakota from Fort Ridgely. The two battalions proceeded to the upper Missouri and a short distance above the mouth of the Cannonball built a post, which they called Fort Rice.[538]

While proceeding on this trip, at the crossing of the Little Cheyenne in Potter county, South Dakota, a naturalist accompanying the expedition, named Fielner, was killed by two Indians who were ambushed in a clump of bushes near the stream. They were at once pursued by a squad of the Dakota cavalry under Captain Miner, and after a run of fifteen miles were overtaken and killed. General Sully ordered that their heads be mounted upon high poles as a warning to all Indians of the fate that awaited them if they committed murders of white people. This was done by Sergeant English. This occurred on June 26th, and the junction with the second battalion was made on the 30th, and the site of Fort Rice was reached on July 8th.[539]

Nothing that had yet occurred since the beginning of the outbreak had made so powerful an impression upon the Indian mind as this act of barbarity upon the part of General Sully. The Dakotas now came to the conclusion that they were doomed. That nothing short of the total extinction of the race would satisfy the vengeance of the white men, and that their only safety lay in flight to those places which were totally inaccessible to the soldiers. The story of the beheading of the warriors at the Little Cheyenne flew as upon the wings of the wind to every Dakota camp from the Oglalas on the Platte to those in farthest Canada. In hot haste the remnant of the Santees and the Yanktonais bands bundled off to the Bad Lands, where white men, it was said, could not come. They were speedily to learn that they had not yet measured the length of their father's arm when raised in anger. The approach of soldiers on the Missouri sent to them a large contingent of the Tetons of

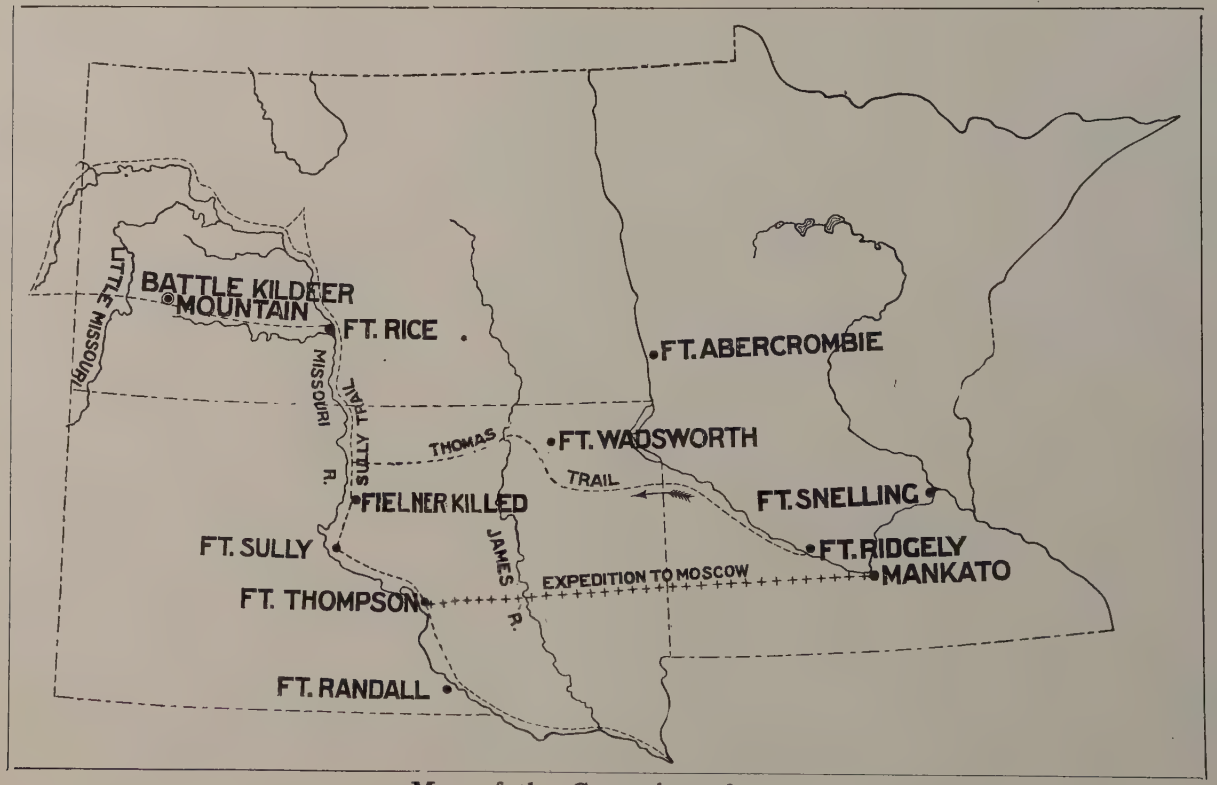
[538]English's History of Dakota Cavalry.
[539]Idem.

the Uncpapas, Sans Arcs, Blackfeet and Minneconjous.[540] These latter tribes were closely followed in their flight by the military. In the aggregate there were 1,600 fighting men among these refugees. When the Santees and Yanktonais were joined by the Tetons they resolved to make a stand and fight the soldiers if they were attacked. Sully had in the field 2,200 men. True to their nature, members of the hostile band constantly prowled about the advancing column of troops, noting their every movement, and at every opportunity picking off stragglers. The progress of the troops was signaled from hilltop to hilltop by the flashing of mirrors in the daytime and by shooting fire arrows in the night.[541] Four companies of the Thirtieth Wisconsin were left at the Missouri River to build Fort Rice, and on the 19th of July Sully started west in pursuit of the savages.[542] His course lay up the Cannonball, across to the Heart and thence to the headwaters of the Knife River, but the heavy baggage and provision train had been left under guard on the Heart River, and the last forty-seven miles was a forced march made in a single day on the 27th of July. Early next morning, just after breaking camp, Francois LaFrambois reported that he had located the hostile camp, but a few miles distant. The following is the official report of General Sully of what ensued after the location of the camp:[543]

"I found the Indians strongly posted on the side of a mountain called Tahakouty Mountain, which is a small chain of very high hills, filled with ravines, thickly timbered and well watered, situated on a branch of the Little Missouri, latitude 47° 15′, as laid down on the government maps. The prairie in front of the camp is very rolling, and on the left high hills. On the top and sides of these hills, and on my right at the base of the mountains, also on the hillocks in front on the prairie, the Indans were posted. There were over 1,600 lodges, at least 5,000 or 6,000 warriors, composed of the Uncpapas, Sans Arcs, Blackfeet, Minneconjous, Santee and Yanktonais Sioux. My force consisted as follows: Eleven companies of the Sixth

[540]Sully, July 31, 1864.
[541]Idem.
[542]English's History of Dakota Cavalry.
[543]Sully, July 31, 1864.

Iowa cavalry, Lieutenant Colonel Pollock commanding; two companies of Dakota cavalry, Captain Miner commanding; three companies of the Seventh Iowa cavalry, Lieutenant Colonel Pattee commanding; four companies of Brackett's Minnesota battalion, Major Brackett commanding; about seventy scouts and a prairie battery of two sections commanded by Captain N. Pope. This formed the first brigade. Ten companies of the Eighth Minnesota, under command of Lieutenant Colonel Rodgers; six companies of the Second Minnesota cavalry, under Colonel McLaren; and two sections of the Third Minnesota battery under Captain Jones formed the Second brigade, under command of Colonel Thomas. The whole of my force numbered on the field about 2,200 men. Finding that it would be impossible to charge owing to the country being filled with ravines filled with timber, I dismounted and deployed six companies of the Sixth Iowa on the right, with three companes on the Seventh Iowa, and on the left six companies of the Eighth Minnesota infantry; placed Pope's battery in the center, supported by two companies of cavalry; the Second cavalry on the left, drawn up by two squadrons, Brackett's Minnesota battalion on the right in the same order, Jones' battery and four companies of cavalry as a reserve. The few wagons I had I closed up and the rear guard, composed of three companies, followed. In this order we advanced, driving the Indians, until we reached the plain between the hills and the mountains. Here large bodies of Indians flanked me. The Second cavalry drove them from the left. A very large body of Indians gathered on my right for a charge. I directed Brackett to charge them. This he did gallantly, driving them in a circle of about three miles to the base of the mountains and beyond my line of skirmishers killing many of them. The Indians seeing his position collected in large numbers upon him but he repelled them, assisted by some well directed shots from Jones' battery. About this time a large body of Indians whom we learned afterwards had been out hunting for me came upon my rear, I brought a piece of Jones' battery to the rear and with the rear guard dispersed them. The Indians seeing that the day would not be favorable to them began taking down their lodges and sending back their families. I swung the left of my line around to the right and



Map of the Campaign of 1864

closed on them, sending Pope with his guns and the Dakota cavalry, two companies forward. The artillery fire soon drove them out of their strong position in the ravines and Jones' battery with Brackett's battalion moving upon the right soon put them to flight, the whole of my line advancing at the same time. By sunset no Indians were upon the ground; a body, however, appeared upon the top of the mountain over which they had retreated. I sent Major Camp, Eighth Minnesota, forward with four companies; they ascended to the top of the hill, putting the Indians to flight and killing several. The total number killed was from 100 to 150. I saw them during the fight carry off a great many dead or wounded. The very strong position they held with the advantages they had to retreat over a broken country prevented me from killing any more. We slept on the battle ground that night."

General Sully's estimate of the strength of the Indians in this engagement is so exaggerated as to be ridiculous and only goes to prove that a band of hostile Indians looks exceedingly large, even to a very brave man, when he sees them in line of battle. Five thousand braves would be very near to the total fighting strength of the entire Sioux nation at any time during the past century. The Indians say there were about 1,600 men among them at the time and that they lost thirty-one in the engagement. They do not count wounded men who recover, so that it is quite likely that their estimate is correct.[544] They were miserably armed and with very little ammunition, which was nearly exhausted before the fight was over. They had lost their hunt the previous year, American trade was closed to them, or practically closed, and they had nothing to take to the British traders upon which to obtain credit. Consequently it was beyond their power to secure suitable arms to engage in a war with the troops. To fight, too, was the last thing they desired. It was their hope to get into a locality where the troops could not follow them. When they did come their best hope was to defend their homes from the aggressors. They say they could have

[544]There are at this time less than 5,800 male Indians and halfbreeds of all tribes in North and South Dakota, including Cheyennes, Mandans and Rees, over 21 years of age. About all of the Sioux are in these states.

done this in the splendid stronghold they had chosen but for the cannon, but that they could not stand against. In their flight they were compelled to leave a large portion of their equipment, which of course was promptly destroyed by the soldiers. All of the leading chiefs of the northern Tetons were there, but the general scheme of the defense was left to Inkpaduta, whom the Indians had come to believe possessed a charmed life.[545]

The next night the Indians again attacked Sully's camp and killed two men. Thence Sully made the passage of the Bad Lands across the Little Missouri to the Yellowstone, being harassed most of the way by the Indians hanging on his flanks, but at no time risking an engagement of any moment, though there was a sharp skirmish at the Little Missouri. The supply boats for the expedition had been ordered to go to the Yellowstone and providentially reached there just as the troops emerged from the Bad Lands.[546] After this the Tetons stole away down toward the Black Hills and the Santees and Yanktonais moved off toward the northeast and scattered along the Canadian line. Sully started to descend the Missouri, but when he reached Bismarck the scouts informed him that Inkpaduta was sixty or seventy miles north of that point at the Dog's Den. A strong party was sent against him but they did not catch him asleep this time and he escaped them, though they found his campfire still burning. A party of the Indians followed the troops upon the return to the river but did not succeed in reaching any of them, except to kill one or two men as they neared Fort Rice.[547]

Colonel Thomas had escorted an emigrant train bound for Idaho, under a certain Captain Fisk, from Minnesota to Fort Rice and they had set out from there for the west at about the time that Sully started for the Bad Lands, going almost directly west. The train consisted of about eighty wagons and was escorted by fifty cavalry. About 200 miles from Fort Rice, Fisk was surrounded by a lot of the Tetons, who were returning from the Bad Lands fight to the Black Hills for the

[545]Solomon Twostars.
[546]English's History of the Dakota Cavalry.
[547]Idem.

fall hunt. He parked his train and sent for assistance. Colonel Dill of the Thirtieth Wisconsin went to the relief of Fisk with 700 men and brought him back to the fort.[548]

During that autumn Fort Wadsworth, afterwards Fort Sisseton, was built on the coteau in northeastern South Dakota, and the friendly Sissetons and Wahpetons who had remained at Camp Release and surrendered to Sibley in the fall of 1862 had been employed as scouts and for the protection of the frontier and were scattered in camps along the coteau from the Sheyenne down to the neighorhood of Lake Kampeska for the purpose of giving information of any hostile parties which might attempt to return to the settlements from the west.[549]

The next year, 1865, another campaign was planned under Sully. This time the purpose was to go to Fort Pierre and thence sweep around by the Black Hills and clean up the Tetons, but getting information that the Santees were coming down out of Canada he went to the upper Missouri but accomplished nothing, and there was no noteworthy military event in his department that year.[550]

In the spring of 1865 Jack Campbell, a notorious half-breed, long a drunken renegade who had taken up quarters with White Lodge, with a party of young Santees managed to elude the frontier guards and got down to Mankato where they massacred the Jewett family. Jack was secured and hanged but the Indians accompanying him escaped and were making their way to the wilds of the west when they came upon a scouting camp presided over by Solomon Twostars, located on the western slope of the coteau where Bristol, South Dakota, now stands. There were eleven men among the scouts and sixteen of the hostiles. Solomon had been charged to take no prisoners. In the fight that ensued upon the meeting, fifteen of the hostiles were killed and the sixteenth chased to near Fort Wadsworth, where he was taken by the soldiers. Among the hostiles Solomon found the son of his own sister, but believing that under his orders he had no discretion, he shot his nephew down with the others.[551]

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[548]Idem.

[549]Sam Brown's story.

[550]No engagements were fought on this campaign.

[551]Story of Solomon Twostars, Monthly South Dakotan, November, 1900.

CHAPTER XXXI

Governor Edmunds Treats for Peace—General Sibley a Providence—Men Developed by the War—Sketch of Little Crow—Something of Inkpaduta—The Strongest Man Developed by the Crisis—A Great Soldier but a Very Bad Man—Other Leading Men—John and Paul—Standing Buffalo—Sam Brown and His Wonderful Ride.

From the organization of the territory, Dakota had been a separate Indian superintendency over which the governor was ex officio superintendent. Newton Edmunds became governor and superintendent in 1863 and early in his examination of the situation he arrived at the conclusion that it was judicious superintendence and not soldiers, which were required to restore peace and effect the safety of the frontier, but the military arm of the government would not listen to his voice and arbitrarily forbade him to enter the Indian country, or to attempt any negotiations with the hostiles except through the army.[552] For two years Governor Edmunds fretted and chafed under this restriction, thoroughly convinced that with a free hand he could end the hostility almost instantly, and finally, in the end of the winter of 1865, he carried his grievance to President Lincoln, in person. The president listened with patience and interest while the governor detailed his plan and then gave him a note to the chairman of the committee on Indian affairs requesting that he add to the pending appropriation bill for Indian affairs a clause, providing an appropriation of $30,000 to defray the expense of negotiating peace treaties with all of the Dakota tribes. The session was about to close, but the desired provision was made and a commission composed of Newton Edmunds, Edward B. Taylor, S. R. Curtis, Henry H. Sibley and Orrin Guernsey was appointed to negotiate the

[552]Dr. Joseph Ward's sketch of the life of Governor Newton Edmunds, Monthly South Dakotan, June, 1898.

treaty.[553] In high hopes Governor Edmunds returned to Dakota and proceeded to call his commissioners together for the purpose of taking up the work for which they were appointed when to his chagrin he was forbidden by the war department to attempt any negotiations with the Indians or to enter their country without the consent of the war department.[554] Before anything could be done the death of the president occurred and it was fall before the matter could be straightened out. Finally, in October, the matter having been arranged, the commission met all of the representatives of the bands, except the Santees and Yanktons, at Pierre, that is at old Fort Sully, six miles below the present capital. Several thousand Indians were assembled there and all expressed a desire to enter into new treaties of peace with the government, but there was a difference of opinion about the terms of the treaty, which later led to the Red Cloud wars. This matter will be treated in its proper connection. Each band signed separate treaties, which were made by the Yanktonais, of the upper and lower bands; the Uncpapas, Blackfeet, Minneconjous, Sans Arcs, Two Kettles, Lower Brules and Oglalas. The several treaties were essentially the same. They provided for a lasting peace between the signatories. That all trouble between themselves and other tribes should be submitted to the arbitrament of the president. That they would not only keep peace with the United States themselves, but that they would if necessary "use physical force to compel other tribes from making war," which in effect bound the Indians to keep the peace if they had to go to war to do it. The treaty provided further that the tribes should permit the establishment of roads across their lands in consideration of which the government agreed to pay small annuities. The Lower Brules agreed to accept a definite reservation to extend ten miles back from the Missouri and from Old Fort Lookout to White River, and the government promised to provide them with $25 per year per lodge in stock, implements and general improvement, About the same sum per lodge was pledged to

[553] Governor Edmunds' annual message to the legislature of Dakota Territory, 1865.

[554] Idem. Letter of Moses K. Armstrong, written from Fort Sully, May, 1866.

each lodge of the other bands who would settle down to farming.

These treaties were generally signed by a goodly number of representative chiefs and headmen except the Oglalas, of whom but two could be induced to sign. Big Head and Drifting Goose were among the fifteen signers of the Upper Yanktonais convention. Bone Necklace and Fast Walker are recognized among the sixteen signers for the Lower Yanktonais; Bear's Rib and Running Antelope along with a dozen others, signed for the Uncpapas; Fireheart and thirteen stood for the Blackfeet. No well known man is recognized among the nine who signed for the Sans Arcs nor among the fourteen Minneconjous. Hump and Four Bears are well known Two Kettle signatories, of which there are twenty-two. Iron Medicine and Medicine Bull were of the fifteen Brules who signed. Long Bull and Charging Bear alone signed for the great Oglala band, which is indicative of the feeling in that section.[555] Though the treaties were not ratified and proclaimed until the 17th of March, 1866, the war of the Outbreak was essentially over from the time of the signing in October, 1865.

That war which had so destructive an influence upon the people who precipitated it was brought about primarily by the ambition of one of the shrewdest and most unscrupulous Indians who has come in contact with the white men upon the western frontier, Little Crow, though his schemes were made possible by the failure of the government to carefully observe the spirit of its treaty obligations, and to the civil war which made the Dakotas think the government too weak to avenge their terrible conduct. The action of the government after the outbreak began was as prompt and vigorous as could have been expected in view of the great demands upon it at that awful juncture. General Sibley, upon whom that earliest

[555]In August, 1894, the writer visited Governor Edmunds at his home in Yankton and went over all of the matters pertaining to the treaty councils in which the governor had taken part. At that time Mr. Edmunds was in the prime of intellectual vigor, and he vividly and with care in detail, related the salient points involved in all of the treaties and told many stories and anecdotes of the leading Indians with whom he had officially come in contact. The notes upon that interview are in my possession.

campaign fell, conducted it with a success which under all of the disadvantages under which he acted is the highest eulogy which may be paid to any soldier. His long association with the Indians and knowledge of their character and methods served all interests splendidly. His whole conduct in the premises was exactly what might have been expected from a conservative business man and experienced frontiersman. His caution, which has been condemned, was one of his greatest virtues in that emergency and undoubtedly saved his forces from disaster and the lives of the helpless captives from sacrifice. The families of the captives and the people of the northwest may ever be thankful that in that emergency the situation of the general government was such that it was impossible to at once throw into that campaign a fully equipped and provisioned column of the regular army, under a trained military commander. The very difficulties of the situation, which left Sibley without cavalry or provisions, necessitating delay and slow movement, was the salvation of the captives and the success of the campaign. At the most critical juncture in the history of the northwest Henry Hastings Sibley was a special providence.[556]

The continuation of the war after the rescue at Camp Release was due to no military necessity but simply to the terrible resentment against the Dakotas which had been engendered in the minds of the people of Minnesota in particular and of the northwest generally by the awful outrages perpetrated upon the Minnesota. But for this sentiment of hostility and revenge on the part of the whites the whole difficulty could have been readily and inexpensively settled at once and without an army.

As every crisis in the history of a people must do, so this event in the affairs of the Dakotas brought several men into the prominence of leadership and before proceeding with the story it is well to stop and measure up the men who were thus emphasized above their fellows. In the first instance it was emphatically Little Crow's war. He was the fourth Little Crow known to history in the direct line of succession,

[556]See Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson's note, 56, on the life of General Sibley, 1 S. D. Dr. Robinson also very thoroughly and correctly analyses the work of General Sully in note 50. I have nothing to add to either sketch.

his great grandfather, from whom so far as known the name originated, was chief of the Kaposians and came into prominence through service in the Pontiac wars and the Revolution. He was succeeded by his son Chatanwakoowamani (Who Walks, Pursuing a Hawk). This is the Little Crow whom Pike met and made head chief of the Mississippi tribes and who afterwards was prominent as an English ally in the war of 1812. He was succeeded sometime before 1830 by his son Wamde-tanka (Big Eagle), who was the father of Tayoatidoota, the Little Crow of this sketch.[567] From his boyhood Little Crow was an outlaw, disreputable in his habits, untruthful and deemed irresponsible and unsafe even by his own people. So bad, indeed, did he stand, that it was the intention of his father to disinherit him and confer the chieftainship upon a younger brother, but that brother was killed by the Chippewas in 1842 and in consequence when his father was called suddenly to die, from the effects of an accidental gunshot wound, he left the chieftainship to this son with great misgivings and reluctance, and with many admonitions for his reformation and advice for his future conduct of the office. He continued, as he came into power, adroit, treacherous, cruel, diplomatic, eloquent, disreputable. Untrusted by the white men who knew him intimately; feared and followed by the Indians who had no affection for him. He was regarded by all of the better Indians as an unsafe and ambitious counselor, even within his own band and the neighboring bands held him in real aversion. So bad did the Indians consider his counsel that they deposed him from the chieftainship, and it was to avenge this humiliation which his neighbors had put upon him that he railroaded them into a war, against the better judgment and earnest protest of almost all of the men who had arrived at years of discretion, but having with the political finesse of which he was master gotten the impetuous and reckless young men to his way of thinking the sane older men, not free from the traditions and customs which from time immemorial had held their people in thralldom, were unable to stand out against the demands of the warriors and so were carried into the war which from the beginning they

[567]Dr. S. R. Riggs' Protestant Missions in Minnesota, 6 Minn., 137. The Conquest, 413.

felt must end in disaster to their people.[558] It must be conceded that with Indians as with white men, fame and success are generally synonymous, and had success crowned Little Crow's outbreak there is no doubt that they would have looked upon him with far different eyes, but with his career ending as it did in his complete discomfiture, and resulting in great loss and hardship to his people, his memory is held in almost universal detestation among his own race.

In his early years Little Crow married two Wakpekute women of Shakopee's band, but after the first had borne him a son and the second a son and a daughter, he became enamoured of the daughters of Running Walker, the chief of a band of Wahpetons, and putting away the first two wives, successively and successfully married four of the Running Walker sisters, the first of whom bore him seven children, but one of whom, Wowinapa, lived, the second gave him four children, the third was the mother of five, and the last of three. Of this numerous family not more than seven children were living at the time of the outbreak. He took all of his four wives and children with him when he decamped from Camp Release and left them at St. Joseph's when he returned to Minnesota upon his fatal trip in 1863.[559]

The Indian who more than any other developed great generalship in this war was Inkpaduta, the villainous Wakpekute renegade, of whom no single noble trait of character is recorded. This conscienceless Ishmael, whose hand was against every man, white and Indian alike, has been so constantly in evidence in these pages that most of his known life has been recorded, but it may be satisfactory to assemble here in a single paragraph the facts upon which his evil fame is founded.

Inkpaduta was the son of Wamdesapa, a Wakpekute chief of violent temper and bad character, who owing to differences with his tribe due to the Sac and Fox wars following the boundary treaty of 1825, seceded from the tribe in 1828 and took

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[558]The story of Big Eagle, 6 Minnesota, 382.

[559]The story of Wowinapa, History of Minnesota Valley, 256. Testimony of Solomon Twostars, Sisseton claims, 84. Relation of Solomon to the writer, 1900.

up his home on the Vermillion of South Dakota.[560] In the troubles growing out of the tribal division Wamdesapa, in a fit of anger, killed Tasagi, the principal chief of the Wakpekutes, and after that the murderer was not longer esteemed a Wakpekute by the people of his own blood.[561] He was married to a woman of the Lower Sissetons and Inkpaduta was born about 1815, while his family were camping upon the Watonwan River.[562] He inherited his father's fiendish temper and cruel instincts, which were not at all modified by his training, and when he succeeded as chief of the outlaw band, upon the death of Wamdesapa about 1848, he was a post graduate in savage deviltry. His first official exploit as chief of his band which has been preserved to us was the massacre of Wamundeyakapi, the dashing and decent young chief of the Wakpekutes, together with seventeen of his warriors, as they slept in their hunting camp on the headwaters of the Des Moines, not far from Bear Lakes, in Murray county, Minnesota. Inkpaduta crept into the camp of Wamundeyakapi and stabbed the men to death without arousing them, until his work was almost completed, and then escaped without the loss of a man. This was in 1849, during the first year of his chieftainship.[563] He was not summoned to the council of Traverse des Sioux in 1851, nor consulted in the matter of the disposal of the lands in Minnesota, his tribe considering that he had by his conduct forfeited all claim upon them. He looked upon the situation otherwise and when the time for the first payment came he was on hand to claim a share. The agent did not recognize him but Inkpaduta compelled the Indians to pay tribute to him in goods and money and he really got as much in value as the regular annuity Indians.[564] He appeared at each annual payment to 1856 and bulldozed the Indians into sharing with him. Before the next payment he indulged in the awful massacres at Spirit Lake and Springfield, which put an end to his open appearance at the agencies. In those massacres forty-two white persons first and last lost their lives. During all

[560]Solomon Twostars and John B. Renville, 1901.
[561]Idem. Flandrau's Minnesota, 370.
[562]Rev. John B. Renville. Byron E. Pay.
[563]Joseph LaFrambois, 1900. John B. Renville, 1901.
[564]Flandrau's Minnesota. Joseph LaFrambois, Solomon Twostars.

of this period his band was a refuge and a shelter for the renegade Indians of all the bands. When an Indian had rendered himself obnoxious to the whites or to his tribe so that life was unsafe on the frontier he knew that a welcome ever awaited him in the lodges of the desperado.[565] For a long period his principal camp had been at the lakes near Madison, but after the Spirit Lake massacre he made his headquarters further back and was chiefly with the Yanktonais; indeed for the remainder of his long career he was intimately associated with the "Little Yanktons." He remained chiefly on the James until 1862, occasionally slipping down to communicate with the Santees until the outbreak. It is claimed, but not perfectly established, that Little Crow sent for him some weeks prior to the outbreak and that he remained near the settlements and in frequent communication with Little Crow until hostilities began.[566] It is only certainly known that about the 1st of August Agent Galbraith obtained information that he was encamped on the Yellow Medicine some miles back of the agency and that he sent a detachment under Lieutenant Sheean after him. Sheean made a fruitless scout as far as Lake Benton, but it is pretty certain that the soldiers traveled further than Inkpaduta did, and that instead of fleeing before the military to the wilds of South Dakota, the wily red skulked about near to the Lower agency during the two weeks prior to the outbreak and that when it began his hands were among the bloodiest. From that time forward, during the war of the outbreak his ubiquity was amazing. He was everywhere from the Canadian line and the Bad Lands down to Nebraska and central Minnesota and wherever he appeared, murder and theft marked his trail, yet while carrying on this guerilla work he was the leader in every battle fought with the white troops after Wood Lake, and it is not at all certain that he was not active in that battle and the previous engagements along the Minnesota. He was at the affair at Fort Abercrombie in the very week of the battle of Wood Lake; he met Captain Miner at Sioux Falls in November; he stole horses and picked off an occasional man along the Minnesota frontier during the winter.

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[565] Idem.

[566] Joseph LaFrambois.

In May he murdered Mr. Henry Basche near New Ulm, though but two weeks earlier he had murdered Mr. Jacobson at the James River ferry near Yankton. In July he massacred the Wiseman family in Nebraska and had retired to the buffalo country to make his winter's meat just in time to be present and lead the hostiles in the battles at Big Mound, Dead Buffalo and Stony Lake the latter part of July. He was with the Yanktonais at the time and by common consent the leadership fell to him. This was probably the first time that the management of a large number of Indians in battle with the soldiers had been entrusted to him and the superb manner in which he covered that retreat, which was precipitated without a moment's notice, and without any opportunity to plan a line of action, yet which resulted in bringing off their women and children in safety and with the loss of but few men, marked him at once as a soldier of high executive ability, and won for him the admiration of the Indians who thereafter were glad to fight under his leadership. The affairs at Buffalo Lake and Stony Lake were no more than shows of forces, but his success in diverting Sibley from an attack while they were crossing the women and children over the Missouri still further advanced him in the admiration of the Indians as a war chief. At the battle of Whitestone Hill, a month later, he made the mistake of letting his vanity get the better of his soldierly instincts and put off the attack upon House, after he had him in his power, in order to make a carnival of the massacre, and so waited until Sully arrived with re-enforcements, but the manner in which he got more than 2,000 women and children out of the ravine in which they were entrapped, and spirited them away to safety, was a marvelous piece of management. In the early summer of 1864 he was down to the settlements on a horse-stealing expedition when the mounting of the heads of the men who massacred Fielner, at the little Cheyenne, set all of the tribes aflame, and the Yanktonais sent runners to summon him back.[567] He arrived in the west in time to conduct the allied tribes back to the edge of the Bad Lands and

[567]The Hawk, a Yanktonais residing at Crow Creek, told this writer that he was sent down to the Minnesota River to find Inkpaduta. I met him at Blunt in the autumn of 1902.

establish them in the camp on the side of the mountain, where they were attacked and driven out by Sully in the battle of Killdeer Mountain on the 28th of July. He led in the running fights in the Bad Lands but as stated he was practically without arms. After that he went into Canada, but made frequent excursions along the frontier and wherever an outrage was committed the tracks of the bloody-handed chief might have been found nearby. After the close of the war of the outbreak, he remained along the Canadian border until the Red Cloud wars came on when he joined in them and after the treaty of 1868 joined the recalcitrants who with Crazy Horse, Sitting Bull and Black Moon roamed through the Montana country, and as we shall learn he took an active part in the war of 1876. After that he went into Canada, where he died about 1879.[568]

It was only as a war chief that he won a place in the admiration of the Indians. In civil life they would have none of him. Except where bloodshedding was the business in hand, they knew by sore experience he was not to be trusted. During all of the time that he was in command of the Indian forces the white men did not realize that he was even present and in all of the writing, there is not a line that gives him credit for any part in those battles. Everything considered, he must be accorded a high place as a military leader. There

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[568]In taking Indian opinion of both Inkpaduta and Little Crow it must constantly be bourne in mind that all of the bands of the Dakotas who took part in the war of the outbreak or who were in anywise concerned in it now desire to relieve themselves of responsibility for it and in consequence are constantly upon the lookout for a scapegoat upon whom to load the weighty burden. Consequently Little Crow, who precipitated the trouble, and Inkpaduta, who was well known to be a freebooter, readily came in for the greater share of the blame. It is natural and easy for the Dakotas to blame Little Crow for the beginning of all the trouble, and to explain all of the border ruffianism, horse stealing and massacres by attributing them to Inkpaduta. It is not impossible that he is unjustly charged with some of it, but such men as Joseph LaFrambois and John B. Renville, who were proven loyal all the way through and therefore had no occasion to look for scapegoats, were firm in the belief, for which they gave good reasons, that either Inkpaduta personally or his young men, acting under his initiative, were responsible for all of the offenses herein enumerated.

is little of record and little which the living Indians know of him which indicates much of his mental endowments. He appears never to have resorted to diplomacy to carry a point but invariably depended upon brutal force. If there is one exception to this, it was in the negotiation for the release of Mrs. Marble. Greyfoot, the rescuer, relates that he craftily argued that the taking back of one captive would be sufficient to convince the white men that the annuity Indians had acted in good faith. It is scarcely probable from all of his conduct that he was other than he seemed, a terrible monster.

John Otherday, Paul Mazakutemane, Gabriel Renville, Struck by the Ree and other Indians who distinguished themselves in the war of the outbreak are treated at length in the first volume of the collections of this society.[569]

Standing Buffalo, a chief of the Sissetons, has usually been credited with the leadership in the battle of Big Mound, but this is a mistake. As indicated in the text, Standing Buffalo did no more than was necessary to protect the women and children from the unexpected attack upon the camp, by the white men. No opportunity was given for explanations. When the fatal shot was fired by the young Inkpadutan, which killed Dr. Weiser, the attack began upon all Indians alike, without discriminating between the hostiles and friendlies; indeed it was presumed that all were hostile. The Indians, taken utterly by surprise, dashed away before the enraged soldiers. Their tipis were standing and the children were playing about. The warriors were compelled to find a means to hold the soldiers in check until the women could strike the tipis, gather up the utensils and clothing and get away. The Sissetons, under Standing Buffalo, did all that they could to assist in this and when the chase was over and the soldiers returned to camp, quietly withdrew and passed north toward Canada. There Standing Buffalo was killed by a party of Crows in 1866. It was after the Sissetons had begun to return to the states at the conclusion of the peace. In his testimony in support of the Sisseton claims, Little Fish, chief of the Devils Lake band of Sisseton tells the pathetic story: "The last time I had a talk with him he told me to try and see the white people and not

[569]See Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson's notes, 31, 32, 37 and 57, 1 S. D.

be afraid to see them, and if I did see any white people to tell them that his wives and children, father and mother and most of his relatives had died of smallpox and that he was now living near to where they were buried; that he intended to come himself to the white people but **he wanted to stay a little longer with his dead.** Then I parted with him and the next news that I heard from him he was dead."[570]

Most, if not all of the Sissetons and Wahpetons who remained in Minnesota after the battle of Wood Lake volunteered under General Sibley as scouts during the ensuing war. Gabriel Renville and Sam J. Brown were chiefs of scouts and all of them did satisfactory work. Sam J. Brown, is a half Sisseton son of Major Joseph R. Brown the well known trader and Indian agent. He was born not far from the present village of Sisseton, March 7, 1844. His mother was of good Indian family, a descendant of Redwing's. When the massacre came the Browns lived on the east side of the Minnesota, about seven miles below the Upper agency, in a good stone house. Major Brown himself was absent in the east at the time but the entire family were taken prisoners by a party of Little Six's men and held captive until the delivery at Camp Release. In the spring of 1866, while acting as inspector of scouts, Young Brown was stationed at Fort Wadsworth, when he was informed that a party of hostiles was passing down from the west toward the settlements. It was his business to keep the scouting camps, strung along at frequent intervals from about the line of the Northern Pacific railway down to the central portion of South Dakota, on the qui vive, and when this information came to him, he wrote a note telling the fact to Lieutenant Cochrane, in command at Fort Abercrombie, which note was to be dispatched to Abercrombie the following morning. He then mounted his pony, and at sunset on the 19th of April, 1866, set out from Fort Wadsworth to ride to a scouting station on the Elm River, fifty-five miles distant. He reached the point on the Elm near midnight, to be informed that the peace treaty had been ratified and that the Indians which he had believed to be hostiles were runners which Major Brown had dispatched with news of the peace and to invite the Indians who were in

[570]Testimony in Sisseton claims, 199.

hiding in Canada and elsewhere to come in to Fort Rice and meet Governor Edmunds' commission, which was expected to be up the river in May. Fearing that if the message to Lieutenant Cochrane was delivered it would cause great and unnecessary uneasiness along the frontier settlements, Young Brown determined to at once return to Wadsworth and secure the message before it was transmitted, and changing ponies he immediately set out upon the return trip. When well out upon the James River flats, a desperate spring blizzard set in, but pushing on he was driven from his course and at the first light of dawn he discovered he was down near the Waubay Lakes, and turning in the teeth of the storm forced his weary, but game little pony against it and at 8 o'clock in the morning landed at the fort, exhausted and paralyzed. He had rode 150 miles in little more than twelve hours. He has never recovered from the effects, being paralyzed in the legs. He still resides at Browns Valley, Minnesota.[571]

[571] Mr. Brown has written a most graphic story of the experiences of himself and his relatives as prisoners in Little Crow's camp and of his subsequent experience as a scout, which is published as senate document 23, 2d session of the Fifty-sixth congress. It is also a part of the record in the Sisseton claims, court of claims, No. 22524.

CHAPTER XXXII

Bad Conditions on the California Trail—Spotted Tail Mischievous—Open War on the Platte—Building Montana Road—Red Cloud Comes Into Prominence—Holds Colonel Sawyer's Party in Siege—Refuses to Permit Roads Built—Red Cloud Meets Treaty Commissioners—Refuses to Treat—Spotted Tail Signs and Remains Faithful—Red Cloud on the War Path.

After the terrible punishment which Harney administered to Little Thunder and his band of Brules at the Blue Water in the autumn of 1855, and the terror which that campaign carried to all of the Teton bands, the rigor with which he handled them in the treaty making enterprises of 1856, and the establishment of Fort Randall that year, induced good behavior on the part of the Brules and the Oglalas until towards the time of the Minnesota outbreak, in 1862. This excited all of the Indians to a fresh uprising, but did not especially affect the western Tetons until the autumn of 1863. At that time they renewed their outrages upon the great overland routes between the Missouri River and the Pacific coast. Frequent attacks were perpetrated upon immigrants, stage passengers and telegraph operators that fall, but the authorities did not appreciate the magnitude of the movement from the Indian point of view, believing them to be acts of irresponsible bands maddened by liquor, not infrequently sold to them by outside traders, and that the tribes would eventually punish these outlaws and maintain their former relations of amity and good will toward the government and the people, but this hope proved groundless. Emboldened by exemption from the swift and certain punishment which should always follow such acts of wanton cruelty and lawlessness, and believing, no doubt, that the general government, by reason of the continuance of a great and formidable rebellion and civil war, would be unable to chastise them for their crimes, these outrages rapidly multiplied, and finally cul-

minated in open war. The atrocities perpetrated by the Brules and Oglalas upon the lives and property of unoffending and defenseless emigrants during the autumn of 1863 and in 1864 and 1865, will perhaps never be fully known or appreciated. They were numerous and shockingly revolting in their details, men, women and children falling alike victims to their cruelty. Wagon trains and ranches were burned, stage stations and telegraph offices robbed and destroyed, and private dwellings laid waste for hundreds of miles on all the various lines of travel from the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains. The overland stage line and the Pacific telegraph enjoyed no exemption from their outrages, and during a large proportion of the time it was impossible either to run the one or to operate the other. Large bodies of troops were dispatched to the scene of disaster under the command of officers of acknowledged ability and experience, but the Indians successfully eluded their pursuers, concealing themselves in canyons by day, and perpetrating fresh atrocities by night."[572]

These marauding parties were led chiefly by Spotted Tail, who was considered by the whites as responsible for the bad conditions at this period. The Oglalas, in the main, resided west of the Black Hills and did not participate in these troubles. Being little disturbed in their rich buffalo ranges, they had no such occasion to make trouble for the whites. The Oglalas at this period were subject to Mischief Maker as head chief, recognized by General Harney, and ten sub-chiefs, Harney-made,[573] one of whom was Red Cloud, who by 1865 had come to be considered, by the Indians themselves, as leading chief of the nation.[574]

The development of the gold mines in Idaho and Montana led to a demand for better roads from the states into these sections and by the 1st of March, 1865, congress passed a bill providing for a road connecting with the California trail near Fort Laramie and thence to proceed diagonally across the country west of the Black Hills, through the headwaters of the

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[572]Report of Edward D. Taylor, superintendent of Indian affairs for northern superintendency, Omaha, Neb., to the commissioner of Indian affairs. See report for 1865, p. 398.

[573]Minutes of Harney's council at Fort Pierre, 1866.

[574]Report of Colonel Maynadier, January 25, 1866. Indian, 1866, p. 205.

Tongue, Powder and Big Horn Rivers, skirting the Big Horn Mountains to Bozeman, in Montana. This line would provide a direct route from the central states, but the northern states of Wisconsin and Minnesota desiring to share in the business, it was proposed to build another road over practically the line of the present Dakota Central railroad, thence up the Cheyenne and westward until it intersected the Laramie and Bozeman trail. Each of these new roads, it will be observed, would run directly through the great buffalo ranges of the Tetons.[575]

Early in the spring of 1865, Colonel Sawyer of Sioux City was designated to survey and open the Laramie-Bozeman trail, which soon came to be known as the Montana road. Lieutenant John R. Wood, with a detachment of twenty-five men of B Company of Dakota cavalry, was detailed to protect him upon the expedition. He was also accompanied by some traders who were going into the mountain region, among whom was Nat Hedges of Sioux City.[576] Sawyer, with commendable activity, proceeded to work, and soon was on the stretch northwest of Laramie. The general rendezvous of the Oglalas was at Fort Laramie, where their agent resided and where their annuities were paid. When Sawyer entered the buffalo country northwest of Laramie, Red Cloud at once perceived the danger of disturbance to the buffalo upon which the tribe depended for the greater part of its subsistence, and he started out to overtake Sawyer and protest against his entering the country. This he did, but, of course, effected nothing thereby. It was Sawyer's business to build a road and he had no discretion in the matter, and probably no comprehension of the argument advanced by the Indians.[577]

Failing in argument to impress his point, Red Cloud resolved upon trying moral suasion. He gathered up a large body of Oglalas and Cheyennes, and again overtaking Sawyer's party at the Powder River, he surrounded it and held it in siege for

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[575]Act of March 1, 1865.

[576]Report of Colonel Sawyer, 1866. Relation of Lieutenant John R. Wood at Elk Point, S. D., to the writer verified by the recollections of Uriah Wood, of the same place, and of George Mathison, of Fort Pierre, who accompanied the expedition. See also A. M. English's History of the Dakota Cavalry, Monthly South Dakotan for May, 1901.

[577]Idem.

fifteen days. No force was used; the intention being by a show of force to bluff the road makers out of their country. The Indians, after two weeks, raised the siege, but continued to make demonstrations to intimidate, but were careful to do no real damage. However, the feeling of hostility was growing and Red Cloud began to realize that it would be impossible to much longer restrain his young men. Young Hedges strolled too far away from the main force and was killed by an irresponsible young Cheyenne. After this Red Cloud withdrew his Indians and the expedition moved on to Tongue River, where he again centered his forces and held the company in siege for three days and then withdrew.[578] He had failed in his purpose to stop the road building without resorting to bloodshed. He allowed Sawyer to go on and his escort was allowed to return through the Oglala country without molestation, but Red Cloud resolved that the road should be abandoned at every cost.[579]

About that time all of the Indians were summoned to send their delegates to Fort Sully to meet the Edmunds' commission in October, 1865. Neither Red Cloud nor Spotted Tail could be induced to attend this council or permit their bands to be represented, but sent word that any attempt to build roads through their country, or locate forts therein, would be resisted with the whole strength of the tribe. Failing to bring the hostile Brules and Oglalas into council with the Edmunds' commission, the government resolved to make a new attempt in that direction and immediately sent out new runners, inviting them to a council to be held at Fort Laramie the next summer. These runners did not get into communication with the hostiles for some months, but finally located them and secured promises from them to come in. The council was called for the 30th of June.[580]

Spotted Tail, who prior to 1863 had been on very friendly terms with the whites, familiarly intimate with the officers at Fort Laramie, in March sent in a runner asking permission to bring in the remains of his daughter and bury her at the fort

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[578]Idem.

[579]Governor Newton Edmunds' recollections of the treatymaking days, related to the writer August 20, 1894.

[580]Colonel Maynadier's report, January 25, 1866.

according to the custom of the whites. This request was granted and as he approached the fort Colonel Maynadier, in command of Fort Laramie, went out with his staff to meet him, and brought him in, showing him every courtesy and honor, and the girl was given an impressive funeral and burial. In his funeral address Spotted Tail, though saying that his heart was bursting with grief and that he could not talk of business at that time, took occasion to say that it was his desire to live in peace with the whites, but, "We think we have been much wronged and are entitled to compensation for the damage and distress caused by making so many roads through our country, and driving off and destroying the buffalo and game." In his report of March 9, 1866, Colonel Maynadier says, "It satisfies me of the entire trustiness of Spotted Tail, who is always with Red Cloud, and they two rule the nation."[581]

After the summons to this treaty council, all of the Dakotas ceased their hostilities and began to assemble about Fort Laramie. From January to July there was entire peace in the Dakota country. On the 1st of June, in pursuance of previous arrangement, the treaty commission assembled at Fort Laramie. It was constituted as follows: E. B. Taylor, superintendent of Indian affairs for the northern superintendency at Omaha, president; Colonel Henry E. Maynadier, Colonel R. N. McLaren, of Minnesota, and Thomas Wistar, of Philadelphia. Charles E. Bowles, of the Indian department was secretary and Frank Lehmer of Omaha assistant secretary.[582]

Two thousand of the Brules and Oglalas were in attendance and the principal chiefs were delegated to represent the bands in the council. The main object sought to be accomplished by the commission was, of course, in addition to the general negotiation for peace, the opening of the new road from Fort Laramie to Montana by way of Bridger's ferry and the head waters of the Powder, Tongue and Big Horn Rivers.[583] This region of country was the most highly prized by the Indians who occupied it, as it abounded in buffalo, antelope and deer. Those of them who did not reside in the region willingly signed the

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[581]Colonel Maynadier's report for March 9, 1866.

[582]Indian, 1866, p. 211.

[583]Indian, 1867, p. 269.

treaty granting a right of way, probably upon the theory that they were willing to sacrifice their relatives for the good of the country, but those who did reside in that region absolutely refused to allow a road to be made or a military post to be established. While they were negotiating this treaty at Laramie, the commissioners and chiefs being assembled in council under a bower prepared for the purpose, Colonel Henry B. Carrington, of the Eighteenth United States infantry, arrived at Fort Laramie with a force of about 700 men, with instructions from military headquarters to establish and occupy military posts on the proposed route to Montana.[584]

When Red Cloud, The Man Afraid of His Horses and other principal chiefs of the bands occupying the Powder River country, learned that it was the determination of the government to establish military posts in their country, whether the Indians consented or not, they at once withdrew from the council, and, with their followers, returned to their country and commenced a vigorous war upon all who came into it or traveled the proposed route to Montana. A small portion only of the Indians who were represented at the Laramie treaty remained true and peaceful.[585] Some Oglalas under Big Mouth remained in the vicinity of Laramie and about 1,200 Brules and Oglalas under the chiefs Spotted Tail and Swift Bear went to the headwaters of the Republican River south of the Platte. This they did at the request of Colonel Maynadier, who represented to them that by so doing they could be held harmless from any suspicion of being connected with the hostiles.[586] It is estimated that the Indians occupying the country north of Laramie from the 1st day of July, 1866, to the 21st of December, 1866, killed ninety-one enlisted men and five officers of the army, killed fifty-eight citizens and wounded twenty more, besides capturing and driving away large numbers of horses, mules and cattle.[587]

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[584]Idem.
[585]Idem.
[586]Idem.
[587]Idem.

CHAPTER XXXIII

Carrington Moves Out to Protect Montana Trail—Red Cloud Camps on His Trail—Unable to Remove Fort Reno—Phil Kearney Built—Red Cloud Constantly Harasses the Soldiers—Daily Skirmishes—Attacks Upon the Wood Trains—Fetterman's Charge and Annihilation—Awful Peril of Fort Phil Kearney—Fetterman Disobeyed Orders.

In furtherance of the plan of the government to perfect and protect the Montana road, General Carrington was instructed to proceed from Fort Laramie northwest to Fort Reno on the Powder River, to dismantle that post and move it forty miles further west, re-erect and garrison it, and with the remainder of his force to go on to a point between Powder River and the Big Horn Mountains, and there establish a new post which would command the valley of the Powder River. He was also to erect two other posts, one on the Big Horn and one at the crossing of the Yellowstone.[588] No one in either the civil or the military arm had any conception of the magnitude of the undertaking. To do this he was given about 700 men of the Twenty-seventh regular infantry, only 200 of whom were veteran soldiers, the remainder being raw recruits.[589] General Carrington was officially designated as commander of the mountain district. He had four pieces of artillery, 226 wagons and a few ambulances. His men were armed with old-fashioned Springfield muzzel-loading muskets, except a few who had the new Spencer breach-loading carbine. A portion of the command was mounted from discarded horses of the cavalry regiment, which was met at Fort Laramie.[590] Pains had been taken in recruiting to obtain a complete outfit of artificers of every description, and they were equipped with tools and appliances needed for the

[588]Report of General H. B. Carrington, Brady, Pearson's Magazine. March, 1904.

[589-590]Idem.

construction of the forts, as well as all of the portable equipment therefor, such as stoves, windows, etc. They also had an outfit of haymaking tools and two steam sawmills. Many of the officers were accompanied by their wives and children, who at the outset seemed to regard it rather as a pleasure jaunt than otherwise. The expedition set out from Fort Laramie on the 14th of June, 1866. It was not planned or prepared for war, but was supposed to be a peaceable enterprise. It was about 160 miles up to Fort Reno and it was not until the 28th of June that the column reached that post. When they first started out from Laramie the Oglalas and Cheyennes protested against their entering their country, but no attention was paid to this. At Reno for the first time Carrington found his progress interrupted and his column menaced with hostilities. A courageous attempt was made by the Indians to stampede the live stock. Carrington was promptly made aware of the fact that it would be impracticable to abandon Fort Reno or try to remove it. It was a tumble down and temporary little place, but he put it in good repair, stockaded it and left 175 men for a garrison.[591] With the balance of his force he left Fort Reno on the 9th of July and marched on, following the Montana trail to the junction of the Little and Big Piney Creeks, branches of the Powder, and selected, after a careful survey of all of that region, a location about twenty miles southeast of the present city of Sheridan.[592] It was the 13th of July when he selected the site and began active operations in the construction of Fort Phil Kearney. The post was about four miles from the foot of the Big Horn Mountains and upon a little prairie knoll, sufficiently free from timber to render it easily defensible from skulking Indians. He began operations by building a strong stockade and then, more at leisure, undertook the erection of the fort proper. The most convenient timber was about seven miles distant, on an island, in the Big Piney Creek, directly west of the fort, and without any intervening hills, rendering the road for hauling timber and wood convenient and easy. He set up his sawmills at Piney Island. There were several foothills near to the fort site, one of which was named Sullivant

[591]Dodge, Carrington, Belden, Brady.

[592]Map of Wyoming. Carrington's map.

hill, another Lodge Trail hill, upon the summits of which look-out sentinels were established. Sullivant was almost directly west of the fort and just to the right of the road to the wood island. Pilot hill was east of the fort and just across the Little Piney Creek. Lake DeSmet, about seven miles to the southeast. From the very first location at Fort Phil Kearney, Red Cloud and Man Afraid, at the head of the bands of the Oglalas, and Medicine Man, with a large party of Cheyennes, began to hang about the post to intimidate and tantalize the soldiers, attacking every train that appeared on the Montana road, and generally rendering life burdensome to all of the whites in that section. Within a few days they grew bolder and it was found unsafe for any white person to be outside of the stockade unless protected by a large detachment of military.[593] A team could not be sent to the wood yard, nor a load of hay brought in from the meadows without it was accompanied with a strong guard. The first hunters sent out came in themselves hunted and though there was an abundance of game in the vicinity no hunter was brave enough to stalk it. A reign of terror grew up among the civilians so that no one ventured alone outside of the stockade. An attack might be looked for at any moment and when conditions seemed most propitious and the danger the least to be expected it was usually the most imminent. Old Jim Bridger, the well known frontiersman, was in the fort and he described the situation when he said, "Where you don't see no Injuns there they're sartin to be the thickest."[594] For a long period the Indians did not attempt anything like an open attack, but contented themselves with such predatory attacks as have been related. These of course rendered the construction of the buildings slow and unsatisfactory. The wood trains were subject to almost daily attack, and it was found necessary to erect a block house at the wood camp. Of course, these attacks were repelled with force, but it was almost useless to go out against them, for with the appearance of the soldiers the Indians dropped out of sight as if by magic, and day after day the detachments returned without having fired a gun. General Carrington himself pursued one band nearly to Tongue River in the hope of

[593] Brady, Pearson's Magazine, March, 1904.
[594] Idem.

recovering some beef cattle they had succeeded in running off, but finding that the Indians were about to flank him he beat a hasty retreat, arriving at the fort in safety.[595] "On the afternoon of December 6th the lookout on Sullivant hill signaled that the wood train had been attacked, and Captain Fetterman, the senior captain in the fort, was detailed with forty mounted men, including fifteen mounted cavalry under Lieutenants Bingham and Grummond, with Sergeant Bowers, a veteran of the civil war, to relieve the wood train and drive the Indians toward the Peno valley; while Carrington himself with about a score of mounted infantry would sweep around the north side of Lodge Trail hill and intercept them. The Indians gave way under Fetterman's advance, hoping to lure the troops into an ambush, but at a favorable spot they made a stand. The fighting there was so fierce that the cavalry, who by a singular circumstance were without their officers, gave way and retreated headlong along the valley toward the ridge. The mounted infantry stood its ground and under Fetterman's intrepid leadership was making a brave fight against overwhelming odds, the number of Indians present being estimated at more than 300. It would have gone hard with Fetterman, however, had not Carrington and the first six men of his detachment suddenly swept around a small hill and taken the Indians in reverse. The general had advanced under fire and meeting the fugitive cavalry had ordered them to fall in the rear of his detachment. The rear detachment and Fetterman soon joined Carrington, and through the combined parties the Indians were compelled to take to flight."[596] This foray of the Indians was made by Yellow Eagle, a sub-chief under Red Cloud.[597] "It was a close call for all, but Lieutenants Grummond and Bingham were yet unaccounted for, as well as Sergeant Bowers; all of whom had been separated from their command while chasing some scattered Indians. Search was instituted for them, Lieutenant Bingham was found dead. Sergeant Bowers had been fearfully wounded, and scalped; he was still alive but died immediately. He had killed three Ind-

[595]Idem.

[596]Idem.

[597]Statement of Whitewash made to writer at Butte Creek Camp, Rosebud reservation, June 11, 1904.

ians before he was overborne. Five others were wounded; Grummond was rescued after a hand to hand fight with the enemy."[598] This will serve as an example of the character of the warfare which was carried on during this period. There had been, previous to this, affairs which reached the dignity of engagements on July 17th, July 20th, August 9th, September 10th and 16th, at Fort Phil Kearney and September 13th and 16th between Pino Creek and Fort Phil Kearney, September 21st on the Little Horn, September 29th near the fort, October 6th and again following this on December 19th before the great culminating battle.[599] During all of this period the public had no conception of the condition of affairs in the Big Horn country. The peace commission had reported that they had made satisfactory treaties and that there were only a few of the recalcitrants who had refused to sign and had made trouble. On the 8th of December, two days after the affair at Goose Creek, just described, the president in his annual message to congress felicitated the people that all was peace in the northwest.[600] Previous to this about 150 men had been detached from Fort Kearney to build C. F. Smith, about ninety miles up the Montana trail, leaving a total available force of soldiers, teamsters, citizens and employes of 350 men at Fort Phil Kearney.[601] It will be difficult to approximate the number of Indians in the vicinity. Red Cloud had been joined in the autumn by recruits from all of the Teton bands and the Yanktonais. Inkpaduta, Black Moon, Gall, and Sitting Bull were already with him. In addition to the entire force of the Cheyennes under Roman Nose and Medicine Man, the northern Arapahoes having strength of about 125 lodges, under Little Chief and Sorrel Horse, had joined in the effort to keep the soldiers and travelers out of the buffalo country.[602] It is probable that the entire Indian force approximated 3,000 warriors, who were daily growing

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[598]Brady, Pearson's Magazine, March, 1904.

[599]Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, Vol. 2, p. 426.

[600]The commission was no doubt sincere, being unimpressed with the righteousness of Red Cloud's contentions or of his power to make good his demands.

[601]Brady, Pearson's Magazine, March, 1904.

[602]Statement of Whitewash.

more hostile and more and more reckless. The general direction of the entire campaign was in the hands of Red Cloud; Crazy Horse, though inferior in social standing to Man Afraid, was Red Cloud's principal lieutenant among the Oglalas and Roman Nose from among the Cheyennes. Black Moon was the recognized leader of the Missouri River Indians.[602] It was no small task to provision Red Cloud's camp and supply them with ammunition, yet he managed his commissary so admirably that throughout the two years of the campaign there was no suffering among his people and no shortage of ammunition.[603] Hunting parties were sent into the buffalo ranges who brought in an abundance of meat and enough of his friends were "good Indians," staying about the agencies, to secure a supply of ammunition, which was secretly borne away to the hostile camp, to keep his arsenal well stocked. The good Indians, too, found a ready market for the robes and furs which the hostiles took, and the returns from these eked out his subsistence. In every respect Red Cloud subsisted and equipped his army better than did the United States government its forlorn hope under Carrington.[604]

By this time all of the warehouses at the new fort were finished and it was estimated that one large wood train would furnish enough logs to finish the hospital, which alone needed attention. Impressed by Powell's report, after an affair on the afternoon of the 19th of December, Carrington himself accompanied the lumber train of December 20th, built a bridge across to Piney Island to facilitate quick hauling and returned to the fort to prepare for one more, the last, trip. No Indians appeared on that date. A large amount of fire wood, including all of the slabs from the sawmills, had been accumulated. Carrington was a man of great prudence, so prudent indeed as to create great dissatisfaction among his subordinates. Some of them, including Fetterman and Brown, offered with eighty men to ride through the entire Sioux nation.[605] Carrington was wise enough to see that such folly would lead to utter

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[602]Statement of White Bear, a Red Cloud leader, to me at Butte Creek June 11, 1904.

[604]Brady, Pearson's Magazine, March, 1904.

[605]Brady, Pearson's Magazine, March, 1904.

destruction. "Ammunition was running low, there was at one time only forty rounds a man available. Repeated requests and appeals both by letter and telegram for reinforcements and supplies, and especially for modern and serviceable weapons, had met with but little or no consideration. The officials in the east hugged their treaty and refused to believe that a state of war existed; they appeared to believe that if it did exist that it was the fault of the commanding officer for provoking it. In several instances presents given in the treaty at Laramie were found on the persons of visiting Indians and one captured Indian's pony was heavily loaded with original packages of those presents.[606] Carrington had done nothing to provoke war, he had simply carried out General Sherman's written instructions, sent him as late as August, 'To avoid a general war until the army could be reorganized and increased,' while he defended himself and his command stoutly when attacked. * * * But some of his officers, covertly sneering at the caution of the commander, were burning for an opportunity to distinguish themselves, and had practically determined to make or take one at the first chance. Fetterman and Brown, unfortunately, were chief among these malcontents."[607]

Manifestly no one had yet come to comprehend the stern determination which actuated Red Cloud and his allies in this stand which they were making for the protection and preservation of everything that men hold dear and sacred. From their point of view the very existence of the Indians depended upon the success of their campaign. To permit the road to be traveled and a military post to be maintained meant the total destruction of the buffalo herds, and with the buffalo would go the last hope of the Indians for subsistence. It does not appear that either the Indians or whites had yet arrived at the conception of a time when the government should actually supply rations for their subsistence. Up to this time the Oglalas' highest idea of government assistance was a few blankets and trinkets of an approximate value of $10,000 or $15,000 annually for a tribe of 5,000 or 6,000 people, a quantity that in no wise supplied or much affected the supply of their

[606]Brady, Pearson's Magazine, March, 1904.
[607]Brady, Pearson's Magazine, March, 1904.

real necessities. Each individual secured through his annuities less than he could secure from the trader for a single buffalo robe. To the Indian the situation was a desperate one, demanding the exercise of all the genius and power of the allied tribes to resist. No candid person can investigate existing conditions and inform himself of the motives and the actions of the Indians without reaching the conviction that they were moved in their hostility to the whites by impulses of the highest patriotism. Their methods were those to which they were prompted by tradition and familiar usage, and were not more inhuman than those to which they had themselves been subjected by Harney, Sheridan and Sully.[608] During the summer season the camp of the hostiles was kept at various points far down on the Powder, and the depredations about Fort Kearney were made by picked bands of warriors, but when winter came on the camps were moved to the base of the Big Horn range on the head waters of the Tongue River, but a short distance from the Montana trail, and not more than fifty miles from the fort.[609]

In the story which follows, of the affair of December 21st in which Fetterman and his command were totally annihilated, we have in the main followed the graphic stories told by Dr. Brady and General R. I. Dodge, both of whose accounts are strictly based upon the official reports. "On the 21st of December, the ground being free from snow, the air clear and cold, the lookout on Sullivant hill signaled about 11 o'clock in the morning that the wood train had been corraled and was attacked in force about a mile and a half from the fort. A relief party of forty-nine troopers from the Eighteenth infantry with twenty-seven troopers from the Twenty-seventh cavalry—a detachment of which nearly all were recruits and armed chiefly with muskets, had joined the post some months before—was at once ordered out. The command was first given to Captain Powell with Lieutenant Grummond in charge of the cavalry. Grummond had a wife in delicate health at the post and he was cautioned by the officers not to be led into a trap, although

[608]Recall the action of Harney at Blue Water, of Sully at the Little Cheyenne and Sheridan's winter attack upon the southern Cheyennes in their own camp upon their own reservation.

[609]Statement of Whitewash.

it would seem that his experience on December 6th, when he had so narrowly escaped death, was the best warning he could have had. This body of men were the best armed at the post, a few of the cavalry carrying the Spencer repeating carbine. Each company had been directed to keep forty rounds a man on hand for immediate use in any emergency, besides extra boxes always kept in company quarters. The men had been exercised in firing recently and some of the ammunition had been expended, although they had a supply abundant for the purpose of the expedition. Carrington personally inspected the men before they left and rejected those who were not amply provided. The situation of the wood train was critical and the party was assembled with the greatest dispatch. Just as they were about to start, Captain Fetterman, who had had less experience in the country, and in Indian fighting than the other officers, for he had joined the regiment some time after the fort had been built and expected assignment to command Fort Phil Kearney, begged for the command of the expedition, pleading his senior captaincy as justification for his request. Carrington reluctantly acceded to his plea, which indeed he could scarcely have refused, and placed him in charge, giving him strict and positive instructions to, 'relieve the wood train, drive back the Indians, but on no account to pursue the Indians beyond Lodge Trail ridge and to return immediately to the fort when he had performed this duty.'

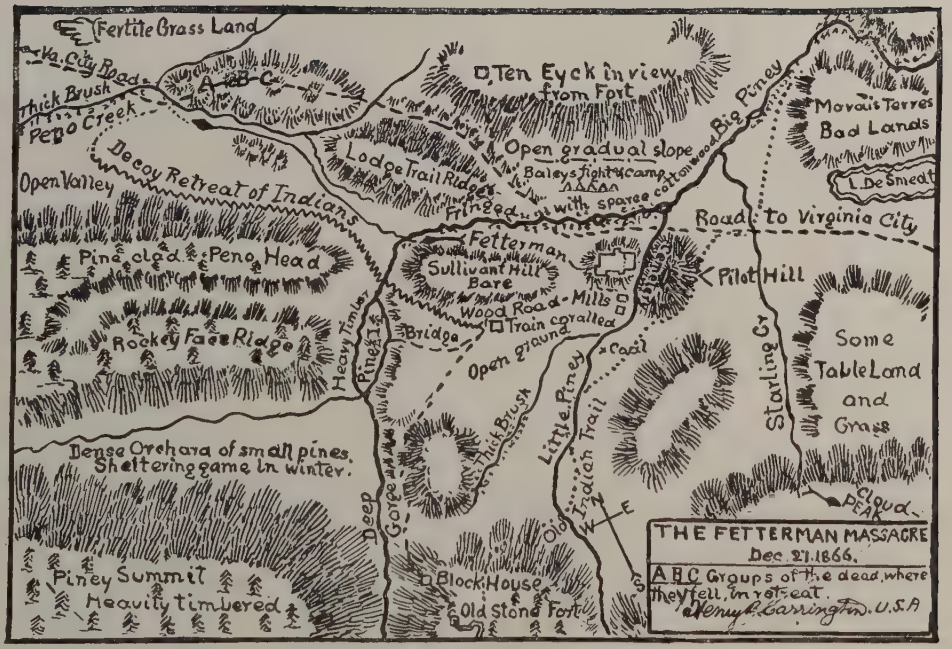
"Captain Fetterman, as has been said, had frequently expressed his contempt for the Indians although his fight on December 6th had slightly modified his opinions. Carrington, knowing his view, was particular and emphatic in his orders. So necessary did he think the caution that he repeated it to Lieutenant Grummond, who, with the cavalry, followed the infantry out of the gate. The infantry, having fewer preparations to make, getting away first. These orders were delivered in a loud voice and were audible to many persons, women, officers and men in the fort. The general went so far as to hasten to the gate after the cavalry had left the fort and from the sentry platform, or banquette, overlooking it, called out after them again, emphatically directing them 'on no account to pursue the Indians across Lodge Trail ridge.'

"The duty devolved upon Captain Fetterman was exactly the same as that which Captain Powell had performed so satisfactorially a few days before. With Captain Fetterman went Captain Brown, just promoted, with two citizens, frontiersmen and hunters, as volunteers. These two civilians, Wheatley and Fisher, were both armed with the new breach loading rapid fire Henry rifle, with which they were anxious to experiment on the hostiles. Wheatley left his wife and children in the fort.

"Captain Frederick Brown, a veteran of the civil war, had been promoted, had received orders, and was simply waiting a favorable opportunity to leave. He was a man of the most undaunted courage. His position as quartermaster had kept him on the watch for Indians all the time and he announced on the day before the battle that he, 'Must have one more chance at the Indians before he left.' It is believed, however, that his impetuous council and his good luck in many a brush with assailing parties, which he had several times pursued almost alone, largely precipitated the final disaster.

"The total force, therefore, including officers and citizens, under Fetterman's command, was eighty-one. Just the number with which he had agreed to ride through the whole Sioux nation. No one in the command seemed to have the least idea that any force of Indians, however great, could overcome them. Captain Fetterman, instead of leading his men directly to the wood train on the south side of Sullivant hill, doubled quicked toward the Peno valley, on the north side. Perhaps he hoped that he could take the Indians in reverse, when he rounded the western end of the hills, and exterminate them between his own troops and the guard of the wood train, which all told comprised some ninety men. This movement was noticed from the fort, but as it involved no disobedience of orders and as it might be considered a good tactical maneuver no apprehension was felt because of it.

"The Indians surrounding the wood train were well served by their scouts, and when they found that Fetterman's force was advancing on the other side of the hill, they immediately withdrew from the wood train, which presently broke corral and made its way to the Piney, some seven miles to the west of the fort, unmolested. As Fetterman's troops disappeared down the valley a number of Indians were observed along the Piney



Map of Fort Phil Kearney

in front of the fort. A spherical case shot from the howitzer in the fort exploded in their midst and they vanished. The Indians were much afraid of the 'gun that shoots twice' as they call it. At that time it was discovered that no doctor had gone with the relieving party, so Surgeon Hines, with an escort of four men, was sent out with orders to join Fetterman. The doctor hastened away but returned soon after with the information that the wood train had gone on and that when he had attempted to cross the valley of the Pino to join Fetterman's men, he 'found it full of Indians, who were swarming about Lodge Trail ridge, and that no sign of Fetterman was observed. Despite Fetterman's orders he must have gone over the ridge.'

"The alarm caused in the fort by this news was deepened by the sound of firing at 12 o'clock. Six shots in rapid succession were counted and immediately after heavy firing was heard from over the Lodge Trail ridge, five miles away, which continued with such fierceness as to indicate a pitched battle. Carrington instantly dispatched Captain Ten Eyck with the rest of the infantry, in all about seventy-six men, directing him to join Fetterman's command, then return with them to the fort. The men went forward on the run.

"Counting out Fetterman's detachment, the guard of the wood train and Ten Eyck's detachment, the garrison was now reduced to a very small number. The post might be attacked at any moment. Carrington at once released all the prisoners from the guard house, armed the quartermaster's employes and citizens, but could muster altogether only 119 men. Although every preparation for a desperate defense was made there was not enough soldiers to man the walls. The general, with his remaining officers, repaired to the observatory tower, field glasses in hand and watched the ridge in apprehension of a catastrophe so fearful that they scarcely allowed themselves to imagine it. The women and children, especially those who had husbands and fathers with the first detachment, were almost crazed with terror.

"Presently Sample, the general's own orderly, who had been sent with Ten Eyck, was seen galloping furiously down the opposite hill. He had the best horse in the command, one of the general's, and he covered the distance between Lodge Trail ridge and the fort with amazing swiftness. He dashed up to

headquarters with a message from Ten Eyck, 'The valley on the other side of the ridge' said the orderly, 'is filled with Indians, who are threatening him, the firing has stopped, he sees no sign of Captain Fetterman's command. He wants a howitzer sent to him.' General Carrington replied in writing: 'Forty well armed men with 3,000 rounds, ambulances, stores, etc., left before your courier came in. You must unite with Fetterman, fire slowly and keep men in hand. You would have saved two miles toward the scene of action if you had taken Lodge Trail ridge. I order the wood train in, which will give fifty men to spare.' No gun could be sent him, since all the horses were already in the field, it would have required men to haul it. No more men could be spared and not a man with Ten Eyck knew how to cut a fuse or handle the piece. The guns were especially needed at the fort to protect the women and children.

"Late in the afternoon Ten Eyck's party returned to the fort with tidings of appalling disaster. In the wagons with his command were the bodies of forty-nine of Fetterman's men. The remaining thirty-two were not at that time accounted for. Ten Eyck very properly had stood on the defensive upon the ridge and refused to go into the valley in spite of the insults and sneers of the Indians, who numbered upwards of 2,000 warriors, and they finally withdrew.

"'After waiting a sufficient time he marched carefully and cautiously toward the Pino valley and to the bare lower ridge over which the road ran. Here he came across evidences of a fierce battle. On the end of the ridge farther from the fort in a space about six feet square, enclosed by some huge rocks, making a sort of rude shelter, he found the bodies of the forty-nine men, which he had brought back. After their ammunition was spent they had been killed, stripped, shot full of arrows, hacked to pieces, scalped and mutilated in a horrible manner. There were no evidences at that place of a very severe struggle. But few cartridge shells lay on the ground. Of these men, only four, besides the two officers, had been killed by bullets. The rest had been slain by arrows, hatchets or spears. They had evidently been tortured. Brown and Fetterman were found laying side by side, each with a bullet wound in the right temple. Their heads were scorched and filled with gun powder around the wound. Evidently seeing that all was lost they had stood

face to face and had shot each other dead with their revolvers. They had both sworn to die rather than to be taken alive by the Indians, and in the last extremity they had carried out their vows. Lieutenant Grummond, who had so narrowly escaped on the 6th of December, was not yet accounted for, but there was little hope that he had escaped again.

"The night was one of wild anxiety; nearly one-fourth of the entire force of the fort had been wiped out. Mirror signals flashed from the hills during the day and fires here and there during the night indicated that the savages had not left the vicinity of the fort. Guards were doubled and every man slept with his clothing on, his weapons close at hand. In every barrack a non-commissioned officer and two men kept watch throughout the night. Carrington and the remaining officers did not sleep at all. They fully expected the fort to be attacked. The next day was bitterly cold, the sky was overcast and lowering, with indications of a tremendous storm. The Indians did not usually conduct active operations under such conditions, and there were no signs of them about. Carrington determined to go out to ascertain the fate of the missing men. He rightly judged that the moral effect of the battle would be greatly enhanced in the eyes of the Indians, if the bodies were not recovered. Besides to set at rest all doubts it was necessary to determine the fate of the balance of his command. In the afternoon, with a heavily armed force of eighty men, Carrington went to the scene of the battle. The following order was left with the officer of the day: 'Fire the usual sunset gun, running a white light to masthead. If the Indians appear, fire three guns from the twelve-pounder at minute intervals, and later substitute a red lantern for the white.' Pickets were left on two commanding ridges as signal observers as the command moved forward. The women and children were placed in the magazine, a building well adapted for defense, which had been stocked with water, crackers and various supplies for an emergency, with an officer pledged not to allow the women to be taken alive, if the general did not return and the Indians should overcome the stockade.

"Passing the place where the greatest slaughter had occurred, the men marched cautiously along the trail. Bodies were strung all along the road to the western end farthest

from the fort. Here they found Lieutenant Grummond. There were evidences of a desperate struggle about his body. Behind a little pile of rock making a natural fortification, were the two civilians who had been armed with the modern Henry rifles. By the side of one fifty empty shells were counted and nearly as many by the side of the other brave frontiersman. Behind such cover as they could obtain nearby lay the bodies of the oldest and most experienced soldiers in Fetterman's command. In front of them they found no fewer than sixty great gouts of blood on the ground and grass, showing where the bullets of the defenders had reached their marks, and in every direction was signs of the fiercest kind of hand to hand fighting. Ghastly and mutilated remains, stripped naked, shot full of arrows—Wheatley with no less than 105 in him—scalped, lay before them.

"Brown rode a little Indian, calico, pony which had been given to General Carrington's sons when they started from Fort Leavenworth in November, 1865, and the body of the horse was found in the low ground at the west end of the ridge, showing that the fight began there before the party could reach high ground. At 10 o'clock at night on the return the white lamp at mast head told the welcome story of the garrison still intact. * * Such was the melancholy fate of Fetterman and his men. The post was isolated, the weather frightful. A courier was at once dispatched to Fort Laramie, but such means of communication was necessarily slow and it was not until Christmas morning that the world was apprised of the fatal story. * * Perhaps it ill becomes us to censure the dead, but the whole unfortunate affair arose from the direct disobediance of orders, on the part of Fetterman and his men."[610]

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[610]Adapted from Dr. Cyrus Townsend Brady's "Tragedy of Fort Phil Kearney," Pearson's Magazine, March, 1904.

CHAPTER XXXIV

Red Cloud Continues His War on the Fort—Montana Trail Rendered Impassable by Hostiles—Red Cloud's Great Feat in Subsisting His People in Hostile Country—Numerous Attacks on Phil Kearney—Determination to Destroy the Fort—Attack on Wood Camp—Powell's Heroic Resistance—A Miraculous Repulse—Awful Loss to the Hostile Forces—Red Cloud Undismayed, Keeps up the War.

After the annihilation of Fetterman's forces Red Cloud, who was in personal direction of the affair, though all of his sub-chiefs and the chiefs of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes were present, having come down from the camp with the intention of ambushing the wood guard, conceived that their success had been so stupenduous that the soldiers would at once set out to make a desperate retaliation. They, therefore, hastened back to their camp on the head waters of the Tongue and though it was mid-winter, and frightfully cold, they resolved to break up the camp at once and scatter in small bands. The Arapahoes went to the Yellowstone, the Cheyennes trailed through to the west of the Big Horn Mountains and the Dakotas scattered down the valley of the Powder and Tongue Rivers. No further attacks on the military were attempted in the neighborhood of Fort Phil Kearney until the succeeding summer, but a small band under Small Hawk and Crazy Horse proceeded to the neighborhood of Fort Reno and from the end of February harassed and annoyed the soldiers at that post, holding it in about the same state of siege that the Phil Kearneyans had been during the preceding autumn. Though not attacking the fort at the Piney in force Red Cloud kept it under constant surveilience, and almost daily his scouts were seen in the vicinity and the nervous apprehension of attack under which soldiers and civilians alike lived, wrought upon their fears and made the situation almost unendurable. There were sharp scraps near Fort Reno on February 27th, April 26th and 27th, May 23d and

May 30th.[611] On June 12th Yellow Hand, having been sent into the vicinity of Fort Phil Kearney with a considerable force of warriors, a little fight occurred near that post, the first of any importance since the Fetterman massacre of the previous December.[612] A similar engagement occurred on the 18th of June. On the very date of Yellow Hand's attack on Fort Phil Kearney, Man Afraid and a band of the head men of the Oglalas and Brules appeared at Fort Laramie and engaged in a long council with General Sanborn and General Beaubois. They claimed to represent 200 lodges of the hostiles, which they undoubtedly did. They told the commissioners that Red Cloud had abandoned the war and was now ready to come in and join the friendlies under Spotted Tail. They, however, expressed great anxiety to get powder from the commissioners, and the optimistic men of peace were forced to the conclusion that the only significance of this pilgrimage of Man Afraid's was "to obtain more powder and lead with which to wage a more vigorous war."[613]

All of this time Spotted Tail, Swift Bear, Standing Elk, Big Mouth and Blue Horse with in the neighborhood of 1,200 warriors, were quietly hunting buffalo on the Republican and doing their best to keep out of mischief.[614]

On the 20th of June an unidentified band of Oglalas made an attack upon a company of Pawnee scouts from Fort Laramie, on the line of the Union Pacific railroad south of the Black Hills. They were probably Man Afraid's peaceful embassy, just then starting off to enter into negotiations with Spotted Tail in the hope of drawing him into the war.[615] After twelve days of quiet Yellow Hand made another demonstration near Fort Phil Kearney, which brought out Company C of the Eighteenth infantry, and a few shots were exchanged.[616] All of the efforts of the Indians during June had been to draw the

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[611]Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, Vol. 2, p. 430.

[612]Idem. Story of White Bear.

[613]Indian, 1867, p. 269.

[614]Report of Agent Garrot, 1867.

[615]Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, Vol. 2, p. 430.

[616]Idem.

soldiers out of the fort and into ambush. During this period the soldiers were all engaged within the stockade, barely going outside except to make a little sortie toward the Indians, but careful to keep under the protection of the big guns. There had been no occasion to cut wood and the horses had not been put out to pasture, except immediately under the walls of the fort, being subsisted upon grain and the hay made the previous season.[617] The time, however, was fast approaching when it would be necessary to lay in the supply of firewood for the succeeding winter. Failing in every effort to draw the soldiers out and into ambush Red Cloud and his allies had determined to concentrate all of their forces about Fort Kearney and utterly destroy it, and then proceed to the other posts, Reno and Smith, which would be easily overcome.[618] All of that summer the entire Wyoming country was kept in a state of terror, travel on the Montana trail was utterly abandoned except by the military expeditions carrying the re-inforcements and supplies to the forts. Just at the time when Red Cloud had mobilized his army on the slopes of the Big Horn about Phil Kearney the wood cutting at Piney Island was resumed.

"The wood was to be cut and delivered at the fort by a civilian outfit which had entered into a contract with the government for the purpose. One of the stipulations of the contract was that the woodmen were to be guarded and protected by the soldiers. Wood cutting began on the 31st of July, 1867, and Captain and Brevet Major James W. Powell, commanding Company C of the Twenty-seventh infantry, a part of the command which had built the fort and to which Fetterman and his men belonged, was detailed with his company to guard the contractor's party. Arriving at Piney Island, some seven miles from the post, Powell found that the contractor had divided his men into two parties; one had its headquarters on a bare, treeless and comparatively level plain, perhaps 1,000 yards across, which was surrounded by low hills, backed by mountains farther away. This was an admirable place to graze the herds of mules required to haul the wagons. As will be seen it could be also turned into a strong defensive position. The other camp was in the thick of the pine woods about a mile

[618]Brady, Pearson's Magazine, April, 1904.

away, across the creek at the foot of the mountain. This division of labor necessitated a division of force, which was a misfortune, but this could not be avoided. Powell sent twelve men under a non-commissioned officer to guard the camp in the woods and detailed thirteen men with another non-commissioned officer to escort the wood train to and from the fort. With the remaining twenty-six men and his lieutenant, John C. Jenness, he established headquarters on the plain in the open. The wagons used by the wood cutters were furnished by the quartermaster's department. In transporting the cord wood the woodmen made use of the running gears only, the wagon bodies having been deposited in Powell's camp in the clearings. It has been stated that these wagon bodies were lined with boiler iron, but that is not true, they were just the ordinary wooden wagon beds. There were fourteen of these wagon bodies. Powell arranged them in the form of a wide oval at the highest point of the plain, which happened to be in the vicinity when this corral was made. The wagon beds were deep and afforded ample concealment for anyone lying in them. There were plenty of tools, including augers, in the camp, and with these Powell's men made a number of loop holes about a foot from the ground in the outsides of the wagons. The openings to the corral were at either end, where the configuration of the ground made it most vulnerable to attack, especially by mounted men; therefore, at each end a complete wagon, running gears, body and all, heavily loaded, was placed before the entrances a short distance from the corral to break the force of a charge and that the defenders might fire at the charging party underneath the body and through the wheels. The wagon bodies forming the sides of the corral were re-inforced with logs and sacks of grain, or anything that was available that would turn a bullet. All of the supplies for the soldiers and the wood cutters were contained within this corral. Powell's party were provided with the new Allen modification of the Springfield breach-loading rifle. He had rifles enough for all of his men and for all of the civilian employees, and plenty of ammunition. The new rifle had never been used by the troops in a combat with the Indians and the red men were entirely ignorant of its tremenduous range and power and of the wonderful rapidity of fire which it permitted.

"Having matured a plan, Red Cloud determined to make his attack on Fort Phil Kearney by annihiliating the little detachment guarding the train. Parties of Indians had been observed in the neighborhood for several days but no attack had been made until on the 2d of August, at about 9 o'clock in the morning, a party of about 200 Indians attempted to stampede the mule herd. The herders, who were all armed, stood their ground and succeeded for the time being in beating back the attack. But while they were hotly engaged with this dismounted force, sixty mounted Indians succeeded in getting into the herd and running it off. At the same time 500 Indians attacked the wood train at the other camp. The affair was not quite a surprise, for the approach of the Indians had been detected and signaled from the corral on the island a few moments before. In the face of so overwhelming a force the soldiers at the wood train immediately retreated, abandoning the train and the camp. The retreat, however, was an orderly one and they kept back the Indians by a well directed fire. Meanwhile the herders, seeing the stampede of the mules, made an attempt to join the party retreating from the wood train. The Indians endeavored to intercept them and cut them off. Powell, however, with a portion of his force, leaving the post on the island in the command of Lieutenant Jenness, dashed across the prairie and attacked the savages in the rear. They turned at once, abandoning the pursuit of the herders and fell upon Powell, who in his turn retreated without loss to the corral. His prompt and bold sortie had saved the herders, for they were enabled to effect a junction with the retreating wood train men and their guard, and the soldiers and civilians, and eventually gained the fort, although not without hard fighting and severe loss. One thing that helped them to get away from the Indians was that the savages stopped to pillage the camp and burn it and the train; another thing was the presence of Powell's command, which the Indians could not leave in their rear. After driving away the soldiers and completing the destruction of the camp, the Sioux turned their attention to Powell's corral. Powell's men lay down in the wagon beds before the loop holes. Blankets were thrown over the tops of the beds to screen the defenders from observation and in the hope, perhaps, of saving them from the ill effects of the plunging arrow fire, and all was made

ready. Everybody had plenty of ammunition. Some of the men who were not good shots were told off to load rifles, of which there were so many that each man had two or three beside him; one man making use of no fewer than eight. Four civilians succeeded in joining the party in the corral, a welcome addition, indeed, bringing the total number up to thirty-two officers and men. Among this quartet of civilians was an old frontiersman, who had spent most of his life in the Indian country and who had been in innumerable fights. He was a renowned deadshot. To him the eight guns were allotted. Powell, rifle in hand, stationed himself at one end of the corral, Jenness, similarly armed, was posted at the other; each officer watching one of the openings covered by the complete wagons. While all these preparations were being rapidly made without confusion or alarm, the surrounding country was filling with a countless multitude of Indians. It was impossible at the time to estimate the number of them, although it was ascertained later that more than 3,000 warriors were present and engaged. Red Cloud himself was in command, and with him were the great chiefs of the great tribes of the Sioux, who were all represented; Uncpapas, Minneconjous, Oglalas, Brules and Sans Arcs, besides hundreds of Cheyennes. So confident of success were they that contrary to their ordinary practice they had brought with them their women and children to assist in carrying back the plunder. These, massed out of range on the farthest hills, constituted an audience for the terrible drama about to be played in the amphitheatre beneath them. * * * There were no heroics, no speeches made, Powell quietly remarked that they had to fight for their lives now, which was patent to all, and he directed that no man should for any reason whatever open fire until he gave the order. Some little time was spent by the Indians in making preparation, and then a force of about 500 Indians, magnificently mounted on the best war ponies, and armed with rifles, carbines or muskets, detached itself from the main body and started toward the little corral lying like a black dot on the open plain. They intended to ride over the soldiers and end the battle with one swift blow. Slowly at first, but gradually increasing their pace until their ponies were on a dead run, they dashed gallantly toward the corral, while the main body of the savages, some distance in

the rear, prepared to take advantage of any opening that might be made in the defenses. It was a brilliant charge, splendidly delivered.

"Such was the discipline of Powell's men that not a shot was fired as the Indians, yelling and whooping madly came rushing on. There was something terribly ominous about the absolute silence of that little fortification. The galloping men were within 100 yards now, now fifty. At that instant Powell spoke to his men. The enclosure was sheeted with flame. Out of the smoke and fire a rain of bullets was poured upon the astonished savages. The fire was not as usual, one volley, then another, and then silence; but it was a steady, persistent, continuous stream which mowed them down in scores. The advance was thrown into confusion, checked, but not halted, its impetus being too great, and then the force divided and swept around the corral looking for a weak spot for a possible entrance. At the same moment a furious fire was poured into it by the warriors, whose position on their horses' backs gave them sufficient elevation to deliver a plunging fire upon the garrison. Then they circled about the corral in a mad gallop, seeking some undefended point upon which to concentrate and break through, but in vain. The little enclosure was literally ringed with fire. Nothing could stand against it. So close were they that one bullet sometimes pierced two or three Indians. Having lost terribly and having failed to make any impression whatever, the Indians broke and gave way. They rushed pellmell from the spot in frantic confusion till they got out of range of the deadly storm that swept the plain. All around the corral lay dead and dying Indians, stoically enduring all of their sufferings and making no outcry, but mingling with them were killed and wounded horses, the latter kicking and screaming with pain. In front of the corral, where the first force of the charge had been spent, a mass of horses and men were stretched out as if they had been cut down by a gigantic mowing machine. The defenders of the corral had suffered in their turn. Lieutenant Jenness, brave and earnest in defense, had exposed himself to give a necessary command and had received a bullet in his brain. One of the private soldiers had been killed and two severely wounded. The thirty-two had been reduced to twenty-eight. At that rate, since there were so few to suffer,

the end appeared inevitable. The spirit of the little band, however, remained undaunted. Fortunately for them the Indians had met with such a terrible repulse that all they thought of for the time being was to get out of range. The vicinity of the corral was thus at once abandoned.

"Red Cloud determined, after consultation with the other chiefs, upon another plan, which gave greater promise of success. Seven hundred Indians armed with rifles and muskets, and followed by a number carrying bows and arrows, were told off to prepare themselves as a skirmishing party. Their preparation was simple, and consisted in denuding themselves of vestige of clothing, including their war shirts and war bonnets These men were directed to creep forward, taking advantage of every depression, ravine or other cover, until they were within range of the corral, which they were to overwhelm by gun and rifle fire. Supporting them, and intended to constitute the main attack, was the whole remaining body of Indians, numbering upwards of 2,000 warriors. With the wonderful skill of which they were possessed, the skirmishing party approached near to the corral and began to fire upon it. Here and there when a savage incautiously exposed himself he was shot by one of the defenders, but in the main the people of the corral kept silent under this terrible fusillade of bullets and arrows. The tops of the wagon sides were literally torn to pieces, the heavy blankets were filled with arrows, which, shot from a distance, did no damage. The fire of the Indians was rapid and continuous. The bullets crashed into the wood just over the heads of the prostrate men, sounding like crackling thunder, yet not one man in the wagon beds was hurt. Arguing perhaps, from the silence in the corral, that the defenders had been overwhelmed and that the time for the grand attack had arrived, the signal was given for the main body of the Indians to charge. They were led by the nephew of Red Cloud, a superb young chieftain, who was ambitious of succeeding in due course to the leadership now held by his uncle. Chanting their fierce war songs, they came on arranged in a great semi-circle, splendid, stalwart braves, the flower of the nation. * * * Most of them carried on their left arm painted targets or shields of buffalo hide, stout enough to turn a rifle bullet unless hit fairly. Under a fire of redoubled intensity from their skirmishers they

broke into a charge. Again they advanced into the face of a terrible silence. Again at the appointed moment the order rang out. Again the fearful discharge swept them away in scores. Powell's own rifle brought down the dauntless young chief in the lead. Others sprang to the fore when he fell and gallantly led on their men. Undaunted they came on and on, in spite of the slaughter such as no Indian living had experienced or heard of. The Indians could account for the continuous fire only by supposing that the corral contained a greater number of defenders than its area would indicate it capable of receiving. So in the hope that the infernal fire would slack, they pressed home the attack until they were almost at the wagon beds. Back on the hills Red Cloud and the veteran chiefs, with the women and children, watched the progress of the battle with eager intensity and marked with painful apprehension the slaughter of their bold warriors. The situation was terribly critical. If they came on a few feet further the rifles would be useless and the little party would have to fight hand to hand without reloading. In that event the end would be certain, but just before the Indians reached the corral they broke and gave way. So close had they come that some of the troopers in their excitement actually rose to their knees and threw the augers with which the loop-holes had been made and other missiles in the faces of the Indians.

"What relief filled the minds of the defenders when they saw the great force which had come on so gallantly reeling back over the plain in a frantic desire to get to cover, can easily be imagined. Yet such was the courage, the desperation of these Indians, that in spite of repulse after repulse, and slaughter awful to contemplate, they made no less than six several and distinct charges in three hours upon that little band. After the first attack made by the men on horseback, not a single casualty occurred among the defenders of the corral. It was after noon before the Indians got enough. They could not account for this sustained and frightful fire which came from the little fort except by attributing it to magic. 'The white man must have made bad medicine,' they said afterwards, before they learned the secret of the long range breech-loading firearms, 'to make the guns fire themselves without loading.' Indeed, such had been the rapidity of the fire that many of the

gun barrels became so hot that they were rendered useless. To this day the Indians refer to that battle as the bad medicine fight of the white men.

"The ground around the corral was ringed with Indian slain. Red Cloud, recognizing the complete frustration at that time of his hopes of overwhelming Fort Phil Kearney and sweeping the invaders out of the land, now wished only to get his dead away and retreat. In order to do this he threw his skirmishers forward again, who once more poured a heavy fire upon the corral. This seemed to Powell and his exhausted men the precurser of the final attack, which they feared would be their end. Indeed, Powell says in his report that another attack must have been successful. From the heat and the frightful strain of the long period of steady fighting the men were in a critical condition, and the ammunition, inexhaustible as it had seemed, was running low. Many of the rifles were useless. They still preserved, however, a calm, unbroken front to the foe. Red Cloud, however, had no thought of again attacking. He wanted only to get away. Under cover of his skirmishers he succeeded in carrying off most of the dead, the wounded who were able to crawl getting away themselves. A warrior, protecting himself as well as he could with the stout buffalo shield which he carried, would creep forward, attach the end of a long lariat to the foot of a dead man, and then rapidly retreating, would pull the dead body away. All the while the hills and mountains resounded with the death chants of the old men and women.

"In the midst of these operations a shell burst in the midst of the Indian skirmishers, and through the trees off to the left the weary defenders saw the blue uniforms of approaching soldiers, who a moment later debouched in the open."

The herders, woodsmen and guard that escaped from the camp in the morning had hurried off to the fort and apprised the officers there of Powell's danger. Major Smith, with 100 men, had been sent to his relief, and conducted Powell and his gallant men back to the fort. Powell estimated that he had killed sixty-seven and wounded 120 Indians, but the men under him estimated the Indian loss at anywhere from 300 to 500. An Indian afterwards told Colonel Richard I. Dodge that they lost in that engagement 1,137 warriors, but this is manifestly

an absurd and untruthful statement. Colonel Dodge manifestly did not place much reliance on the Indian's tale, but Dr. Brady accepts it as a fact.[619]

Though defeated, Red Cloud did not give up nor recede from his determination to drive the white invaders from his hunting preserves. Leaving a strong scouting party in the neghborhood of Fort Phil Kearney, he again scattered his warriors in widely settled camps from the Yellowstone to the Black Hills. On August 14th he led in person an attack on Fort Reno, and renewed it on the 16th. But little fighting was done, however. But he rendered the Montana trail utterly impracticable to travel, and in that way rendered the forts entirely useless for the purposes for which they were established.[620] During September nothing occurred in the nature of an attack which might be called an engagement, but on the 20th of October active campaigning was again begun. On that day there was a sortie on Crazy Woman's Fork of the Powder; on November 4th another at Goose Creek, just northwest of Fort Phil Kearney; on the 13th another at Crazy Woman's Fork, nearby; another on December 2d at Crazy Woman, and on December 14th one under the very walls of Phil Kearney itself.[621]

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[619]This story closely follows Dr. Brady, which in turn is taken almost literally from Colonel R. I. Dodge's account of this engagement in Our Wild Indians.

[620]Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, Vol. 2, p. 430. Narrative of W. H. Courtis.

[621]Report of the peace commission, 1867, Indian, 1868, p. 427. Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, Vol. 2, p. 430.

CHAPTER XXXV

The Peace Commission—Communication Established with Red Cloud—Withdrawal of the Forts and Soldiers and Abandonment of the Montana Road His Only Terms—His Demand Acceded—Forts Abandoned—Soldiers Withdrawn—Red Cloud's Victory Complete.

Under an act of congress approved July 20, 1867, to establish peace with certain hostile Indian tribes, a commission was appointed, consisting of N. G. Taylor, J. B. Henderson, General Sherman, General Harney, General Sanborn, General Terry, General Augur and S. F. Tappan. This was known as the peace commission, and was authorized to call together the chiefs and headmen of such bands of Indians as were then waging war, for the purpose of ascertaining their reasons for hostility, and, if thought advisable, to make a treaty of peace with them. The commissioners met at St. Louis on the 6th day of August and organized by selecting N. G. Taylor president and A. S. H. White secretary. The first difficulty which presented itself was to secure interviews with the chiefs and leading men of these tribes, but after some negotiations they got word to Red Cloud and his people that they would be met at Fort Laramie on the 13th day of September. While they were waiting for the Indians to come in they took a trip up the Missouri to a point thirteen miles north of the mouth of the Big Cheyenne River. On the trip up the river they were accompanied by Hon. Andrew J. Faulk, governor of Dakota.[622]

Swift Bear, a friendly Brule, had been employed to carry the summons to the hostiles, and finding that the proposition was not received with favor, he took it upon himself to promise that if they would come in the commission would furnish them with ammunition to kill game for the winter.[623]

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[622]Indian, 1867, p. 27.

[623]Idem, 29.

When the commissioners arrived at Fort Laramie to keep their appointment for the 13th of September, Swift Bear met them and told them of the promises that he had made, and that the hostiles had agreed to come down and meet them, but that they could not do so early in the season, but that they would be there about the 1st of November.[624]

When November arrived, to the great disappointment of the commission, Red Cloud did not appear. He sent word, however, by Man Afraid, that his war against the whites was to save the valley of the Powder River, the only hunting ground left to his nation, from our intrusion. He assured the commissioners that whenever the military garrisons at Fort Phil Kearney, Fort C. F. Smith and Fort Reno were withdrawn the war on his part would cease. The commissioners sent word back to him asking him for a truce until a council could be held. Red Cloud sent word to them that he would meet them the next spring or summer.[625]

Early in the spring of 1868 the commissioners returned to Fort Laramie, and by the 29th of April had negotiated a treaty which they believed would be acceptable to all of the hostiles. This is known as the treaty of Laramie, the full text of which appears as appendix "D," page 454 of Volume I of the South Dakota collections. In brief, it provides in the first article for a permanent peace between the United States and all of the signatory tribes. It provides for the punishment in regular manner of all whites who shall commit wrongs or depredations upon the Indians, and the Indians on their part agreed to deliver up to the United States any offenders among them for trial. It sets apart the great Sioux reservation from the north line of the state of Nebraska to the 46th parallel, bounded on the east by the Missouri River, to the 104th degree of longitude on the west; that is, in effect, the entire portion of South Dakota west of the Missouri River, and the article creating this reservation contains this clause: "And the same is set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Indians herein named." The United States agrees to construct at its own expense at some place on the Missouri River near the

[624]Idem, 30.
[625]Idem, 31.

center of said reservation, where timber and water may be convenient, a complete outfit of agency buildings, to include warehouses, store rooms, residences for the agent, physician, carpenter, farmer, blacksmith, miller and engineer, and school house and mission building; a good steam circular sawmill, a grist mill and shingle mill; and to provide agent, officers and employes as shall be necessary. Any Indian who desires to settle down to farming is permitted to select 320 acres of land if he be the head of a family, and if not the head of a family he may select eighty acres of land, which shall be patented to him after three years' residence, and after receiving said patent the said Indian shall be a full citizen of the United States. Compulsory education of children between six and sixteen is agreed upon. Whoever settles down to farm in good faith is entitled to receive seeds and agricultural implements and to have the assistance of the agency farmer to instruct him in his work. All previous provisions for annuities are abrogated and a new agreement entered into, by the terms of which for the term of thirty years every male over 14 years of age shall receive annually a suit of good, substantial woolen clothing, each female over 12 the goods necessary to make a pair of woolen hose, twelve yards of calico, a flannel skirt and twelve yards of cotton domestics. The boys and girls under the ages named are each to receive such cotton and flannel goods as will be used to make each a suit. In addition to the clothing each Indian shall receive annually for a period of thirty years $10 if he continues to roam and hunt, and if he settles down to farming he shall receive $20, to be paid in merchandise. And each family which settles down to farming is to receive a good American cow and a pair of good American broken oxen. In addition to that, a prize or reward of $500 per year was put up to be expended in presents to the ten persons in the tribe who, in the judgment of the agents, may grow the most valuable crops for the respective years. The United States expressly agreed and stipulated that the country north of the North Platte River and east of the summits of the Big Horn Mountains shall be held and considered to be unceded Indian territory, and also stipulates and agrees that no white person or persons shall be permitted to settle upon or occupy any portion of the same, or without the consent of the Indians first having been obtained, to pass

Red Cloud

through the same; and the United States further agreed that within ninety days after the conclusion of peace with all of the bands of the Sioux nation, the military posts now established in the territory should be abandoned and that the road leading to them and by them to the settlements in the territory of Montana shall be closed. The Indians withdrew all opposition to the construction of railroads and wagon roads south of the North Platte. It was expressly agreed in this treaty that no part of the reservation therein described should be ceded unless three-fourths of all of the adult male Indians agreed to and signed the treaty.

The treaty was duly signed by Spotted Tail and the Brules, twenty-four of the chiefs joining, on the 29th day of April, 1868. Man Afraid and thirty-nine of the Oglalas signed on the 25th of May. Old One Horn, he who was painted by Catlin thirty-five years before, and sixteen Minneconjous signed on May 26th. Twenty-three Yanktonais, headed by Two Bears, and among whom was the still well known Black Tomahawk, signed on the same day for the Yanktonais, and at the same time Little Chief, Sorrel Horse and twenty-five Arapahoes put their names to the treaty. Red Cloud sent down word that he guessed he would wait until the forts were abandoned and the roads closed up before he would sign, and so the matter hung along month after month. Finally, at the end of August, upon the advice of the peace commissioners, the government determined to take the old chief at his word, and on the 27th of that month all of the troops were withdrawn from Forts Phil Kearney, C. F. Smith and Reno.[623] Red Cloud at the time was watching operations from the buffalo camp on the Powder, and he said he guessed he would make his meat before he came in to meet the commissioners. His action caused a good deal of uneasiness both in military quarters and in the Indian department, where it was felt that it was possible that he did not intend to keep faith. However, when the old man "had got his fall's work done up" he appeared at Fort Laramie, and on November 6th signed the treaty. He brought in at the same time many of the leading men of the Uncpapas, Blackfeet, Cutheads, Two Kettles, Sans Arcs and Santees, who had been

[623]Indian, 1868, p. 251.

with him in the hostile camps of the Big Horn country. Among the Uncpapas the only familiar of the signers is that of young Bear's Rib, who had succeeded to his father, the Harney chief of 1856. John Grass is one of the signers on the part of the Blackfeet, and the Fireheart signs as the head chief. Big Head is one of the signers for the Cutheads, and the Long Mandan for the Two Kettles. No familiar name appears among the signers for the Sans Arcs. Wapasha the third and Big Eagle signed for the Santees, along with five others. It may be noted that the names of Rev. Samuel D. Hinman, the Episcopal missionary, and Father DeSmet appear as the witnesses to all of these Indians. The treaty was duly ratified by the senate on February 16, 1869, and was proclaimed by President Andrew Johnson on February 24th. And with it the great Red Cloud war came to an end.

It will be observed that everything Red Cloud was fighting for was conceded by this treaty. It was a complete victory for the Dakotas and a square backdown for the government. It is the only instance in the history of the United States where the government has gone to war and afterwards negotiated a peace conceding everything demanded by the enemy and exacting nothing in return.

CHAPTER XXXVI

A Gathering of Loose Ends—The Indian Settlement at Crow Creek—Settling the Sissetons on Reservations—Terms of Treaty—Flandrau Settlement—Proposed Reservation Between Sioux and James—General Stanley's Analysis of Indian Situation in 1869.

Before proceeding with the main thread of this discourse it will be necessary to go back and pick up a few loose ends which have been left while keeping the story of the Red Cloud war coherent. It will be remembered that in 1863 Fort Thompson was established at the mouth of Crow Creek on the Missouri River in Dakota, and to it were brought the captured remnant of the hostile bands from Minnesota and the Winnebagoes, and established there in an independent agency. For several reasons the location was found to be impracticable. Several successive years of intense drouth rendered farming profitless, and the vast hordes of Tetons from the adjacent prairies found it convenient to come in each winter and hang about the agency and eat the resident Indians out of house and home. The Winnebagoes were especially dissatisfied with the new location, and for them the government purchased a small reservation of the Omahas, nearly opposite Sioux City, on the Nebraska side of the Missouri. Of the Santees at Crow Creek there were very few men, most of them being held as prisoners in the government prison at Davenport. It was, however, determined to release something more than 240 of these men from prison and bring them out to their people and establish them upon a new reservation, consisting of about four townships of land, adjoining the Poncas in northern Nebraska. They numbered about 1,350 souls at that time. These people were thoroughly subdued and at once set about to engage in farming, and they still reside on the reservation set apart for them at that time, living at all times in perfect amity with the whites. This removal was made in the summer of 1866.

We left the Sissetons and Wahpetons, under Standing Buffalo, Wanatan and Scarlet Plume, hovering about the Canadian border after the battle of Big Mound in 1863, and anxious to return to their lands. It was a long time before an understanding of the real situation relating to these people could be brought to the consciousness of our people. The general impression was, both in civil and military quarters, that they had flown from their lands about Big Stone Lake in the autumn of 1862 because they were hostile; that they had engaged in the hostilities at Big Mound, Dead Buffalo Lake, Stony Lake and White Stone Hill in the autumn of 1863 and at Kill Deer Mountain and in the Bad Lands in the summer of 1864, and in consequence intense prejudice existed against them. Gradually, through the mediation of the friendly Sissetons and Wahpetons, who had remained with General Sibley and enlisted in the government service, the true situation began to dawn upon the authorities, and by 1867 negotiations were opened with them looking to the establishment of them upon reservations in Dakota territory. These negotiations resulted in the signing of the treaty on the 22d day of April, 1867, made by Lewis V. Bogy and William H. Watson, commissioners on the part of the United States, and Gabriel Renville, John Otherday and twenty-one other Sissetons and Wahpetons, by which the Flat-iron reservation, between Lake Kampeska, Lake Traverse and the head of the coteau, was set apart for the friendlies and for those who had heretofore surrendered to the authorities of the government and were not sent to the Crow Creek reservation. And for the Cuthead band of Yanktonais and for all other members of the Sissetons and Wahpetons not before provided for, the reservation lying on the south side of Devils Lake, now known as the Fort Totten reservation. That the Indians should be induced to engage in agricultural pursuits, each man was allowed to take a farm of 160 acres, and the government agreed to expend $350,000 in the year 1867, $250,000 for the year 1868, $100,000 for 1869, and $50,000 for 1870, and $30,000 annually thereafter. At the Lake Traverse and at the Devils Lake reservation $100,000 was to be expended the first year, $200,000 the second year, $100,000 the third year, $50,000 the fourth year, and $30,000 annually thereafter. All traders in furs were excluded from these reservations as an incident, to encourage

the Indians in farming. But all of these goods and money were to be paid out, not as annuities, but in payment of labors actually performed or for produce delivered. Gabriel Renville was recognized as head chief of the Sissetons and Wahpetons at Lake Traverse, and Little Fish as chief of the Indians at Devils Lake. Most of the Sissetons and Wahpetons and Cutheads at once returned to and settled upon these reservations.

A few of the recalcitrants and hostiles of 1862, still fearing the vengeance of the whites, remained in Canada, and they and their descendants are in the British dominion to this day. Inkpaduta, as has been seen, took the most vicious of the Sissetons and Yanktonais into the Powder River country, where they remained until after the war of 1876, with the few exceptions who came in and signed the treaty of Laramie. Of those who did sign the treaty of Laramie, Wapasha went to the Santee agency in Nebraska, and Big Eagle and his party returned to the Yellow Medicine near the Upper agency and settled down to farming, and have become industrious and self-respecting citizens.[627]

In the spring of 1870 a considerable party of the Presbyterian Santees, who prior to the outbreak were directly under the influence of the missionaries of the Upper and Lower agencies, living in comfortable homes with well cultivated farms, determined to withdraw from the Santees of Nebraska and establish themselves as citizens of the United States upon the Sioux River. They selected locations in the neighborhood of Flandreau, where the conditions were quite similar to those to which they had been accustomed on the Minnesota River, and under regulations prescribed by the Indian department, on oath renounced all claim on the United States for annuities, selected homesteads and settled down as self-respecting citizens, and have from that time to the present maintained themselves and have engaged in all the activities of the excellent community in which they reside.[628] This enterprise on the part of the Indians was a noteworthy experiment and was watched with a great deal of interest by the Indian officials and the public gen-

[627] Big Eagle's story in the 6th Minnesota, p. 382.

[628] Rev. T. S. Williamson's letter in the report of the Indian commissioner for 1870, p. 237.

erally, being the first instance in which Indians of their own volition and outside of reservation and agency influences, established themselves as citizens on an equality with white men. Everything considered, the experiment must be deemed a success of the first order. This settlement had been in contemplation for some time and in furtherance of it the president, on March 7, 1867, had withdrawn from settlement and set aside a reservation which was intended to be devoted to all of the Santees, Sissetons, Wahpetons, M'dewakantons and Wakpekutes. This reservation was bounded on the east by the Sioux River and on the west by the James River, and included all of of the land between those streams in a belt extending from Flandreau to Lake Kampeska. The people of Minnesota, however, were so violently opposed to having the Indians domiciled so near to them, and the selection by the friendly Sissetons and Wahpetons of the Flatiron reservation north of Lake Kampeska induced the abandonment of the scheme, and on the 13th of July, 1868, the president rescinded his previous action and restored this vast body of land in the interior of South Dakota to the public domain.[620]

By this time probably one-half, or nearly one-half of the entire Dakota nation, Santee, Yankton and Teton, were gathered upon reservations. Through all of the disturbances from 1859 forward the Yanktons lived quietly and peaceably on their reservation in Charles Mix county, South Dakota, and made satisfactory progress in agriculture, civilization, education and Christianity. The Two Kettles and a portion of the Minneconjous and Sans Arcs were gathered about Cheyenne River agency, located at the mouth of the Cheyenne River, while at the mouth of the Grand River were gathered the better disposed portions of the Uncpapas, Yanktonais, Cutheads and Blackfeet. And under all of the conditions their conduct was as good as could be hoped for. A small band of the Brules were gathered at the Lower Brule agency opposite Chamberlain. At this time General D. S. Stanley, in command of the

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[620]Eighteenth Ethnology, p. 850, with map No. 12, annexed to said report.

middle district, with headquarters at Fort Sully, made the following report upon the general conditon of the Dakota Indians:[630]

Uncpapas, 2,000 in all, tributary to Fort Rice and Grand River; 1,500 hostile, 500 peaceful.

Blackfeet, on Grand River, 900; 200 hostile, 700 peaceful.

Two Kettles, about Forts Sully and Thompson; 500 hostile, 1,000 peaceful.

Sans Arcs, 1,500, Fort Sully; 1,000 hostile, 500 peaceful.

Minneconjous, 2,000, Fort Sully and Grand River; 1,600 hostile, 400 peaceable.

Upper Brules, 1,500, Fort Sully and White River; 800 hostile, 700 peaceful.

Lower Yanktonais, 1,000, Fort Thompson; peaceable.

Brules of the Platte, 1,500, Whetstone agency; supposed to be peaceable.

Oglalas, 2,000, Whetstone agency; 1,500 hostile, 500 peaceable.

The Upper Yanktonais, ruled by the chiefs Two Bears and Black Eyes, are perhaps the best behaved Indians on the river. The Uncpapas are turbulent and mischievous. Those who pretend to be friendly live at Grand River reservation, but give so much trouble that it is doubtful whether the agency can be kept on that side. Their chief is Bear's Rib.

The Blackfeet Sioux are quiet and well-behaved; their principal chief is John Grass. The Two Kettles, Minneconjous and Sans Arcs draw rations at Cheyenne. The first two tribes are quiet, the Minneconjous are turbulent and very insolent. The chief of the Two Kettles is the Tall Mandan; of the Sans Arcs, Burnt Face; of the Minneconjous, the Iron Horn and Little White Swan. The Lower Brules have a reservation and cultivate at White River and draw rations at Fort Thompson. They acknowledge no chief; are perfect Ishmaelites, wandering in small bands thousands of miles over the prairies; are treacherous beyond all other Sioux and commit most of the rascalities which occur in this district. The Lower Yanktonais are peaceable and are trying to farm at Fort Thompson. The Brules of the Platte generally stay from twenty to a hundred miles out from Whetstone, coming into that place for their provisions. Their disposition is very suspicious and like their brethren, the upper Brules are not to be trusted. The Oglalas at Whetstone are well behaved. At the agencies established for the Sioux (Dakotas) there is one class of Indians which has been friendly for four or five years and are nearly permanent residents, only leaving from time to time to hunt and pick wild fruits. With

[630]Indian, 1869, p. 330.

this class there is no trouble. There is another class passing half of their time at these agencies and the other half at the hostile camps. They abuse the agents, threaten their lives, kill their cattle at night, and do anything they can to oppose the civilizing movement, but eat all the provisions they can get and thus far have taken no lives. If the agencies were removed east of the Missouri we could suppress and punish these violent and troublesome fellows. The hostiles have representatives from every band, but the leading band in hostility is the Uncpapas. During the winter for the past two years almost the entire hostile Sioux have camped together in one big camp on Rosebud, near the Yellowstone. In the summer time they break up and spread over the prairie, either to hunt, plunder, or come into the posts to beg.

This report, dated at Fort Sully, Dakota Territory, August 20, 1869, is a most comprehensive and correct statement of the conditon of the Dakota Indians at the close of the Red Cloud war.

CHAPTER XXXVII

Establishment of Whetstone Agency—War with the Cheyennes—A Period of Peace—Red Cloud and Spotted Tail Make Their First Visit to Washington—Red Cloud's Speech—Go to New York—Reception at Cooper Institute—Go Home Satisfied.

As soon as Spotted Tail and the Brules signed the Laramie treaty in the spring of 1868 they started to establish themselves near the Missouri River. Pursuant to the contract of the treaty, General Harney went to the Missouri River and began the construction of their agency at the mouth of Whetstone Creek, eighteen miles above Fort Randall.[631] About 1,000 mixed bloods, and of the most friendly of the Brules, settled down in the immediate vicinity of the agency, but Spotted Tail, fearful of the river influences, and particularly of access to liquor, upon his young men, kept them back from twenty-five to 100 miles away from the Missouri. They did a little planting, but were mainly subsisted by the government, and thereafter gave very little concern to the authorities.[632]

As has been stated, after the terms of the treaty were made known to the hostiles there was, during the season of 1868, scarcely any trouble north of the North Platte and the Big Horn Mountains. During the war Roman Nose and Medicine Man, with their bands of Northern Cheyennes, had been the faithful and effective allies of Red Cloud, but now the Cheyennes had important business in their own country. The Kansas Pacific was shoving on to Denver, directly through the heart of the Cheyenne range, and Roman Nose obstinately contested its passage. The time had come for reciprocity on the part of

[631]Report of Captain Dewitt C. Poole, acting agent Whetstone agency, Indian, 1869, page 315; 1868, page 251.

[632]Report of Agent Poole for 1870, Indian, 1870, page 220.

the Dakotas, and while Red Cloud and Man Afraid and the other chiefs of renown personally kept out of it, they connived in sending large bodies of the hostile Teton warriors to fight under the standard of the giant Cheyenne. The Tetons were with Roman Nose in force at the several fights in eastern Colorado in the autumn of that year, and particularly in the attack on Forsyth's scouts on the 17th of September.[633]

Red Cloud signed the treaty on the 6th of November, drew his presents from the commissioners, and at once returned to the Powder River country, where he ranged unmolested for the next two or three years. Eighteen hundred and sixty-nine and 1870 were years of entire peace in the Dakota country, except a little attempt at stock stealing by some lawless Indians at Fort Rice. Not a single circumstance occurred to disturb the general quiet,[634] though, of course, as General Stanley reported, the wild Indians were not agreeable in their relations with the officials at the agencies, and at any time would have enjoyed a little fight. Nevertheless under the advice and earnest desire of the responsible chiefs, the conditions of the treaty of Fort Laramie were faithfully observed. In 1870 Governor Burbank reported that there were 4,500 Indians drawing subsistence at the Whetstone agency, consisting of Brules, Oglalas and seceders from the other bands. "They are making some progress toward civilization and are attempting in a small way to till the soil but with imperfect success. They have settled down at no particular place, but spend most of their time at from within twenty-five to fifty miles of the agency."[635] Red Cloud showed no disposition to settle down and it was deemed wise by the department to get him away from the wild and hostile influences and have him visit the east and learn something of the power and progress of the whites, and of the profits and advantages of civilization.[636] Accordingly, in the summer of 1870 the old chief, together with seventeen of his head men and three of his

[633]Brady, Pearson's Magazine for May, 1904. Sheridan, page 11. Statement of Whitewash to the writer, June 10, 1904.

[634]General Sheridan's record of engagements with hostile Indians within the military division of the Missouri, from 1868-1882.

[635]Indian, 1870, page 206.

[636]Report of the board of Indian commissioners for 1870, page 40, et seq.

squaws, and Spotted Tail and four other chiefs of the Brules, were invited to go to Washington to visit the president and to become the guests of the government. They arrived at Washington about the 1st of June. It was at once discovered that there was a bit of jealousy between the two great generals, due to the great prominence given to Red Cloud and his warriors, but Spotted Tail, in the interest of peace, wisely suppressed his ambitions and let Red Cloud take precedence of him. They were shown the navy yard and the arsenal, taken to all the places of public interest, and Red Cloud declined to have his picture taken by Brady, on the ground that he was not a white man and was not dressed to fit the occasion. For their benefit a big fifteen inch Rodman gun at the arsenal was fired, and their surprise was great as they saw the huge shell ricochetting down the river. Red Cloud carefully took the measure of the diameter of the gun with his fan and when shown the size of the grains of powder used, his admiration was unbounded. The main point which the government desired to secure by this visit was to induce Red Cloud to bring in his people and settle down at an agency on a reservation, a position on the Missouri River being preferable. The secretary of the interior made a somewhat extended talk on this line, indicating its advantages, and in general going over the whole situation growing out of the late period of hostility. To this talk Red Cloud replied:

The Great Spirit has seen me naked and my Great Father I have fought against him. I offered my prayers to the Great Spirit so I might come here safe. Look at me, I was raised on this land where the sun rises and now I come from where the sun sets. Whose voice was first sounded on this land? The voice of the red people who had but bows and arrows. The Great Father says he is good and kind to us. I don't think so. I am good to his white people. From the word sent me I have come all the way to his home. My face is red. Yours is white The Great Spirit has made you to read and write, but not me. I have not learned. I come here to tell the Great Father what I do not like in my country. You are all close to my Great Father and are a great many chiefs. The men the Great Father sends to us have no sense. What he has done in my country I did not want; I did not ask for it; white people going through my country. Father, have you or any of your friends here got children? Do you want to raise them? Look at me; I come here with all these young men. All of them have children and want to raise them. The white children have surrounded me and have

left me nothing but an island. When we first had this land we were strong, now are melting like snow on a hill side, while you are grown like spring grass. Now I have come a long distance to my Great Father's house. See if I have left any blood in his land when I go. When the white man comes in my country he leaves a trail of blood behind him. Tell the Great Father to move Fort Fetterman away and we will have no more trouble. I have two mountains in that country, the Black Hills and the Big Horn Mountains. I want the Father to make no roads through them. I have told these things three times and now I have come here to tell them the fourth time. I do not want my reservation on the Missouri. This is the fourth time I have said so. Here are some people from there now. Our children are dying off. The country does not suit them. I was born at the forks of the Platte and I was told that the land belonged to me from north, south, east and west. The red man has come to the Great Father's house. The Oglalas are the last who have come here, but I come to hear and listen to the words of the Great Father. They have promised me traders, but we have none. At the mouth of Horse Creek they made a treaty in 1852 and the man who made the treaty is the only man who has told me the truth. When you send goods to me they are stolen all along the road, so when they reach me there is only a handful. They held out a paper for me to sign and that is all I got for my land. I know the people you send out there are liars. Look at me, I am poor and naked, I do not want war with my government; the railroad is passing through my country now; I have received no pay for the land, not even a brass ring. You might grant my people the powder we ask. We are but a handful and you a great and powerful nation. You make all the ammunition; all I ask is enough for my people to kill game. The Great Spirit has made all things that I have in my country wild, I have to hunt them up. It's not like you who go out and find what you want. I have no more to say.

The secretary then took up the treaty of 1868 and carefully explained its provisions to Red Cloud. He declared he had been entirely deceived as to what the treaty provided and that that was the first time that it had ever been explained to him. He was greatly dejected to learn that he was not to be provided with ammunition and with horses, particularly so, as Spotted Tail and his people, who had settled down near the agency, were to have horses. All of the band were discouraged and despondent, and when the next day he went to the president and demanded that Fort Fetterman should be removed, and the president informed him that it could not be done, some of

the members of the party were determined to commit suicide, declaring that they might as well die there as to go home to starve among their people. Secretary Cox, therefore, rounded them up on the succeeding day and told them that he would not require them to go to the Missouri River but would establish for them a business agency somewhere on the head waters of the Cheyenne near the Black Hills, and that the government would give them cattle, food and clothing so as to make them happy in their new home. To this Red Cloud replied:

I have only a few words to add this morning. I have become tired of speaking. When I saw the treaty and all the false things in it I was mad, and I suppose it made you the same. The secretary has explained this morning and now I am pleased. As to the goods you talked about I want what is due and belongs to me. The red people were raised with the bow and the arrow and are all of one nation, but the whites who are civilized and educated swindle me, and I am not hard to swindle because I do not know how to read and write. You whites have a chief to go by, but all the chief I go by is God Almighty. What he tells me, that is for the best. I always go by his guidance. The whites think the Great Spirit has nothing to do with us, but He has. After fooling with us and taking away our property they will have to suffer for it hereafter. The Great Spirit is now looking at us and we offer to him our prayers. The Great Spirit makes us suffer for our wrong doing. You promise us many things but you never perform them. You take away everything, and yet if you live forty or fifty years in this world and then die, you cannot take your goods with you. The Great Spirit will not make me suffer because I am ignorant. He will put me in a place where I will be better off than in this world. * * * Look at me, my hair is straight. I was free born in this land. An interpreter who signed the treaty has curly hair. He is no man. I'll see him hereafter. I know I have been wronged. The words of my Great Father never reach me and mine never reach him. There are too many streams between us. The Great Spirit has raised me on wild game. * * * I do not ask my Great Father to give me anything. I came naked and I will go away naked.

The secretary then explained to the Indians that they wanted to take them to New York and let them see some of the great cities of the east, and have a pleasant time and receive presents. To this Red Cloud replied:

I do not want to go that way. I want a straight line. I've seen enough of towns. There are plenty of stores between here and my home. There is no occasion to go out of the way to

buy goods. I have no business in New York. I want to go back the way I came. The whites are the same everywhere. I see them every day. As to the improvement of the red men I want to send them here to be delegates to congress.

Notwithstanding the protest of Red Cloud, it was decided to take them to New York, and Peter Cooper tendered to the commissioners the large reception hall at Cooper Institute for a public reception to Red Cloud. Though but a few hours' notice could be given of this reception the great hall was so crowded that many left unable to obtain admission. "Never before," said the New York Herald, "was the great hall of the Cooper Institute filled with a larger or more respectable crowd of people than assembled to listen to Red Cloud yesterday. The effect of this splendid reception of the great chief was to completely win his heart, and as the crowd surged forward over the platform at the close of the evening, to tender its congratulations to Red Cloud, and many costly and appropriate presents were given to him, he was thoroughly satisfied that he had hosts of true friends among the pale faces, and he left New York the following day in the best of humor." They returned to their tribes and arrangements were at once perfected to set up an agency for Red Cloud's people not far from Fort Laramie, and Spotted Tail's request to permit the removal of his agency back from the evil influence of the Missouri was granted and the Whetstone was moved far back on the upper waters of the White River.[637] In July of 1871 Red Cloud, with his people, were finally established at the new agency, which was located on the Platte and but a short distance from Laramie.

[637]Indian, 1871, page 527.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

The Heathen Indians under Gall, Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull—They Remain Quietly on Powder River—Northern Pacific Railway Invades Their Lands—Violation of Treaty of Laramie—The Sioux Resist—Daniels and Williamson Sent to Treat with Them—Continual Attacks upon the Surveyors Who Enter the Indian Lands Without Permission.

During all of this period less than half of the warriors of the Teton tribes had submitted to the agency regulations, and still roamed through the Powder River country, living comfortably upon the buffalo and other game. The Uncpapas were the leaders among these wild Indians and only a very few, indeed, of them had ever submitted to the authorities. Black Moon was the acknowledged chief of the great heathen element of the Uncpapas and Sitting Bull was fast coming into prominence and influence as their chief medicine man.[633] As early as 1871 the whites had begun to regard Sitting Bull as the leader of this recalcitrant element of the Tetons, but he never at any time acquired that notoriety among the Indians themselves. While these Indians lived and roamed in peace, they were at heart as hostile as ever to the whites and only awaited opportunity to manifest their sentiments. The Tetons claimed the Yellowstone River as the northern boundary of their lands. The wild people among them having no regard to any treaty regulations, but based their claims to it upon their right of conquest, having in 1822 wrested the land from the Crows and from that time regarded it as their territory. The Dakotas considered the Heart River as the northern limit of their domain on the Missouri and this line projected west to the Yellowstone, thence up the Yellowstone to the Big Horn and down the Big Horn range to the Platte as their western limits. This claim, not coming in

[633]Idem, page 4.

conflict with any white interest, was not disputed until 1871, when the surveyors for the Northern Pacific railroad, after several reconnoisances of this region, determined that the practicable route for their road lay up the south bank of the Yellowstone, through the country claimed by the wild Tetons. Immediately the Uncpapas made a vigorous protest and active hostilities were resumed.[639] In this contention the wild Indians had the active sympathy of Red Cloud and all the Tetons who had joined in the treaty of Laramie, which claimed that the building of the railroad south of the Yellowstone was in direct violation of the treaty which stipulates, that the country "north of the North Platte River and east of the summits of the Big Horn Mountains shall be held and considered to be unceded Indian territory, and also stipulates and agrees that no white person or persons shall be permitted to settle upon or occupy any portion of the same, or, without the consent of the Indians first having been obtained, to pass through the same." It will be observed that the provisions of the treaty does not define the northern limit of the country so reserved, which the Indians earnestly maintained extended to the Yellowstone River, and which contention on their part could not be successfully refuted. Nevertheless, without obtaining the consent of the Indians or in any manner treating for it, the government permitted the railway to be perfected south of the Yellowstone and provided strong military escorts to protect the surveyors,[640] and forts were established; at the crossing of the Missouri, Fort McLean, afterwards Fort Abraham Lincoln, Fort Keogh on the Yellowstone, and Fort Ellis near Bozeman, to protect the line. Eighteen hundred and seventy-one, however, passed without an open rupture. By the middle of the summer of 1872 the situation was becoming tense, and on August 14th, near Pryor's Fork in southern Montana, a column consisting of four troops of the Second cavalry and four troops of the Seventh cavalry, commanded by Major E. M. Baker, of the Second cavalry, were attacked by several hundred Sioux and Cheyennes. They were under the direction of Black Moon. One soldier was killed and one citizen and three soldiers were wounded.[641] Two Indians

[639]Report of the peace commission for 1867; Indian, 1872, page 166.

[640]War, 1871, Vol. I, page 27. Sheridan, page 36.

[641]Sheridan, page 33.

were killed and ten wounded, most of them mortally. Again on the 26th of that month a war party of about 125 of the Dakotas attacked a detachment of one sergeant and six privates of the Sixth infantry and two Ree scouts, twelve miles from Bismarck, and the two Rees were killed.[642] On the 2d of October, 300 Uncpapas attacked Fort Abraham Lincoln opposite Bismarck, and wounded one and killed three Ree scouts, but withdrew without damaging the post.[643] At this time the Indian commissioner was of the opinion that there were 1,000 hostile Sioux warriors under Black Moon and Sitting Bull, but this is one of the few occasions in which the force of the enemy was underrated by the authorities.[644] It is certain that there were three or four times as many of the hostiles as the Indian department supposed.

The affairs of 1872 concluded with a fight on October 3d and 4th near White River in which a number of Indians attacked detachments of the Twenty-second and Twenty-seventh infantry under Lieutenants Crosby and Adair, and one civilian, a hunter accompanying the party, was killed.[645] Again on October 14th a large body of Uncpapas attacked Fort A. Lincoln. One company of the Sixteenth infantry and eighteen scouts went out from the garrison to drive off the attacking party, and lost two enlisted men killed, but in return got three of the Indians.[646] The difficulties already encountered along the line of the Northern Pacific induced Indian Commissioner Smith in March, 1873, to appoint a commission consisting of Rev. John P. Williamson and Dr. J. W. Daniels to go out to the hostile camps and investigate the condition of the Indians along

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[642] and [643]Idem.

[644]It is somewhat curious that both the military and civil authorities almost invariably given to overestimating the number of Indians in any given situation, persistently underrated the number of hostiles in the Big Horn country from 1868 until their eyes were finally opened by the awful Custer disaster on the Little Horn in 1876. In not a single one of the official reports of that period of eight years does anyone indicate that there were more than 1,000 of the hostiles in that country, yet it is now known that, including the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, there were not at any time less than 2,500, and when the great crisis came there were probably 6,000 able-bodied warriors there.

[645]Sheridan, page 34.

[646]Idem.

the line of the Northern Pacific railroad with reference to their probable opposition to its construction.[647] They learned at once that owing to the scarcity of food in the Yellowstone country the northern Indians mostly had come down into the neighborhood of Fort Laramie and the Black Hills, and that they were not far from the new Red Cloud agency, where one of the commissioners, Dr. Daniels, then resided. They sent out word to all of the hostile camps, inviting them to send in representatives to a general council, and on May 9th met delegates representing from 400 to 500 of the hostile lodges. The commissioners informed them of the wishes of the government in relation to the Northern Pacific, in reply to which the Indians said they were very glad to hear from the Great Father, and they wished to have him informed that they did not want the Northern Pacific railroad built and that they did not want any white men in their country. The trader was the only white man they wanted to see. They wanted the Great Father to let them sell guns and ammunition. The principal men in the council were Red Thunder, Thin Soup, Ashes, Little Chief, and Hump Rib, head soldiers of the Uncpapas, Minneconjous and Sans Arcs. The commissioners report that with apparent good feeling on the part of all the council then closed. The commissioners conclude their report with these remarks: "They feel no hesitancy in assuring the department that there will be no combined resistance to the construction of the Northern Pacific railroad. The Indians have neither ammunition nor subsistence to undertake a general war."

While the commissioners were correct in their conclusion that the Indians could not make a great and united campaign because of the lack of subsistence, they, nevertheless, were able to give the military an active summer. Red Cloud was thoroughly impressed at this time with the belief that the government did not intend to show good faith, and keep the stipulations of the treaty of Laramie relating to the sanctity of the Indian lands, and Crazy Horse, Black Moon and Sitting Bull at least received his approbation, if not his active assistance, in their attempts to harass and drive out the Northern Pacific surveyers from the Yellowstone country. On the 7th of May, at the very

[647] Indian, 1872, page 166.

time when the commissioners were at the Red Cloud agency, and two days before the great council there, another vigorous attack was made upon Fort Abraham Lincoln, which was repelled by Lieutenant Colonel Carlen, of the Seventeenth infantry.[648] The Indians were driven off with a loss of one killed and three wounded. On June 15th and 17th two separate attacks were made upon Fort Abraham Lincoln which Colonel Carlen repulsed, losing one of his Ree scouts in doing so. Three Tetons were killed and eight wounded.[649] So bold and frequent had been the Indian attacks on the military posts and escorts to working parties on the Northern Pacific that Colonel George A. Custer with the Seventh cavalry was transferred from the south to Fort Abraham Lincoln for the purpose of following and punishing these Indians, if they continued their attacks. An expedition was organized under Colonel D. S. Stanley and a supply depot established near Glendive Creek, where it empties into the Yellowstone, the point at which it was then expected the surveying parties of the Northern Pacific would run across the river. The troops comprising the "Yellowstone expedition" left Forts Rice and A. Lincoln about the middle of June, returning to their stations in September, after accomplishing the purposes intended, having had several engagements with the hostiles during this period.[650] August 4th troops A and B of the Seventh cavalry, commanded by Captain M. Moylan, had a fight with the Indians near Tongue River, Dakota, one soldier being killed. Later in the same day the main column of the Seventh, commanded by General Custer, were attacked by several hundred Sioux on the Yellowstone River. Four enlisted men were killed and Lieutenant Braden and three enlisted men were wounded.[651]

Earlier this same day young Rain in the Face had caught Dr. Honzinger, the veterinarian of the expedition, and Baliran, the sutler, and cruelly killed them. General Stanley, with the main force, coming upon the bodies of these men, was apprised of the proximity of the enemy and hurried reinforcements forward, which probably prevented more serious results, for Black

[648]Sheridan, page 35.
[649]Idem.
[650]Sheridan, page 36.
[651]Idem.

Moon's force was vastly superior to Custer's. During the succeeding winter Rain in the Face appeared at Standing Rock and boasted of the killing of these men, and word being carried to Fort Lincoln Captain Tom Custer was sent down to the agency and effected the arrest of the miscreant. He was confined at Fort A. Lincoln for some months, but finally escaped and participated in the great battles of 1876. He still (1904) resides at Eagle postoffice, on the Grand River, South Dakota. August 11th ten troops of the Seventh, under General Custer, were again attacked on the Yellowstone; four Indians were reported killed and twelve wounded.[652] On September 18th two troops of the Seventh cavalry, under Captain Egan, attacked a war party of the Sioux Indians, on the North Laramie, capturing eighteen horses and mules.[653] On the 1st of August Red Cloud and his people reluctantly gave up the temporary agency on the Platte and located on White River, about eighty miles northeast of Fort Laramie, and two or three miles from the present location of Fort Robinson. It was a very good location, in a pretty valley, with good water, farming land and building material near by. Dr. Daniels, the agent, reports: "They show more feeling of independence and more anxiety to be at peace. When they first came into the agency they sent their soldiers to get rations that they might taste the white man's food without his knowing it, but after a few issues they came to acknowledge their dependence." Dr. Daniels says that the Indians who committed the depredations during the year were composed of Bad Faced Sioux, of the Oglala band, numbering about forty lodges, under Crazy Horse. Red Cloud is called the chief of all the Bad Faces by the Indians, and most of his relatives belong to the outlaws. His son-in-law was one of the principals in killing two women on Sweetwater in July.[654] It is manifest that Dr. Daniels did not at that time have definite knowledge about the extent of the hostile party. He evidently did not comprehend that Crazy Horse was in company with most of the Uncpapas and many of the Sans Arcs and Minneconjous, as well as the stragglers and hostile

[652]Idem.

[653]Idem.

[654]Dr. Daniels' report on the establishment of the new Red Cloud agency, Indian, 1873, page 243.

element of all of the hostile bands, which it is now known were with him. So far as the agency Indians are concerned, it may be said that while they were indignant at the trespass of the Northern Pacific under the protection of the military upon their lands, they were not sufficiently interested in the matter to be thoroughly aroused over it, and it is most likely that they would soon have come to acquiesce in it had not other and more palpable violations of their treaty rights followed.

CHAPTER XXXIX

Custer Prospects Black Hills in Violation of Treaty—Indians not Consulted—Finds Gold—Makes Enthusiastic Report upon Beauty, Fertility and Resources of Country—His Report a Rhapsody—Perfectly Calculated to Cause Epidemic of Gold Fever—Accomplishes that Purpose.

Notwithstanding the troubles incident to the survey and construction of the Northern Pacific railroad, 1874 opened up very quietly in the Indian country. Christian C. Cox, a special commissioner sent out by the Indian department to investigate conditions among the Dakota Indians, visited all of the agencies and reports: "I was received with marked cordiality and while smoking with the chiefs the pipe of peace, conversed freely with them on subjects of interest to themselves and of their relations to the general government. There was no reserve and much that they said added to the favorable impressions I had formed. While visiting the encampments I could be but strongly impressed with the indolent, luxurious pictures presented by their mode of life. Every tipi had its curtains of jerked beef suspended near it. The ponies grazed on the rich prairie grass on the verge of the camp, while the young bucks were basking in the sun at the doors of their lodges, dallying with their papoooses. In fact, a more perfect representation of Arcadia could hardly be conceived."[654] It was the calm before the storm.

The raids along the Northern Pacific survey during the previous two or three years had led Lieutenant General Philip H. Sheridan, in command of the department of the Missouri, to believe that he could exercise better control over the Dakotas by establishing a military post in the Black Hills. His first

*Indian, 1874, page 89.

thought was that with Fort Laramie as a base he would start his reconnoisance of the Hills, which were not more than a hundred miles distant, but visiting that post in the fall of 1873, found the Indians in no temper to permit such an enterprise. He therefore turned his attention to Fort Abraham Lincoln as the base of operation, and visiting that post in the spring of 1874, directed General Terry to organize the expedition, to make a reconnoisance in the Black Hills country, and to put General George A. Custer in command.[655] Such an enterprise was, of course, in direct violation of the provisions of the treaty of Laramie, which stipulated that white men should not enter upon the Indian lands without first obtaining the consent of the Dakotas. The faith of the government was pledged to protect the Indians against all intrusions upon this land.[656] Pursuant to the arrangement made by General Sheridan, Colonel Custer left Fort Abraham Lincoln with 1,200 men on the 1st day of July, 1874, and proceeding in a southwesterly direction without interference or interruption reached the Belle Fourche on the 18th of July. On the 20th they crossed the Belle Fourche and began as it were, skirmishing with the Black Hills. General Custer was delighted with the country and in the most glowing terms pictures the wealth of timber and prairie and the beauty of the flora. They passed to the north of the Hills, proper, reaching Inyan Kara on the 22d, thence passing down on the western side of the Hills, crossed over into Custer Park.[657]

It would be difficult to frame language better calculated to inflame the public mind and excite men to enter this country or die in the attempt, than is the language of General Custer's official report upon the Black Hills and the section immediately surrounding them. We copy literally from the report from the time the valley of the Belle Fourche was reached: "We continued from the time we ascended from the valley of the Belle Fourche to move through a very superior country, covered with the best of grazing and an abundance of timber, principally pine, poplar and several varieties of oak. This valley in one

[655]Report of General Sheridan to the secretary of war, 1874, page 24.

[656]Report of the board of Indian commissioners for 1876, page 15.

[657]The report of General Custer, printed as executive document No. 32, 43d congress, second session.

respect presented the most wonderful as well as beautiful aspect. Its equal I have never seen and such, too, was the testimony of all who beheld it. In no private or public park have I ever seen such a profuse display of flowers. Every step of our march that day was amid flowers of the most exquisite color and perfume. So luxuriant in growth were they that men plucked them without dismounting from the saddle. Some belonged to new or unclassified species. It was a strange sight to glance back at the advancing columns of cavalry and behold the men with beautiful boquets in their hands, while the headgear of the horses were decorated with wreaths of flowers fit to crown a queen of May. Deeming it a most fitting appellation, I named this Floral Valley. General Forsythe at one of our halting places plucked seventeen beautiful flowers belonging to different varieties, and within a space twenty feet square. The same evening, while seated at the mess table, one of the officers called attention to the carpet of flowers strewed under our feet and it was suggested that it be determined how many different flowers could be plucked without leaving our seat at dinner table. Seven beautiful varieties were thus gathered. Professor Donaldson, the botanist of the expedition, estimated the number of flowers in bloom in Floral Valley at fifty, while an equal number had bloomed or were yet to bloom. The number of trees, shrubs and grasses was estimated at twenty-five, making the total flora of the valley embrace one hundred and twenty-five species. Through this beautiful valley meanders a stream of crystal water so cold as to render ice undesirable even at noonday. The temperature of two of the streams found flowing into it was taken and ascertained to be 44° and 44½° respectively. The next morning, although loath to leave so enchanting a locality, we continued to ascend this valley until gradually, almost imperceptibly, we discovered that we were on the western crest of the ridge of the Black Hills, and instead of being among barren peaks, as might be supposed, we found ourselves wending our way through a little park, whose natural beauty may well bear comparison with the fairest portions of Central Park. Favored as we had been to have a floral valley as our roadway to the crest of the hills, we were scarcely less fortunate in the valley, which seemed to rise to meet us in the interior slope. The rippling stream of clear, cold water, the

counterpart of that we had ascended the day before, flowed at our feet and pointed out the way before us, while along its banks grew beautiful flowers, surpassed but little in beauty and profusion by their sisters which had greeted us in Floral Valley. After advancing down this valley about fourteen miles, our course being almost southeast, we encamped in the midst of grazing whose only fault, if any, was the great luxuriance."[658] It is needless to suggest that in view of this report it was scarcely necessary for General Custer to add that he had discovered gold, to induce white men to determine that the Black Hills was too good a country for the Indians to possess.

Up to this time Custer had seen no signs of Indians, but on the 24th he came upon an Indian campfire still burning, and which with other indications, showed that a small party of Indians had encamped there the previous night and had evidently left that morning in ignorance of his proximity. He therefore sent his head scout, Bloody Knife, a Ree Indian, with a few braves to reconnoiter in the valley. In a few minutes two of the braves returned, reporting that they had found five lodges of the Sioux, when Custer with a company of cavalry hastened forward and very soon found himself in close proximity to the lodges, about which a considerable number of ponies were grazing. He reached a point very close to the lodges without being discovered and even was able to completely surround the camp with his cavalry before the Indians became aware of his presence. He dispatched the guard and interpreter with a flag of truce to acquaint the occupants of the camp that they were friendly and desired to communicate with them. Custer himself entered the village and shook hands with the occupants, and promised them presents of flour, sugar and coffee. The Indians agreed to accept the invitation the next morning. With this understanding Custer left them. The entire party numbered twenty-seven. "Later in the afternoon four of the men, including chief One Stab, visited our camp and desired the promised rations, saying their entire party would move up and join us the following morning, as agreed upon. I ordered presents of sugar, coffee and bacon given them, and to relieve them of their pretended anxiety for the safety of their village during the night,

[658] Idem.

I ordered a party of fifteen of my command to return with them and protect them, but from their great disinclination to wait a few minutes till the party could saddle up, and from the fact that two of the four had already slipped away, I was of the opinion that they were not acting in good faith. In this I was confirmed when the two remaining ones set off at a gallop in the direction of their village. I sent a party of our scouts to overtake them and request them to return. Not complying with this request I sent a second party with orders to repeat the request, and if not complied with to take hold of the bridles of their ponies and lead them back, but to offer no violence. When overtaken by our scouts one of the two Indians seized the musket of one of the scouts and endeavored to wrest it from him. Failing in this, he released his hold after the scout became dismounted in the struggle and set off as fast as his pony could carry him, but not before the musket of the scout was discharged. From blood discovered afterward it was very evident that either the Indian or his pony was wounded. I hope that neither was seriously hurt, although the Indians have their own bad faith as the sole ground for the collision."[659]

General Custer quite overlooks the fact that he was himself a trespasser upon the Indian preserves and that the latter had good cause to be alarmed at discovering an army in the middle of a reservation which the government had pledged its faith to hold inviolate.

"One Stab, the chief, was brought back to camp. The scouts galloped down the valley to the site of the village, when it was discovered that the entire party had packed up their lodges and fled, and the visit of the four Indians to our camp was not only to obtain their rations promised them in return for future services, but to cover the flight of the lodges. One Stab claims to belong to both Red Cloud's and Spotted Tail's agency, but has been to neither for a long time."[660]

Proceeding in a southeasterly direction, on the 30th Custer reached and ascended Harney's Peak, and at the top drank the health of the veteran for whom it was named, and for the next two or three days divided up into small parties for the explora-

[659]Idem.
[660]Idem.

tion of the country in the vicinity of Harney's Peak and Custer's Park. In describing it General Custer again breaks into a rhapsody: "The country which we have passed since leaving the Belle Fourche River has been generally open and extremely fertile. The main portion of that passed over since entering the unexplored portions of the Black Hills consists of beautiful parks and valleys, through which flow streams of clear, cold water, perfectly free from alkali, while bounding these parks, or valleys, is invariably found unlimited supplies of timber, much of it being capable of being made into good lumber. In no portion of the United States, not excepting the famous blue grass region of Kentucky, have I ever seen grazing superior to that found growing wild in this hitherto unknown region. I know of no portion of our country where nature has done so much to prepare homes for husbandmen and left so little for the latter to do as here. The open and timber spaces are so divided that a partly prepared farm of almost any dimensions can be found here. Not only is the land cleared, and timber, both for fuel and building, conveniently located, with streams of pure water flowing through it, length and breadth, but nature oftimes seems to have gone farther and placed beautiful shrubbery and evergreens in the most desirable locations for building sites. * * * Everything indicates an abundance of moisture within the space enclosed by the Black Hills. The soil is that of a rich garden and composed of a dark mold of exceedingly fine grain. We have found the country in many places covered with wild raspberries, both the black and red varieties. Yesterday and today I have feasted on the latter. It is no unusual sight to see hundreds of soldiers gathering wild berries. Nowhere in the states have I tasted cultivated berries of equal flavor to those found growing wild here, nor have I ever seen them as large or in as great profusion, as I have seen hundreds of acres of them here. Wild strawberries, wild currants, gooseberries, two varieties of blueberries and wild cherries are also found in great profusion, and of exceedingly pure quality. Cattle could winter in these valleys without other food or shelter than that to be obtained from running at large."[601] I have quoted very largely from General Custer's report because it has been frequently alleged by writers

[601] Idem.

upon this topic that he said nothing which justified the wild rush to the Black Hills which immediately ensued after the publication of his report. I leave it to the reader to determine from the foregoing whether or not he made representations which would induce land-hungry men to make great sacrifices to reach so favored a spot. But, continuing, Custer had other things to say:

"Gold has been found at several places and it is the belief of those who are giving their attention to this subject that it will be found in paying quantities. I have upon my table forty or fifty particles of pure gold in size averaging that of a small pin head, and most of it obtained today from one pan full of earth. As we have never remained at one camp longer than one day it will be readily understood that there is no opportunity to make a satisfactory examination in regard to deposits of valuable minerals. Veins of lead and strong indications of silver have been found. * * * Veins of what the geologists term gold-bearing quartz crop out on almost every hillside, but in one place, and the only one within my knowledge, where so great a depth was reached, a hole was dug eight feet in depth, the miners report that they found gold among the roots of the grass, and from that point to the lowest point reached, gold was found in paying quantities. On some of the water courses almost every pan full of earth produced gold in small yet paying quantities. It has not required an expert to find gold in the Black Hills, as men without former experience in mining have discovered it at an expense of but little time or labor."[662] And in conclusion, as if he had not already said enough to turn the heads of all the world, General Custer says, "I have never seen as many deer as in the Black Hills. Elk and bear have also been killed." General Custer returned to Fort Abraham Lincoln August 22d, having had no collision with hostile Indians.

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[662]Idem.

CHAPTER XL

The Gold Fever—Movement Towards the Black Hills—Military Interference—Yankton's Hopes Dashed—The Gordon Party Evade the Soldier's—Jenny's Expedition of 1875—The Allison Commission to Treat for Cession of Hills—Fails to Make Terms—Views of the Indians—Military Withdrawn—Miners Rush to Gold Fields—Eleven Thousand in Sixty Days—Indians Resolve to Fight.

Custer's report, which was directed to the military headquarters at St. Paul, was given to the press on the evening of the 12th day of August. To appreciate the interest which it excited, the general condition of the period must be taken into account. Less than one year previous that black Friday of 1873 had fallen upon the country, bringing to thousands and tens of thousands of families, the end of the world, so far as their financial hopes were concerned. It may be said that the American people were throughout the land in the depth of despondency, even at the point of despair. For a year they had not even dared to hope, but in a moment a new prospect had been opened to them. The magic of gold in a locality not difficult of access, in a section possessing every element attractive to the emigrant, was heralded throughout the despairing homes of the east and everywhere active preparations were made to at once, by hook or crook, reach the Eldorado. Two lines of access were at once presented, one by way of the Union Pacific railroad to Sidney, Nebraska, thence overland to the Hills; the other by the Missouri River to Fort Pierre and thence overland. The news of the gold discovery reached Yankton on the evening of the 13th, and the enterprising citizens of that place, recognizing the great advantage of that city as an outfitting depot and entreport to the Black Hills, assembled a great mass meeting on that very evening and began an elaborate propaganda to advertise the Dakota gold fields, and Yankton as the gateway, to the world.

Flaming posters were printed, setting forth the advantages of the route by which "Yankton could be reached in parlor cars, thence on palatial steamers over the Missouri River to Fort Pierre, and thence a three days' drive in sumptuous stage coaches over a beautiful prairie directly into the heart of the diggings." This Yankton movement was far in advance of any other and attracted the attention of all the gold-fevered world. A party was immediately assembled at Yankton and outfitted to hasten over the route to the Hills to thoroughly spy out the land, establish stage stations, and secure the choicest locations.[663] Excitement everywhere was intense, and little less in the cities of the east than upon the frontiers of Dakota. But, if the hopes of the despondent people had been suddenly aroused, so were they to be as promptly dashed to the ground again. Not more than four days had elapsed after the first announcement of the gold find had reached the people and the story of the activity of the Yanktonians had been telegraphed out to the waiting world, than General Sheridan from his headquarters in Chicago, wired to General Terry, in command of the department of Dakota, absolutely prohibiting all white persons from attempting to enter the Black Hills, and instructing General Terry to set his forces along the Missouri river and the Platte upon the qui vive to seize and destroy the wagons and outfits of all persons attempting to enter the Indian country, and to send the argonauts themselves under arrest to the nearest military post. Naturally, this had a depressing effect upon the gold hunters. He especially called the attention of General Terry to parties said to be outfitting at Yankton.[664] It must be said that in good faith this order of General Sheridan's was carried out in the fall of 1874 and the spring of 1875. A few persons, it is true, did succeed in reaching the diggings and got out again with exaggerated stories of the richness of the placers. But those who remained there were promptly removed by the soldiers and every avenue leading to the Hills was strongly guarded. Under all of the circumstances the Indians behaved very well indeed. They were annoyed, as they had a right to be, over the military invasion of the Black Hills in 1874, but the

[663] Yankton Press and Dakotan, August 14, 1876.

[664] Sheridan to Terry, August 18, 1876.

government gave them the assurance that the public should be kept away until a satisfactory treaty could be negotiated with the Indians for the purchase of the Hills, and they waited patiently the course of events, relying upon the government to do them justice.[665] On March 27, 1875, the commissioner of Indian affairs instructed Professor Walter P. Jenney, a geologist of note, to visit the Black Hills, make a thorough examination of the same, and to report on the mineral wealth, climate and rainfall and natural resources of the region. This Professor Jenney did, under a military escort, which left Fort Laramie on the 24th of May. Lieutenant Richard I. Dodge was in command, having something more than 400 men and seventy-five wagons with him, and they were absent four months and twenty days upon the expedition, returning on the 24th of October. While the report of Professor Jenney was not so lurid as that of General Custer, it still added something to the force of what had previously been done in establishing the fact that gold existed in the Hills over a wide area.[666]

On the 18th of June the secretary of the interior appointed a commission consisting of William B. Allison, Alfred H. Terry, A. Comingo, Samuel D. Hinman, G. P. Beaubias, A. G. Lawrence and William H. Ashby, to treat with the Dakotas with a view to secure to the citizens of the United States the right to mine in the country known as the Black Hills, and such other rights as could be secured and as might be thought desirable for the government, having in view the rights of the Indians and the obligations of the United States under the existing treaty stipulations. They were instructed to assemble the Indians in a grand council for the purpose of negotiating such a treaty. The committee met at Omaha on the 26th of August and organized and proceeded directly to Fort Laramie and thence to Red Cloud agency on the 4th of September, runners having been previously sent to the various tribes requesting them to

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[665]On July 4, 1892, this writer interviewed White Swan and Charger, two well known Two Kettles, at the Cheyenne River agency. They agreed upon this statement: "The Indians at all of the agencies counciled on the matter and we believed that the government would pay us a good big price for the Hills, so we waited."

[666]Report of Professor Walter S. Jenney, printed as executive document No. 51, 44th congress, first session.

assemble there about the 1st of September. They found an acrimonious dispute on between Red Cloud and Spotted Tail as to whether the council was to be held at Red Cloud agency or at Chadron Creek, twenty-five miles distant. It was not until the 17th of September that a final compromise was reached and the council was held on White River, eight miles from Red Cloud. The commission, too, was divided as to the best methods of procedure. Under the treaty of Laramie of 1868 it will be remembered that it was stipulated that in the future no relinquishment should be valid unless three-fourths of the adult male Indians interested in the cession joined in the instrument of sale. The majority of the commission were convinced in advance that it would be impossible to secure three-fourths of the Indians to an agreement to absolutely relinquish title to the Black Hills for any sum which the government would be willing to pay. They therefore deemed it advisable to only attempt to secure the right to mine in the Hills, without asking for a relinquishment of title. The minority believed that an absolute relinquishment should be obtained at some price. They disputed over these matters until the 20th of September, before they arrived at an agreement that they should proceed to attempt to secure the right to mine only. The tribes represented in the council were the Brules, Oglalas, Minneconjous, Uncpapas, Blackfeet, Two Kettles, Sans Arcs, Lower Brules, Yanktons, Santees, Northern Cheyennes and Arapahoes. When in the mid-summer the runners went out to the agencies to notify the Indians to meet in council, the Indians felt that they were hardly prepared to discuss the question intelligently without themselves knowing precisely what the condition in the Black Hills was. Therefore, Spotted Tail, with several of the head men, was delegated to go to the Black Hills and if possible learn what discoveries the white men had really made there. Accordingly Spotted Tail visited the Black Hills, and in an intelligent and business-like way examined the prospects, obtained all the information he could from the miners and Professor Jenney, and appeared at the council well informed as to the real value of the concessions which the white men desired to secure. On the 20th of September the council assembled, William B. Allison acting as chairman. In opening the council Mr. Allison said: "We have now to ask you

if you are willing to give our people the right to mine in the Black Hills as long as gold or other valuable metals are found, for a fair and just sum. If you are so willing, we will make a bargain for this right. When the gold or other valuable minerals are taken away the country will again be yours to dispose of in any manner you may wish. If you will sell us this right we suggest as the proper eastern boundary the point where the north and south Cheyenne come together, and that we take for mining uses all the country lying between the rivers, thus uniting as far west as the 104th meridian west of Greenwich, which will be about the line of the high limestone ridge in the west of the Hills." It will be well to bear in mind this statement of Chairman Allison's, because we will learn that even to this day there is a controversy with the Indians as to what rights they really sold when the Black Hills were finally relinquished. After this statement the Indians asked time to consult. The commissioners at once became aware that an exorbitant price would be demanded, and in this the Indians were supported by Dr. Daniels, the agent of Red Cloud and the agent of Spotted Tail, who expressed the opinion that the government ought to pay from thirty to forty millions for them. The Indians themselves were divided into two parties, the larger party being willing to dispose of the Hills if a large price could be secured; the other smaller, but more resolute party, composed chiefly of the young men, were opposed to parting with the Hills at any price. By the 23d they were in a fearful turmoil and a serious outbreak was only prevented by the wisdom of Young Man Afraid of His Horses and his soldier band. They met on the 23d, but the Indians were not ready to talk, and hourly it became more and more apparent that an agreement could not be reached. On the 26th the commission sent for twenty of the head men and endeavored to impress upon them the importance of their coming to an agreement among themselves, and a general council was fixed for the next day, the 27th. But when they came together it was discovered that more than one-half of the Indians had slipped away to their homes, abandoning all hope of making a treaty. They had talks, however, on the 27th, 28th and 29th. Red Dog said he was willing to part with the right to mine if the government

would undertake to take care of seven generations yet unborn. That seemed to be the opinion of most of the leading chiefs. Little Bear said: "Our Great Father has a house full of money. Suppose a man walks right into that house and takes the money. Do you suppose that would suit everybody? The Black Hills are the house of gold for our Indians. We watch it to get rich. I want our Great Father to remember that and not to forget it." Old Spotted Tail said: "As long as we live on this earth we will expect pay. We want to leave the amount with the president at interest forever. I want to live on the interest of my money. The amount must be so large that the interest will support us." Spotted Bear said: "Our Great Father has a big safe and so have we. This hill is our safe. We want $70,000,000 for the Black Hills." Red Cloud said: "* * * We have much small game yet that we can depend on for the future. I want the great father to buy guns and ammunition, so we can shoot the game. For seven generations to come I want the Great Father to give us Texan steers for our meat. I want the government to issue for me hereafter flour and coffee, and sugar and tea and bacon, the very best kind, and cracked corn and beans and rice and dried apples and saleratus and tobacco, and soap and salt and pepper for the old people. I want a wagon, a light wagon, and a span of horses and six yoke of working cattle for my people. I want a sow and a boar, and a cow and a bull, and a sheep and a ram, and a hen and a cock for each family. I am an Indian, but you try to make a white man out of me. I want some white men's houses at this agency to be built for the Indians. I have been into white people's houses and I have seen nice black bedsteads and chairs, and I want that kind of furniture given to my people. I thought I had some interest in this sawmill here, but I find I have not. I want the Great Father to furnish me a sawmill which I may call my own. I want a mower and a scythe for my people. Maybe you white people think I ask too much from the government, but I think those hills extend clear to the sky, maybe they go above the sky, and that is the reason I ask for so much. I think the Black Hills are worth more than all the wild beasts and all the tame beasts in the possession of the white people. I know it well, and you can see it plain enough,

that God Almighty placed those hills here for my wealth, but now you want to take them from me and make me poor, so I ask so much that I won't be poor. Now I will tell you how much country I give you. Around the Hills is a race track (referring to the valley which extends clear around the main body of the Hills) and I sell to the government inside of that trail." Many others made addresses, but enough has been given to show the general tendency of Indian opinion. Fast Bear said, referring to the capture of One Stab by General Custer, "One of my headmen was caught in the Black Hills and scared a little last summer. I want the government to pay him for that road." Mr. Allison asked, "What road?" To which Fast Bear replied, "That thieves' road." Meaning the trail made by General Custer. Stabber, whether or not in a spirit of facetiousness the commissioners do not inform us, advised the commission to "Beware and be lively and don't be discouraged and try and give us as many millions as we have asked for these hills."

Finally, on the 28th, Spotted Tail, who throughout the negotiations exercised greater business sense than any of the others, asked the commissioners to state in writing exactly what they were willing to pay for the Hills and the manner in which they proposed to pay. Consequently the commissioners on the 29th submitted a written proposition: First, they were to purchase the license to mine and, also, as incidental thereto, the right to grow stock and cultivate the soil in the Black Hills lying between the north and south forks of the Cheyenne, as far west as the 104th meridian, at an annual rental of $400,000, the United States having the right to terminate the lease at any time by giving two years' notice, the land then to revert to the Indians. That for the absolute relinquishment of the Hills, as a second proposition, they proposed to pay $6,000,000. They were to have the right to build three roads into the Hills, two from the Missouri River and one from the Union Pacific railroad. They also proposed to buy from the Indians what is known as the "Big Horn country," being really the right of way for the Montana road, at $50,000 per year, payable in cows and farming implements. The Indians absolutely refused to consider the cession of the Big Horn country, and the commissioners did not press this branch of

the subject upon them. The conference ended on the 29th without any result being reached, and the commissioners reported: "First, that no agreement can be concluded in the Indian country by means of a grand council of chiefs in the presence of the great body of the Indians.

"No agreement can be made unless accompanied with presents, as presents have invariably been distributed heretofore at the signing of treaties or agreements.

"The Indians place upon the Hills a value far beyond any sum that could possibly be considered by the government."[667]

The failure of the commission to treat either for the license to mine in the Hills or for a relinquishment of the Indian title left both parties in a desperate situation. The Indians believed that the Hills were to be taken from them by force, regardless of their natural or treaty rights, and in support of their view they noticed that immediately all military opposition to the occupancy of the Hills by the miners was withdrawn and that venturous men poured into the Hills from every section. Crazy Horse, American Horse, Gall, Black Moon and Sitting Bull were still, as they had at all times been, maintaining themselves back upon the buffalo range of Powder River; generally without any government assistance, though in times of great stress they would allow their young men to go into the agencies and gather up what rations they could secure to help them through the emergency. By the first of the succeeding March (1876) there were fully 11,000 white men in Custer City alone. The Indians could see nothing before them but the loss of their reservation and their final expulsion.[668] They, therefore, largely arrived at the conclusion that the time had come when they must make another positive and formidable stand for their rights, and to undertake this they were greatly encouraged by the success which had attended the efforts of Red Cloud in his war from 1866 to 1868.

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[667]Report of the board of commissioners to treat for the relinquishment of the Black Hills to the Indian commissioner, 1875, page 184.

[668]Report of the "Sioux commission," board of Indian commissioners' report for 1876, page 11 et seq.

CHAPTER XLI

Tetons Gather in Rosebud Country—Have Permits from Agents—Insufficient Supplies at Agencies—Compelled to Hunt for Subsistence—Notified to Return to Agency Before January 31, 1876—Unreasonable Order—Impossible to Comply—Declared Hostile and Turned Over to Military—Crook's Winter Campaign—Great Suffering—Destroys Crazy Horse's Camp—The Summer Campaign—Battle of Rosebud—Crook Defeated—Terry Moves Out from Fort Abraham Lincoln—Gibbon Moves Down from Fort Ellis—Yellowstone Reached—Fatal Error of Military in Relation to Strength of Enemy.

In the early part of the winter, 1875-6, many Indians from the different agencies went out with the consent of their agents to hunt buffalo in the unceded territory of Powder River. They had the right to do this under the treaty. There was more reason for them to go at this time because there was an insufficient supply of provisions at the agencies. December 6, 1875, the commissioner of Indian affairs sent instructions to the several agents to notify the Indians in the unceded territory to come to the agencies before the 31st of January, 1876, or that they would be regarded as hostile. This letter reached the Cheyenne River agency on the 20th of December and the Standing Rock agency on the 22d. The runner, who was sent by Agent Bingham to notify the Indians to return to the agency, was not able to return himself until February 11, 1876 He brought back word that the Indians received the word in good spirit and without any exhibition of ill feeling. They answered that they were then engaged in hunting buffalo and could not come in at present, but would return to the agency early in the spring. It does not appear that any of the messengers sent out by any of the agents were able to return to his agency by the time which had been fixed for the return of the Indians. It is very easy to understand why the most friendly Indians should hesitate to traverse a pathless country without

fuel and shelter at a time of year when fearful storms endangered human life, and with a knowledge that they would find a limited supply of provisions at the agency. In General Sheridan's report of November 25, 1876, we find that he states that on account of the terrible severity of the Dakota winter the army was compelled to suspend operations. If our soldiers were frost bitten and unable to remain in the field, even with their comfortable clothing and supply train, we can judge whether it was practicable for women and children to cross this inhospitable wilderness in the dead of winter.[669]

On the 1st day of February, 1876, the secretary of the interior notified the secretary of war that the time given the hostile Indians having expired, and they having failed to appear at the agencies as demanded, he formally turned them over to the military authorities for such action on the part of the army as the secretary of war might deem proper under the circumstances.[670] General Sheridan at once instructed General Crook to reduce these Indians to subjection. On the 1st of March, at the head of an expedition amounting in all to 803 men, Crook started out on the old Bozeman trail, passed the abandoned Forts Reno and Phil Kearney, and thence northeast, scouting Rosebud and Tongue Rivers as far as the mouth of Red Clay Creek, thence turning southeast to Powder River, and on the head of Otter Creek, March 16th, divided his command, sending Colonel Reynolds, with six companies of cavalry with one day's rations, to follow the trail of two Indians seen that day, and to join Crook at the mouth of Lodge Pole Creek, on Powder River, the next evening. Colonel Reynolds moved at 5 o'clock of the 16th and struck the camp of Crazy Horse the next morning. The Indians fled to the Hills, leaving the camp in the hands of the troops, who proceeded to destroy it and its contents by fire. The Indians molested the troops during this operation by firing from rocks, bushes and gullies, but the village was utterly destroyed, when Reynolds drew off and proceeded to make junction with Cook at the place appointed, when the expedition returned to Fort Fetterman,

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[669]Idem.

[670]Report of General Sheridan, 1876, secretary of war, page 28, et seq.

reaching that place March 26th. The weather was extremely cold; March 11th 23 degrees below zero Farenheit, March 12th 26 below, and on the nights preceding and following the attack on Crazy Horse's village it was so cold that the men were not allowed to sleep for fear of the consequences. During the expedition Colonel Reynolds lost four men killed, five men and one officer wounded, and does not report the number of Indians killed. In the village destroyed they found a large quantity of articles of food and clothing which came from the agencies.[671]

With the opening of spring the Indians proceeded to carry out their plan to make a combined resistance against the oppressions of the white men. Their proposition was to assemble a vast army of warriors back toward the Big Horn Mountains, and when all the conditions were propitious to sweep down upon the Black Hills and drive out the invaders.[672] Stealthily, the fighting men slipped away from the agencies until only a few of the headmen, old men, and women and children remained. Spotted Tail and Red Cloud remained at their agencies. Still the government authorities had no adequate conception of the extent of the movement, but contented themselves with the belief that they would be called upon to contend with 500 to 800 hostile warriors, the latter figure being the largest suggested by any authority. General Sheridan resolved to proceed against them with great care and system. He ordered three distinct columns to be prepared to move to a common center. One from Fort Fetterman, under General Crook, to pass up from the south; one under General Gibbons to come down from Fort Ellis in Montana from the northwest, and one under Terry to come from Fort Abraham Lincoln from the northeast. Crook started from Fort Fetterman on the 29th of May with forty-seven officers and 1,002 men present for duty. The expedition marched by the Montana road to the head of Tongue River, where he parked his trains, mounted his infantry on mules and June 16th started on a scout to the head of the Rosebud. "In descending the Rosebud early on

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[671]Idem.

[672]Statement of Rain in the Face and other Uncpapa Indians to writer at Cheyenne River agency, 1892.

the morning of June 17th he ran upon a large force of warriors under Crazy Horse, perfectly prepared for battle. He was aiming for their village, supposed to be about eight miles down the Rosebud, but these Indians had not awaited the attack at their village, but came out boldly and attacked Crook's command. The fight was on both banks of the Rosebud and lasted into the night when the Indians withdrew, leaving thirteen dead warriors. General Crook's loss was nine dead and twenty-one wounded; one of these, Captain Guy V. Henry, Third cavalry, was shot through the face. The ground where this fight took place was so rough, so covered with rocks, trees and bushes, that it was impossible to estimate approximately the force of the enemy, but General Crook was satisfied that the numbers and quality of his enemy required more men than he had, and being already encumbered with wounded, he concluded to return to his train on Goose Creek, which he reached on the 19th and sent back for reinforcements."[673]

The foregoing is General Sheridan's mild report of the battle of the Rosebud, which was really a desperate all day encounter. As the reader will infer, General Crook was licked and was therefore unable to come to help Terry's column a few days later, when he was so seriously needed by General Custer.

The motives actuating the Indians in their warfare and the general policy underlying their methods of campaign are a little difficult to understand from the white man's point of view. Why Crazy Horse withdrew on the night of the 17th cannot be explained from any of the ordinary rules of warfare. In a long day's fighting he had had the best of it, had been aggressive, and held Crook for every moment on the defensive, and there can scarcely be a doubt that had he renewed the attack in the morning, with such reinforcements as he could readily have called to his assistance, he could have annihilated Crook's column. Instead, however, of following up his advantage he stealthily withdrew in the night time, and as speedily as possible united his forces with those of Black Moon and Sitting Bull on the Little Horn. His conduct can

[673]General Sheridan's report, secretary of war, 1876, page 30.

best be explained upon the principle laid down by Mr. S. W. Pond in his "Indian Warfare in Minnesota," in which he says, "Indians consider it foolhardiness to make an attack where it is certain that some of them will be killed. Bloody battles are seldom fought by them except when the party attacked rallied and made an unexpected resistance. They occasionally performed exploits which none but brave men would undertake and often fought with desperate valor. * * * Indian wars are prosecuted with the utmost caution on both sides. Even war parties are very careful to keep out of danger."[674] With Crook out of commission it was already becoming manifest that General Sheridan's scheme for crushing the savages between the three columns was likely to miscarry. On the 17th of May General Terry with the Seventh cavalry, under General Custer, containing 600 men and horses, and about 400 infantry, started from Fort Abraham Lincoln, following the course of the Northern Pacific railroad, and reached the mouth of the Powder River on the 9th of June, where he met steamboats with supplies which had been sent around by way of the river. On the 21st of June he had moved up to the mouth of the Rosebud, accompanied by the steamboats. At this point he was met by scouts from Gibbon who had come down from Fort Ellis with his column of 450 men, and who encamped on the north side of the Yellowstone opposite the mouth of the Big Horn. Terry, therefore, determined to detach Custer at this point to go upon a scout up the Rosebud and across to the Little Horn and down that stream to its confluence with the Big Horn, while Terry himself would go on with the steamboats to the mouth of the Big Horn and ferry Gibbon and his column across the river, whence they were to march up the Big Horn and make junction with Custer on the 26th.

General Sheridan says, "Now up to this moment (the 21st of June), there was nothing official or private to justify an officer to expect that any detachment could encounter more than 500 or at the maximum 800 hostile warriors."[675]

How the military authorities could have kept themselves so persistently ignorant of the real situation in the Indian

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[674]3 Minn. 170.

[675]War, 1876, page 30.

country year after year surpasses comprehension. Manifestly, at no time after Red Cloud took the war path in 1866, during the ten years following, was there less than 1,500 hostile warriors in the unceded country, which during various periods was swelled by from 3,000 to 5,000 additional fighting men. In the report of General Stanley, previously quoted, detailing the numbers of agency and hostile Indians of each band, he seemed to have a clear comprehension of the situation and showed conclusively that about 60 per cent of all of the Tetons were hostile.[676] That Custer, Terry, Crook and Gibbon, who had been constantly in the hostile regions for from three to six years, could have continued in ignorance of the hostile strength seems from the present view point to have been not less than culpable carelessness.

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[676]See page 392, ante.

CHAPTER XLII

Custer's Fatal Scout—Moves Up the Rosebud—Strikes the Hostile Trail Passes Over to the Little Horn—Divides His Force in Three Columns —Reno's Advance—Charges the Villages—Meets Overwhelming Numbers—Compelled to Retreat—Custer Charges Lower Villages—Rides Into an Ambush—His Column Annihilated—Reno Entrenched—Beseiged Two Days—Terry Arrives—Indians Retire—Indian Army Dissolves—Agency Indians Go Home—Remnant of Hostiles Go to Canada.

With about 850 men, mounted, and with a large baggage train, Custer got away from the mouth of the Rosebud at noon on June 22d. In addition to the soldiers he had a strong detachment of Indian scouts and guides. About twenty miles up river he struck a heavy Indian trail and found that it led across the divide to the Little Horn. On the afternoon of the 22d they had proceeded twelve miles from the Yellowstone, on the 23d thirty-three miles and on the 24th twenty-eight miles, making seventy-three miles up the Rosebud before the trail turned off toward the Little Horn. By this time the scouts reported that the village was located on the Little Horn and Custer decided that it would be impossible to approach it in the day time. He therefore decided to cross the divide during that night of the 24th, and surprise and attack the village at daylight. At 11 o'clock p. m., therefore, he moved out from his last camp on the Rosebud, moving in a northwesterly direction along the well defined trail which the Indians had left. At 2 o'clock in the morning the scouts informed him that he would be unable to reach the Little Horn before daylight. They, therefore, went into camp and rested for three hours, and taking breakfast, moved on, crossing the divide and finding themselves in view of the Little Horn valley at 8 o'clock in the morning. Indian spies were discovered all about them and they knew that it would be no

longer possible to surprise them in the village. Custer resolved, therefore, to move forward to the attack at once.[677] The Indian camps were located on a broad flat bottom on the west side of the Little Horn, extending for about four miles up and down the creek, and covering an area one mile in width. While it was to all intents and purposes one camp, there were in fact seven distinct villages embraced in it. These were, beginning at the lower or north end of the village, the Uncpapas, under Black Moon and Gall; next the Oglalas under Crazy Horse; third, the Minneconjous under Fast Bull; fourth, the Sans Arcs under Fast Bear; fifth, the Blackfeet under Scabby Head; sixth, the Cheyennes under Ice Bear, and seventh, the Santees and the Yanktonais, being the remnant of the unsubdued hostiles from the war of the outbreak in Minnesota, under Inkpaduta.[678] Up to this time Custer had maintained his forces in a single column, but at about 9 in the morning, when several miles east of the Little Horn, he halted and divided his comamnd into three columns. Major Reno was given command of Companies M, A and G, Captain Benteen was given Companies H, D and K, Custer himself retaining C, E, F, I and L under his immediate command. In addition to this, Company B, under Captain McDougall, was left in the rear to guard the pack train. Benteen was instructed to proceed directly west, scouting across the valley of the Little Horn to prevent the Indians from escaping in that direction. Reno was instructed to proceed directly forward on the Indian trail, crossing the creek at a good ford, and to attack the village at the south end, that is the Santees and Yanktonais, under Inkpaduta. Custer informed Reno that he would support him. Even yet, with the hostile camp near at hand, no one had any appreciation of the undertaking before them. In approaching the Little Horn Reno passed down the valley of a little creek, while Custer moved along on the north bank of the same stream. About 11 o'clock a. m.,

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[677] War, 1876, page 30, et seq.

[678] Story of Crazy Horse told at Red Cloud agency upon return in winter of 1876, published in the Inter-Ocean for that date, and copied into the Press and Dakotan for June 7, 1877. The writer has had this story confirmed to him by Rain in the Face and a large number of other Uncpapas and Minneconjous who took part in the battle.

Custer motioned to Reno to come over to him, and Reno crossed the creek and Custer told him that the village was only two miles ahead and was running away. "To move forward at as rapid a rate as he thought prudent and to charge afterward, and that the whole outfit would support him." No further communication was had with Custer, but it is manifest that his plan of support was to proceed down the east side of the creek and create a diversion by striking the lower end of the village. Benteen was at this time moving off to the left on his scout, and Custer, having discovered the location of the village, sent a messenger to him to return quickly to join his command. After Reno's last consultation with Custer he moved forward rapidly and crossed the creek about two miles from that point, where he halted for about ten minutes to get his forces in order. It was now nearly 1 o'clock p. m. He was still several miles south of the camp, but there was a large party of warriors directly before him. Reno charged, driving the Indians with great ease down the valley for about two and a half miles, when he discovered that he was being drawn into a trap. He could no longer see Custer or any signs of support; the very earth seemed to grow Indians, who instead of retreating further were running toward him in vast swarms. Seeing that he must defend himself and give up the attack, he dismounted and took a position at the point of a patch of timber which furnished, near its edge, a shelter for the horses, and fought them on foot. He made some progress through the woods, but as he approached the village learned that he was fighting against tremendous odds, at least five to one. The Indians were flanking him and his only hope for escape from total destruction was in flight. There were only a few Indians on the side toward the river, and remounting his men, he dashed across the creek and gained the bluffs on the east side. He lost three officers and twenty-nine enlisted men killed and seven wounded in this attack.[679] This end of the village was in the first instance under the direction of Inkpaduta, but seeing that the main attack was being made in that direction Gall had been sent from the

[679]Reno's report, secretary of war, 1876, page 33.

Uncpapas from the lower village to assist in repulsing the attack at the upper end, and arrived on the ground but a few moments before Reno's retreat. He gave directions to Inkpaduta to keep Reno on the retreat, while he returned in all haste where it was evident that Custer was about to attack. After the retreat of Reno the great body of warriors were concentrated in the lower villages. The warriors of the Uncpapas, Oglalas and Minneconjous were ambushed under the banks and in the grass along the east side of the stream, while the women and children were sent scurrying off across the bottom toward the Big Horn.[680] After leaving Reno, Custer had proceeded back of the brow of the hill, out of sight of the villages, down the east side of the creek until opposite the lower villages. Here he turned toward the creek and from the brow of the hill saw the women and children hastening away toward the northwest, and evidently convinced that the camp was in full retreat, started in hot pursuit. With waving sabers and loud cheers, the column dashed down the hillside toward the stream, to find themselves almost instantly surrounded by several thousand well armed, howling, desperate savages. The weather was dry and windy, the air soon full of dust and smoke, so that the darkness was almost blinding. The general direction of the Indian camp was in the hands of Black Moon, chief of the Uncpapas, but he was killed almost at the beginning of the engagement.[681] What actually occurred there except the sorrowful fact that no one of the 261 men who rode down that hill with Custer survived, may never be known. Much has been written which undertakes to relate the actual proceedings there, some of it assuming to be upon the authority of Gall, Sitting Bull and other prominent Indians. From an abundance of Indian testimony, taken at different times and places, all in substantial agreement, this writer is prepared to assert that after the first moment every warrior fought for himself. It was almost as dark as night; Custer was evidently wholly taken by surprise, and his column did not last to exceed a half hour at the

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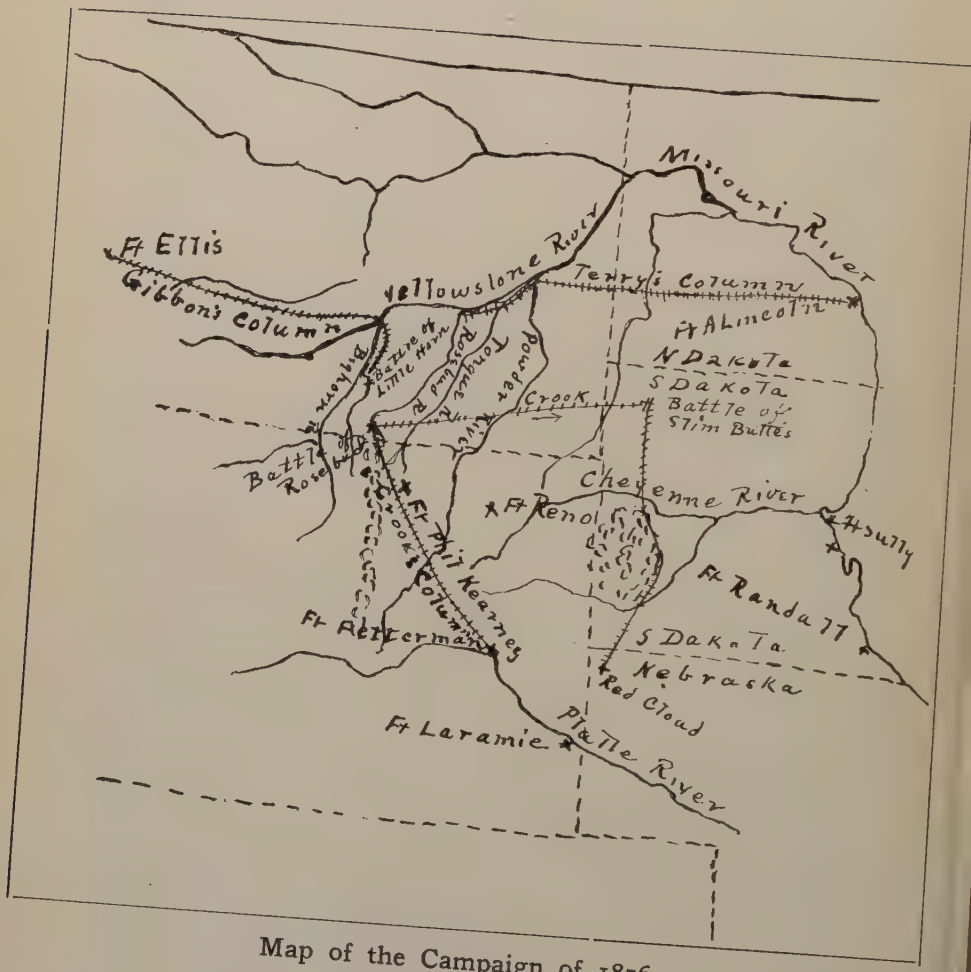
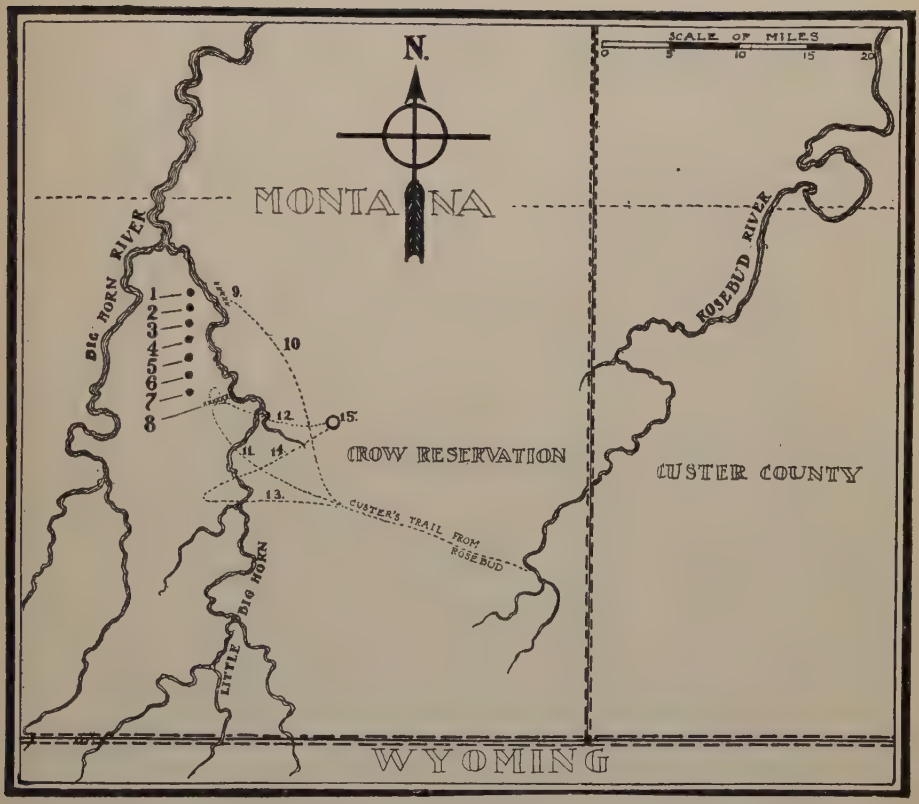
[680] Story of Crazy Horse, corroborated by Gall, Rain in the Face and other Uncpapas.

[681] Idem.



Map of the Campaign of 1876



Battle of Little Horn

1. Uncpapas under Black Moon and Gall.
2. Oglalas under Crazy Horse.
3. Minneconjous under Fast Bull.
4. Sans Arcs under Fast Bear.
5. Blackfeet under Scabby Head.
6. Cheyennes under Ice Bear.
7. Santees and Yanktonais under Inkpaduta.
8. Reno's fight.
9. Custer battlefield.
10. Custer's advance.
11. Reno's advance.
12. Reno's retreat.
13. Benteen's scout.
14. Benteen's return.
15. Where Reno and Benteen entrenched.

very utmost. The strong probability is that there was not a man alive ten minutes after they rode into the ambush. That there were more than ten warriors for every soldier in Custer's column, concentrated directly in his path, and who instantly surrounded him, is beyond question. All accounts that the fighting was continued until late in the afternoon are purely speculative and without foundation. That Custer fought bravely there can be no dispute. The most that can be said is that he rode into a trap and that his command was utterly annihilated. The Indian loss was sixty-three killed, several of whom were killed by their own arrows. Some writers have asserted that Custer dismounted his men and fought them intelligently and under orders. This is not supported by Indian testimony, which declares that he had absolutely no opportunity to give orders or to do anything but fight desperately for life after the ambush was discovered.[682]

When Reno had reached the high lands on the east side of the stream, he almost immediately joined his forces with Benteen, who, in obedience to the order sent by Custer, had returned from the scout across the creek and was proceeding down the east bank. Hearing firing down the creek, Captain Wier was dispatched with his company to reinforce Custer, but soon returned, being unable to proceed against the vast Indian force which confronted him. McDougall had come up with his company and the pack train and Reno, the ranking officer, taking command of the united parties, parked the train in a depression on the hill and set about to entrench as well as possible. It was now 6 o'clock in the afternoon, and they were immediately and furiously attacked. They held their ground with a loss of eighteen enlisted men killed and forty-six wounded until the attack ceased at 9 o'clock at night. Assured by this time of the overwhelming numbers of the enemy, and giving up any hope of support from Custer, Reno set his men to digging rifle pits and barricaded the camp with dead horses and mules and boxes of hard bread and the wagons and other camp paraphernalia to be ready for an assault in the morning. All night the men worked while the Indians held a scalp dance just below them in the valley

[682] 4 Montana, page 277, et seq.

and in their hearing. By 2:30 a. m. the camp was reasonably well prepared for defense, and at that moment the attack of the Indians was renewed with a fury seldom equalled. Every rifle seemed to be handled by an expert and skilled marksman and with a range that exceeded that of the carbines of the cavalry. It was simply impossible to show any part of the body before it was struck. As the daylight brightened countless hordes of the Indians were seen passing up the valley through the village and scampering over the high points to places designated for them by their chiefs and which entirely surrounded the entrenched camp. The fire did not slacken until about 9:30 in the morning, when it was discovered that they were making a last desperate attempt. In this attack they charged close enough to the lines to use their bows and arrows, and one man lying dead within the lines was touched by the coup stick of one of the warriors. The attack was gallantly repulsed by Colonel Benteen. The fury of the attack was now over and the Indians were seen going in parties toward the village.[683] In fact their ammunition was quite exhausted.[684] The soldiers were in a desperate situation for a lack of water and a detachment of volunteers under Colonel Benteen descended to the river and brought up a supply without interference from the Indians. About 2 o'clock in the afternoon the grass in the bottom land was set on fire, creating a dense cloud of smoke between the soldiers and the villages. Under this cloud the Indians packed their tipis and prepared to move away. Between 6 and 7 o'clock in the evening they came out from behind the cloud of smoke and were seen filing away in the direction of the Big Horn Mountains, moving in perfect military order. During that night Reno moved his position from the hill down to the stream where he could have an unlimited supply of water, and there entrenched himself to be prepared for any emergency which might befall him.[685]

When Custer started up the Rosebud at noon on the 22d, Terry embarked on the steamer "Far West" and reached

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[683]Reno's report, War, 1876, page 33.

[684]Gall, Rain in the Face.

[685]Reno.

Gibbon's camp, opposite the mouth of the Big Horn, on the morning of the 24th, and by 4 o'clock on the afternoon of that day had carried the entire command across to the south side of the river, and at 5 o'clock in the evening the column, consisting of five companies of the Seventh infantry, four companies of the Second cavalry and a battery of gatling guns, marched out as far as Tullock's Creek, where they encamped for the night. The next morning, that is the morning of the 25th, the day of the Custer battle, at 5 o'clock they pushed on and the infantry made a march of twenty-two miles over country which General Terry says was the most difficult that he had ever seen. The cavalry and the battery were pushed on fourteen miles further, and did not go into camp until midnight. At 4:30 the next morning they were aroused by three Crow Indians, who had been with Custer, and who brought to Terry the first intelligence of the awful disaster on the Little Big Horn. Their story was not credited. The infantry had broken camp before daylight, and soon came up to the cavalry, and on the morning of the 26th moved on to the Little Horn valley. All day Terry tried to establish communication with Custer, but his scouts were constantly driven back by Indians, who, in increasing numbers, hovered about Gibbon's front. At 8:40 in the evening, the infantry, having marched thirty miles on a torrid June day and being quite exhausted, went into camp at a point eleven miles north of the battlefield, and at 10:30 the next morning a junction was made with Reno's command. Custer's dead were buried, the wounded were conveyed to the steamboats and were returned to Fort Abraham Lincoln. The total loss of the military was twelve officers, 247 enlisted men, five civilians and three Indian scouts killed, and two officers and fifty-one men wounded.[686] The Indians lost sixty-three men.

Terry took up his position at the mouth of the Big Horn after he had sent his wounded away, and called upon General Sheridan for reinforcements. Large reinforcements were at once hurried into the Indian country, and Sheridan determined to promptly disarm and dismount all of the friendly Indians about the agencies, lest they be drawn into hostilities. About

[686]Sherman, secretary of war, 1876, page 35.

the end of July offensive operations were resumed, but great difficulty was found in locating the enemy. The fact is that immediately after the battle of the little Big Horn, true to that Indian sentiment which seems to be satisfied after having struck one powerful blow, the Indian army began to dissolve and the warriors filtered back to the agencies. As they passed down by the Black Hills they created a reign of terror there, and for several weeks no small body of white men was safe anywhere in the vicinity of the diggings. Emigrants were massacred, stages and freight trains held up, and outlying camps openly attacked, a very large number of massacres being committed and a good deal of stock run off.[687] Meanwhile the military raced up and down through the Tongue, Powder, Big Horn and Rosebud country, looking for the hostiles, but everywhere the Indians skillfully slipped away and avoided an engagement. General Sheridan says: "It seems to be impossible to force Indians to fight at a disadvantage in their own country. Their sagacity and skill surpasses that of the white race. * * * It is difficult for me to follow them (Terry and Crook and Miles) in this precarious pursuit of a dissolving enemy." On the 5th of September General Crook reported from Heart River that the trail of the enemy had so scattered that it could not be pursued further. He therefore started for the Black Hills, making Custer City his objective point. On the 14th of September, at Slim Buttes, he struck American Horse and in the engagement the old chief was killed, and the next day Crazy Horse fell upon Crook and harassed him upon the march clear into the Black Hills, but there was no decisive engagement. Gall and Sitting Bull, with a very small detachment of the hostiles, had crossed the Yellowstone and proceeded north toward Canada. It is probable that they did not have more than 100 or 150 warriors with them. On the 26th and 28th of October Terry successfully took the arms and ponies away from the Indians at Standing Rock and Cheyenne agencies, and on the 23d of that month Crook disarmed the Indians at Red Cloud and Spotted Tail. General Miles was sent on a scout north of the Yellowstone in the vicinity of Fort Peck,

[687]Tallant's History of the Black Hills, page 242. Major John R. Brennan's diary in the possession of the State Historical Society.

and on the 21st of October had a council with Sitting Bull in person. Sitting Bull said he wanted "an old fashioned peace with privileges of trade, especially in ammunition." On the next day he had another council with them, in which Sitting Bull and Gall and several other prominent Indians took part, and while they professed a desire for peace, gave no assurances of good faith, and an engagement immediately followed. The Indians were driven from their camp and across the Yellowstone, a distance of forty-two miles, being rapidly pursued by the troops, and on the 27th five of the principal chiefs surrendered and were at once sent as hostages to Fort Snelling, as surety for the return of the entire camps, composed of about 2,000 souls, to the Cheyenne River agency. Sitting Bull and Gall, with their personal followers, escaped and went into Canada, this closing the campaign of 1876.[688]

[688] Sherman, secretary of war, 1876, page 35.

CHAPTER XLIII

Demand for Opening of the Black Hills—A New Commission and New Methods—No General Council Held—Head Men Approached at Each Agency and Treaty Signed—Its Terms—Gall and Sitting Bull in Canada—Spotted Tail Induces Crazy Horse to Surrender—Death of Crazy Horse—Repeated Removal of Agencies—McGilicuddy Manages Hostiles Without Soldiers—Gall Surrenders—Sitting Bull Abandoned—Sitting Bull Comes in and is Confined at Fort Randall—Spotted Tail Killed—Sitting Bull Released—Fails to Bluff Agent McLaughlin—Village Life Broken Up—Indian Courts for Trial of Civil Offenses.

The demand for the opening of the Black Hills to legal settlement by the absolute relinquishment of the Indian title thereto had become imperative. On the 15th of August, 1876, congress passed an act for the appointment of a new commission to treat for the cession of the Black Hills, and on the 24th day of August the following gentlemen were commissioned to perform that important service: George W. Manypenny, Columbus, Ohio; Henry C. Bullis, Decorah, Iowa; Newton Edmunds, Yankton, D. T.; Bishop Henry B. Whipple, Faribault, Minnesota; A. G. Boone, Denver, Colorado; A. S. Gaylord, Washington, D. C.; General H. H. Sibley, St. Paul, Minnesota; Dr. J. W. Daniels, St. Peter, Minnesota.[689] The commissioners proceeded to the work instantly and four days later met and organized at Omaha, though General Sibley was unable, by reason of ill health, to continue with the commission. On the 7th of September the commission met the chiefs and headmen of the Oglalas, the northern Cheyennes and the Arapahoes, the latter claiming an interest in the territory to be relinquished, and were received with a warm welcome and great earnestness. Red Cloud said to them: "We are glad to see you.

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[689]Appendix to the report of the Indian commissioner for 1876.

[690]Idem.

You have come to save us from death." The commission say: "While the Indians received us as friends and listened with kind attention to our proposition, we were painfully impressed with their lack of confidence in the pledges of the government. At times they told their story of wrongs with such impressive earnestness that our cheeks crimsoned with shame. In their speeches and recitals of wrongs which their people had suffered at the hands of the whites, the arraignment for gross acts of injustice and fraud, the description of treaties made only to be broken, the doubts and distrusts of our present professions of friendship and good will, were portrayed in colors so vivid and language so terse that admiration and surprise would have kept us silent had not shame and humiliation done so. That which made this arraignment more telling was that it often came from the lips of men who are our friends and who had hoped against hope that the day might come when their wrongs would be redressed. The old chief said: 'If you white men had a country which was very valuable, which had always belonged to your people, and which the Great Father had promised should be yours forever, and men of another race came to take it away by force, what would your people do? Would they fight?' " One of the duties imposed upon the commission was to see if they could not induce the Indians to leave the Dakota country and take up their homes in the Indian Territory. In the discussion of this proposition, Spotted Tail said: "I hear that you have come to move us. Tell your people that the Great Father promised that we should never be removed. We have been moved five times. I think you had better put the Indians on wheels and then you can run them about whenever you wish." Red Cloud, discussing the Custer war, said: "Rub it out. Tell the white people that this is not an Indian war. It is a white man's war. A great many widows and orphans have been made on both sides. It is time to ask who is to take care of them. This matter has not been begun with judgment. It is displeasing to the Great Spirit."

The commissioners had prepared a treaty in advance which provided that the Indians should accept a reservation beginning on the north line of the state of Nebraska at the intersection of the 103d meridian, thence up that meridian to the Chey-

enne River, thence down the Cheyenne to the forks, thence up the north fork of the Cheyenne to the intersection of the 103d meridian, thence north on that meridian to the Cannon Ball and down the Cannon Ball to its mouth, thence down the Missouri to the north line of the state of Nebraska, and westward on that line to the place of beginning. All other lands outside of this reservation were absolutely relinquished. This included not only the Black Hills, but the long contended for buffalo country of the Powder River and the Yellowstone. An entirely new policy was pursued from that of 1875. Instead of assembling all of the tribes in a great council, only the chiefs and the headmen were consulted and they, of each tribe, separately. The treaty further provided that three wagon roads might be built through their reservation to the Black Hills, and that the government should provide the Indians with a stipulated ration, consisting for each individual of a pound and a half of beef, or in lieu thereof one-half pound of bacon, one-half pound of flour and one-half pound of corn, and for every hundred pounds of rations four pounds of coffee, eight pounds of sugar and three pounds of beans. Such rations, or so much thereof as might be necessary, to be continued until the Indians are able to support themselves. Rations to school children were to be issued to them only in case they regularly attended school, and it was agreed to provide them with schools, agents, traders, farmers, carpenters, blacksmiths and other artificers. The Indians agreed to locate at some point convenient to the Missouri River to receive their rations there. The stipulation of the treaty of Laramie, which provided that three-fourths of the adult males should join in the relinquishment of any of their remaining lands was totally ignored. The treaty was presented to Spotted Tail on September 23d, and it was signed by the old chief and forty-two of his leading men. On the 26th it was presented to the Oglalas and signed by Red Cloud, Man Afraid, the younger American Horse and nineteen other of the prominent men. By October 11th they had carried it to the lower Yanktonais, where it was signed by a dozen or fifteen men, also by a number of the Uncpapas and Blackfeet, John Grass being the first signer for the latter band. On October 16th it was signed at the Cheyenne River agency by the Sans Arcs,

others of the Blackfeet and the Two Kettles and Minneconjous. It was presented at Crow Creek on the 21st of October and signed by White Ghost and a number of his people. On the 24th it was carried over to the Lower Brules and the signatures of nine of their headmen were secured, and finally on the 27th day of October it was signed by the Santees at their agency in northern Nebraska, Wabasha, the son of the famous Mississippi Dakota who was much in our view in the first chapters of this history, being the first signer.

Under this treaty all of the Sioux, except Gall and Sitting Bull and the small bands accompanying them, who were at the time renegades along the Canadian line, at once, or very soon thereafter, became settled agency Indians and remain in that condition until this day. As will be readily understood, the making of a treaty was a forced put, so far as the Indians were concerned. Defeated, disarmed, dismounted, they were at the mercy of a superior power and there was no alternative but to accept the conditions imposed upon them. This they did with as good grace as possible under all of the conditions existing. Immediately following the signing of the treaties two of the commissioners, Dr. Daniels and Arthur G. Boone, started with Spotted Tail and ninety-four persons, representing the Brules and Oglalas, for the Indian Territory to examine the country and if possible spy out a southern home for the Dakota Sioux. They spent some time in the autumn looking over that section, but Spotted Tail was not pleased with anything he found and would not consent to a removal.[601]

Before winter a large portion of the hostile element had come into the agencies and were pretty well provided with rations and clothing by the government. As we have seen, shortly after the battle of the Little Horn the hostile forces divided, Gall and Sitting Bull going north and Crazy Horse, going to the southwest, skulked about the Big Horn Mountains. Throughout the fall and early winter he kept up a constant communication with the Brules and Oglalas, and in February General Crook had learned enough of his situation to become convinced that if properly approached and solicited he would

[601] Indian, 1877, page 84.

come in and surrender. Therefore, in February, 1877, he, General Crook, induced Spotted Tail to go out to the hostile camp with a band of about 250 of the sub-chiefs and headmen of the Brules on a mission of peace. In the dead of a severe winter the old chief and his men made this long and dreary expedition to the camp of Crazy Horse, who, by the way, was a son of Spotted Tail's sister. Spotted Tail found large camps of the hostiles on the Little Missouri and Little Powder Rivers, and through his earnest efforts and continuous councils he succeeded in inducing them to bury the hatchet and come into the agencies. He returned to his agency on April 5th after a campaign of hardships and sufferings and cold and hunger lasting over fifty days, but was able to report that he had been entirely successful in his mission. He brought back with him 917 souls, and brought assurances that Crazy Horse with 200 lodges was not far behind. In concluding his report upon this, General Crook says, "This great result has been accomplished mainly by Spotted Tail. He has, though an Indian untutored and uncivilized, been the means of saving hundreds of lives and thousands of dollars of treasure to the government." In consideration of his services Spotted Tail was given the honorary title of head chief of all of the Dakota nations. He was also given the commission and pay of a lieutenant in the regular army.[602]

It was on the 6th of May, 1877, that Crazy Horse with 889 of his people, and 2,000 ponies, came into Camp Robinson and surrendered to General Crook in person; and General Sheridan reported that "The Sioux war is now over. Sitting Bull is north of the Missouri in British America with his own small band and other hostiles, the number of whom cannot exactly be told."[603] After the surrender Crazy Horse remained quietly about Fort Robinson until the latter part of the summer, when he again became uneasy and discontented and gave indications of another outbreak, which led General Crook to conclude that it would be the part of wisdom to place him under arrest and confine him as a prisoner. While entering the guard house he broke loose from those about

[602]War, 1877, page 66.
[603]War, 1878, page 89.

him and attempted to make his escape by hewing his way with a knife through the circle of sentinels and other bystanders. In the melee which resulted he was fatally wounded and died the same night, September 5, 1877. After his death general harmony reigned and the main body of the Indians became anxious to establish and maintain the most friendly relations with the whites.[694]

Under the Black Hills treaty it was agreed that in the event that the Brules and Oglalas did not elect to take up a new home in Indian Territory they should remove to new agencies near the Missouri River, where it would be convenient to furnish them with their supplies, and from the time Spotted Tail and his men returned from the south in the fall of 1877, preparations were being made for their removal. It was, however, November 1, 1877, before the emigration actually took place. The two camps, Spotted Tail's and Red Cloud's, moved at the same time in parallel columns about forty miles apart. For some reason not explained, Crazy Horse's band traveled with Spotted Tail. When they had moved down about seventy-five miles about 2,000 of the Crazy Horse Indians, bearing with them the body of their late chief, broke away from the Spotted Tail column and came over to Red Cloud's band, and by exhibiting Crazy Horse's body and in other ways attempted to incite them to hostilities, but failing in this a large part of them struck off to the north and back into the Powder River country, while a few of them remained with Red Cloud and the remainder returned to Spotted Tail. On the 25th of November, after great hardship and suffering, Red Cloud reached the Missouri River near the mouth of the Yellow Medicine, midway between the mouth of the White River and the Great Bend, where they settled down quietly and spent the winter. About the same time Spotted Tail and his band arrived at the old Ponca agency, where they took up their residence for the winter. Neither band was satisfied with the locations, and as spring approached began to prepare for another removal. Red Cloud and his people went back and established themselves

[694] Indian, 1878, page 37, et seq.

at the Pine Ridge agency, where they still remain, and Spotted Tail and his people set up at Rosebud.[695]

In fifteen years these Indians had been moved ten times, sometimes a distance of 300 or 400 miles. The responsibility for these removals could not be charged to the Indians themselves. Locality and love of home is as strongly marked in the American Indian as in the white man. It is not to be wondered at that they had at times been rebellious and were not self supporting. The old maxim that "a rolling stone gathers no moss" was never more applicable, nor is it at all remarkable that the Indian had begun to look with distrust upon all efforts of the government for his existence.[696] No noteworthy event occurred in relation to the Indians of Dakota during the next year or two with the exception of Sitting Bull and Gall, who were in Canada, and the Crazy Horse band, who had gone to them. All of the Dakotas were living peaceably about the agencies, drawing their rations with punctilious regularity, sending their children to school in constantly increasing numbers and more and more engaging in light labor. They rapidly became fairly responsible teamsters and were employed at all of the agencies to do the hauling of supplies which particularly at Pine Ridge and Rosebud was a considerable proposition. Before the building of the Elk Horn railroad the supplies for Pine Ridge were hauled from the Red Cloud landing near Chamberlain, a distance of 200 miles, and amounted to about 2,000,000 pounds annually.[697]

The conduct of the Indians, particularly those who had so recently been hostile, was most praiseworthy. In 1879 Dr. McGillycuddy, agent at Pine Ridge, reports, "This agency has for the past year been without any soldiers or connection with the army whatever, and no military post is in the immediate vicinity. * * * The past year has been the quietest in the history of the Oglalas. Not a crime has been committed by an Indian. This record for a community of over 7,000 people with no law or force to restrain them will compare very favorably with any of our eastern towns of an

[695]Indian, 1879, page 37.
[696]Indian, 1879, page 39.
[697]Indian, 1879, page 38.

equal size."[698] An equally good record was made by Spotted Tail's people at the Rosebud. Spotted Tail, however, like many another man nearer the fountain of civilization, allowed prosperity and a constant flattery and praise which he had received from the whites in authority to "swell his head," and he conceived the notion in the summer of 1880 that he was too large a man to take orders from anybody, and set himself up above the agent and any other authority about the reservation. He assumed control of the police force and ordered a large body of it to prevent any who might desire to buy or sell at the two stores of the agency from doing so. The agent at once sent for Spotted Tail, but could not find him. The agent called upon the police to assist him, but they were afraid of Spotted Tail and dared not comply with his orders. A large crowd had gathered about the traders' stores, and but one policeman, Thunder Hawk, reported for duty. The agent instructed Thunder Hawk to gather up a force of volunteers and disperse the crowd, but he was unable to secure assistance. The agent himself then went out to the stores and ordered the crowd to disperse, but he was informed that they were there in obedience to the orders of their chief, Spotted Tail, and that they would not abandon the place without his consent and authority. The agent told the policemen that they had mistaken their duty. That they would not be allowed to take orders from anyone without his approval, and that if they persisted in their disobedience they would be dismissed and disgraced. With the assistance of Thunder Hawk the agent was able to disperse the crowd. Spotted Tail then appeared and informed the agent that the police force belonged to him, and that unless Thunder Hawk was dismissed for disobedience and usurpation he would disband the police at once. The agent told him that if the police were his he did not want them; to disband them at once and that he would reorganize the force by selecting better and truer men with Thunder Hawk at their head. The interview was long and heated and ended in Spotted Tail calling a council, to which he referred the whole matter. Agent Cook, however,

[698]Indian, 1880, page 41.

before he entered the council, told him that it made no difference what the conclusion of the council might be, that he could not surrender his authority to Spotted Tail or anyone else. The council sustained the agent. The police resumed their duties and Spotted Tail apologized, saying that he had been the agent so long that he had forgotten that the Great Father had sent him a new one.[699]

Early in 1881 the large body of the hostiles in Canada deserted Sitting Bull and returned to the United States under the leadership of Gall, who by this time had gained complete ascendancy in influence over his wily rival. But one subchief and 200 old men, women and children remained with Sitting Bull. Gall immediately came in contact with General Miles on the Poplar River in Montana, and after a stubborn engagement, surrendered with all of his followers. He pledged loyal obedience to the United States authorities and was taken first to Fort Buford and soon after to Standing Rock agency, where he arrived in June, 1881, and from that time until his death remained at peace with the government.[700]

In July, 1881, starving and in rags, Sitting Bull, feeling that it was useless to longer hold out, appeared at Fort Buford and voluntarily surrendered to the United States troops. He was taken to Fort Randall and held as a prisoner of war for two years, when he was returned to the Standing Rock agency and took up his home near the place of his birth on Grand River, and remained quietly there, except when absent on exhibition throughout the east and visits to Washington, until his death, which occurred during the Messiah excitement in December, 1890.[701] In 1881 Spotted Tail, who, notwithstanding his many excellent qualities, was exceeding lecherous in his life, incurred the jealousy of Crow Dog, a leading subchief of his people, who shot and instantly killed the old chief near Rosebud agency. Political as well as domestic jealousy entered into the feud which resulted in his death. Spotted Tail was about to go to Washington to consult with the Indian department about the right of way for the Mil-

[699]Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson, 1 S. D., page 151.
[700]Idem, note 60, page 128.
[701]Indian, 1881, page 54.

Spotted Tail

waukee and Northwestern railroads, which at that time proposed to extend across the reservations from Chamberlain and Pierre respectively to the Black Hills. On the 5th of August Spotted Tail called his people into council to learn their views before he left for the east. The feast attending the council broke up about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The people were scattering out to their camps, and Spotted Tail, mounted on his horse, was some distance in advance. Crow Dog, though a prominent sub-chief who had rendered noteworthy assistance to the agent in the disturbance of the previous year, had not attended the council, but at this juncture was seen approaching the village in his wagon, his wife accompanying him. As he was about to meet Spotted Tail he alighted from his wagon and shot the old chief through the breast. Spotted Tail fell from his horse, but at once rose up, making a few steps toward Crow Dog, at the same time endeavoring to draw his pistol. Crow Dog then jumped into his wagon and drove off toward his camp, some nine miles distant. The crime created intense excitement among the Indians, and while in the greater measure due to domestic jealousy, Crow Dog was incited to the act by Black Crow, a headman who was ambitious to succeed Spotted Tail as chief. Both Crow Dog and Black Crow were arrested and taken to Deadwood for trial, where Crow Dog was convicted and sentenced to be hung.[702]

Neither Spotted Tail nor Red Cloud ever acquired progressive views. Both, having risen to the position of important chiefs, were reluctant to surrender any portion of the power thus acquired, and never took kindly to the ways of civilization. In 1882 Red Cloud, as was the case with Spotted Tail a couple of years earlier, acquired rather exalted views of his own importance and sought to set at defiance the authority of the government, but Dr. McGillycuddy was always a bad man to fool with, and he suppressed his ambitions so promptly that he did not again exhibit any particular desire to run things.[703] On May 10, 1883, Sitting Bull and his immediate followers to the number of 153, who had for nearly two years been

[702]Indian, 1882, page 35.
[703]Indian, 1883, page 48.

held as prisoners at Fort Randall, were released and returned to the Standing Rock agency. On the following day Sitting Bull, accompanied by his people, came to the agency office, soliciting a council, whereupon with the greatest sang froid he commenced to harangue by announcing a code of regulations by which he and his people desired to be governed, stating that he did not intend to plant anything that season, but would look around and see how it was done so that he would be prepared to commence next year. He did not want ration tickets, but would draw all of the supplies in bulk for himself and his people. He asked to be placed first on the rolls of the agency, together with other absurdities. He presented a paper which he had prepared in duplicate, asking that his appointment of eleven chiefs and thirteen headmen be confirmed. His request for the appointment of these twenty-four chiefs and headmen, out of a total of thirty-five adults, which constituted his party, did not seem to him unreasonable, arguing that they were all hereditary chiefs, good and true men, true to him and superior to any of the old chiefs of the agency. He said that the Great Father had written to him before he left Fort Randall that he was to return to his own country and live among his people, where he would be the headman, the big chief of the agency. That a good house was to be built for him to live in. That he and his people would have cattle, wagons, horses and buggies. That he might gather his people from all the other agencies, and have everything that he desired. Major McLaughlin listened patiently to his inflated nonsense, when he told him that to be honest with him he must be very frank, and he must therefore say to him that the Great Father never wrote him any such letter as he claimed, in fact never wrote him any letter at all, or made him any such promises as he had stated, or authorized any such promises to be made by anyone. That the Great Father recognized the most industrious Indian who was endeavoring to benefit his condition and set a good example to his people as his biggest chief, and that he would receive his share of rations and supplies like the other Indians. After hearing the agent's reply he was considerably crestfallen, and said he was greatly surprised at the very beginning. Major McLaughlin then told him the rules and regulations governing the Indian

Sitting Bull

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service, and informed him that they would be strictly enforced, and it was better for him to get the right idea from the start than to continue to labor under such foolish ideas as he had just expressed. The agent then had a field of twelve acres plowed for Sitting Bull and his people, and notified him that he must commence planting on the following day, and at the appointed time he reported with his people ready for work. Here he came upon another disappointment. Instead of bossing the job for his own band the major staked the field off into patches of equal size for each family, and Sitting Bull was compelled to plant his own plot. Major McLaughlin visited him in the field while at work and found him using a hoe rather awkwardly, but in two days the field was nicely planted. He told the major that he had determined to become a farmer in earnest. No man in all of the Indian country was so capable of forming so just an estimate of an Indian as was Major McLaughlin, and here is his opinion of Sitting Bull, when he became an agency Indian in 1883: "Sitting Bull is an Indian of very mediocre ability, rather dull, and much the inferior of Gall and others of his lieutenants in intelligence. I cannot understand how he held such sway over, or controlled men so eminently his superiors in every respect, unless it was by his sheer obstinacy and stubborn tenacity. He is pompous, vain and boastful, and considers himself a very important personage. The late hostiles at this agency are doing well and are among the best disposed and most industrious farmers here, the noted war chief, Gall, being one of my Indian district farmers."[704]

Crow Dog, the murderer of Spotted Tail, was given trial in Judge Moody's court at Deadwood and was convicted and sentenced to be hung. There was a question about the jurisdiction of the court, and as a test case the question was carried to the supreme court of the United States, which held that under the statute the courts of the United States had no jurisdiction as to crimes committed by one Indian against the person or property of another Indian, nor to any Indian committing any offense in the Indian country who had been punished by the local laws of his tribe. The murderer was there-

[704]Indian, 1885, page 24.

fore set free and returned to the reservation. As a consequence of this decision a very bad state of affairs grew up on the reservation. White Thunder, the best friend the government had at Rosebud agency, was murdered in 1884 by young Spotted Tail and Thunder Hawk, and as they immediately, in accordance with the local laws of the tribe, expiated the crime by paying ponies to the family of the murdered Indian, nothing could be done to punish them for the offense.[705]

About this time a system of Indian courts was created at all of the agencies for the punishment of minor offenses and for the adjustment of difficulties arising among the Indians, which proved to be of great benefit in preserving order and very popular with the Indians themselves. Three of the best and most reliable Indians were selected by the agent to constitute this court in the first instance, but later the Indians in council were permitted to elect their own judges. It is highly creditable to them that they have invariably elected the best men in the tribe to hold these responsible positions for them, and their decisions have given almost universal satisfaction. Though every Indian aggrieved by their decisions has a right of appeal to the agent, appeals are very rare indeed.[706]

On the 1st day of January, 1885, Eggs on Head, a Lower Brule Indian, was killed by two white men on Dry Island in the Missouri River. The men were engaged in stealing timber from the reservation, and the Indian tried to stop them. Angry words followed, which resulted in the killing of the Indian. The murderers were arrested and tried before the United States court at Yankton, but acquitted. At that time it was very difficult to secure a jury in Dakota that would do justice between the white man and the Indian. A good deal of trouble was experienced at this time by the sale of liquor to the Indians on the reservation, but numerous convictions and heavy fines and imprisonments soon broke up the practice.

Red Cloud continued obstinately opposed to education and civilization, and constantly harangued against sending the

[705]Indian, 1885, pages 18, 27, 37, 56; for 1887, page 63.

[706]Idem for 1885, page 34.

children to school. As a result very few of the Oglalas were being educated. Agent McGillycuddy resolved to enforce the provision of the treaty which provided that the rations for children of school age should only be issued to them in case they were attending school regularly. Red Cloud lodged complaint against him before the Indian commissioner for withholding his rations, and an investigation ensued, but when the facts were revealed McGillycuddy was justified in his course. Red Cloud, not satisfied with preventing the education of the younger people of his own reservation, started out with a propaganda to the other reservations to discourage the education of the children. Agent McLaughlin, learning of the bad influence he was exerting, hustled him off of the Standing Rock reservation and he was likewise compelled to leave the Cheyenne River reservation and return to his home.[707]

At about this period, 1885, a real revolution took place in the social life of all of the Dakota Indians, and they broke up the old fashioned village life which had been necessary in the days when they were hourly subject to attack from their enemies, and separated into family camps, selecting homes where each family could have an abundance of timber, pasture, hay and grazing land. This new life relieved them from many of the temptations to evil and mischievous habits to which they were subjected in the days when they were congested in villages. At about this time, too, a majority of the Indians put on white men's dress, had their hair cut, and thus took a long step in the way of civilization. While the progress of the Indians was general at all of the reservations, there was an exception to this general rule in Hump's band of the Minneconjous located on Cherry Creek, an affluent of the Cheyenne, in the interior of the reservation. This band had been among the most hostile in the Red Cloud and Custer wars, and had accompanied Sitting Bull in his flight to Canada, and were among the last who surrendered to the authorities. They numbered about 550 souls, and Hump and his sub-chiefs were most jealous of their rights as headmen and strictly adhered to all of the old-time customs of the savages. Long after all of the other Indians had adopted citizens' dress they adhered

[707]Idem, for 1885, page 52, and for 1886, pages 51 and 79.

to the breech cloth and the blanket, kept up the heathen dances, wore long hair, and lived in the old fashioned, clustered villages. It is only in very recent times that they have adopted more progressive views.[708] In 1885 a movement was undertaken for the reduction of the great Sioux reservation by opening to settlement that portion between the Cheyenne and the White Rivers. This was considered exceedingly desirable by the people of Dakota Territory, as it opened the way to the construction of railroads to the Black Hills. A treaty very advantageous to the Indians and the government alike was negotiated, and as there was no doubt in the mind of anyone that it would be ratified by congress, the railroad companies made active preparations to begin the construction of their lines, but for some inexplicible reason the treaty was not ratified, and as there appeared to be no further probability of the reservation being opened, the Northwestern railway secured access to the Hills by the Nebraska route, and in consequence the eastern and western portions of South Dakota are separated by a wide expanse of unsettled territory to this day.

With the progress of time, the value of the agency courts of Indian offenses became more and more emphasized. In 1887 Major McLaughlin reports that at Standing Rock fifty-two cases were heard and adjudicated by the court without a single appeal, and a large number of minor cases were settled by advice of the court without going to trial. Offenders were punished by close confinement and hard labor and in some instances fines were imposed. The guilty party, if the owner of firearms, was obliged to turn them over to the police court, and if the convict himself had no arms, then his relatives were compelled to turn in theirs. By this means Major McLaughlin reports that seventy-four rifles and five revolvers had come into the possession of the court during the year and were now safely stored in the government warehouse. The major adds, "This court is no respecter of persons, as having recently having had the conceited Sitting Bull before them for assault, the tomahawk with which he attacked his antagonist, Shell King, was confiscated by the court, as was also

[708]Idem, for 1887, page 53.

Struck by the Ree

Shell King's knife, with which he attempted to strike Sitting Bull."[709]

Matters kept on in the even tenor of their way, the Indians slowly making progress, but with very few events which are worthy of note. On Sunday morning, July 29, 1888, Struck by the Ree, familiarly known as Old Strike, the chief of the Yanktons, died at Yankton agency. He was an extraordinary man, possessing honesty and excellent judgment, and he adhered to the provisions of their treaty of 1858 with a fidelity which amounted to a religious zeal. He was almost fanatical in this particular. He was opposed to progress and education, and in council made a strong speech against patronizing the schools, but when the agent showed him the treaty in which he had agreed to provide for schools, he immediately hitched up his team and drove all over the agency compelling the people to send in all their children to school, and the institution was soon filled to overflowing. His influence was not confined to the Yankton branch of the Sioux. He was often consulted by other chiefs, and messengers sent a long distance to obtain his views on important matters. We have seen how he steadfastly supported the whites during the war of the outbreak. It was announced that he was more than 90 years of age at his death, but as a matter of fact he was precisely 84 years of age, having been born at Yankton on the 29th day of August, 1804, while Lewis and Clark were in council there with his people. He was a Catholic, but at his request his funeral sermon was preached by Rev. John P. Williamson, from the text, "Know ye not that there is a prince and a great man fallen this day in Israel?"[710]

During this year a new effort was made to secure a treaty for the opening of the reservation, but the commissioners were unable to secure the necessary signatures from the Indians for the purpose, all of the old leaders like Red Cloud, Man Afraid, Gall and Sitting Bull opposing the treaty. In the summer of 1889, however, a new commission was sent out, consisting of General Crook, Governor Charles Foster of Ohio and Senator Hoar, and starting in at the Pine Ridge agency,

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[709]Idem, for 1888, page 68.

[710]Idem, for 1889, page 157.

in spite of the strenuous opposition of Red Cloud, Little Wound and Man Afraid, they secured the requisite signatures, and passing on from agency to agency succeeded in securing a sufficient number of each band to make the treaty valid, and in pursuance of it the lands between White River and the Cheyenne River were thrown open to settlement by executive proclamation in the early spring of 1890. The Indians were to receive $1.25 per acre for all lands disposed of during the first three years, 75 cents per acre for the lands taken during the next two years, and 50 cents per acre for all lands disposed of by the government from the relinquished section thereafter. In consequence of this treaty the Cheyenne River agency was removed from the ceded lands to a point on the Missouri River opposite Forest City, and the Lower Brule agency to a tract of land selected for the purpose on the Missouri River between old Forts Lookout and George.[711]

[711]Mooney, page 771.

CHAPTER XLIV

The Beginning of the Messiah Craze—Jack Wilson's Vision—The News Reaches the Sioux—Delegates Sent to Pyramid Lake to Learn the Truth—Short Bull and Kicking Bear Among Them—Their Report is Believed—The Dance Inaugurated Among the Dakotas—Dance Described—A Weak Agent—Information Reaches Washington.

A Paiute Indian named Wovoka, but better known as Jack Wilson, by reason of the fact that he had grown up in the family of Mr. David Wilson near Pyramid Lake, Nevada, was suffering from a fever at the time of the total eclipse of the sun, January 1, 1889. The Paiutes were naturally sun worshipers, and the eclipse always caused great excitement and consternation among them. Jack was a mild, kindly dispositioned fellow, very industrious and trustworthy, and held in high esteem by both Indians and whites. He spoke the English language fairly well and possessed the rudiments of English education. At the time of the eclipse he claimed to have fallen asleep in the day time, and to have been taken up to heaven, where he saw God and all the people who had died long ago engaged in their old time sports; all happy and forever young. It was a pleasant land and full of game. After showing him all, God told him he must go back to earth and tell his people they must be good and love one another, have no quarreling and live in peace with the whites. That they must work and not lie and steal. That they must put away all the old practices that savored of war. That if they faithfully obeyed his instructions they would at last be reunited with their friends in the other world, where there would be no more death or sickness or old age. He was then instructed in the dance which he was commanded to bring back to his people. By performing this dance at intervals for five consecutive days each time they would secure this happiness to themselves

and hasten the event. Finally God gave him control over the elements so that he could make it rain or snow or be dry at his will, and appointed him his deputy to take charge of affairs in the west, while governor, meaning President Harrison, would attend to matters in the east and God Himself would look after affairs in the world above. Jack then returned to earth and began to preach as he was directed, convincing the people by exercising the wonderful powers that had been given him. It will be seen at once that Jack's revelation embraced the old pagan superstitions in which he had been reared, together with the tenets of the Christian religion in which he had been instructed during the later years of his residence with Mr. Wilson, who with his family were religious people. Jack at this time was about 35 years of age.[712]

The declaration of his revelation set the Paiutes and all of the adjoining tribes instantly into a great religious fervor, and in a very short period of time knowledge of his professions had been carried to all the Indians in all of the tribes in the continent. It is marvelous how rapidly this sort of news traveled among them, and the reader may be sure that the tale lost nothing in its pilgrimage. The first knowledge of the Messiah craze reached the Sioux in the summer of 1889, by letters received at Pine Ridge from tribes in Utah, Wyoming, Montana, Dakota and Oklahoma. As these letters were sent to many Sioux who did not read, they were taken to William Selwyn to be interpreted to them, and, therefore, knowledge of the movement soon came to the agency officials. In the fall of 1889 the matter had so much interested the Pine Ridge Dakotas that a great council was held to discuss the subject, attended by Red Cloud, Man Afraid, Little Wound, American Horse and very many other of the older Indians who still took pride in adhering to the antiquated tribal customs. At this council it was determined to send a delegation to Pyramid Lake to learn more of the new Messiah, and Good Thunder, Flat Iron, Yellow Breast and Broken Arm from Pine Ridge, Short Bull and one other from Rosebud, and Kicking Bear from Cheyenne River agency were elected as such delegates. They at once started on their journey to the west and soon began

[712]Idem, page 820.

to write from Wyoming, Utah and beyond the mountains confirming all that had been said of the advent of a redeemer. They were gone all winter and their return in the spring of 1890 aroused an intense excitement among the Sioux, who had been anxiously awaiting their report. All the delegates believed that there was a man near the base of the Sierras who said that he was the Son of God, who had once been killed by the whites, and who bore on his body the scars of the crucifixion. He was now returning to punish the whites for their wickedness, especially for their injustice toward the Indians. With the coming of the spring of 1891 he would wipe the whites from the face of the earth and would then resurrect all the dead Indians, bring back the buffalo and other game, and restore the supremacy of the aboriginal race. He had before come to the whites, but they had rejected him. He was now the God of the Indians and they must pray to him and call him Father and prepare for his awful coming.[713]

This report was an awful and unjustifiable exaggeration of what Jack Wilson actually taught. The latter took pains to write down his message, and there was absolutely nothing in it to justify the Sioux version. Here is Jack Wilson's message verbatim: "When you get home you must make a dance to continue five days. Dance four successive nights and the last night keep up the dance until the morning of the fifth day, when all must bathe in the river and then disperse to their homes. You must all do in the same way.

"I, Jack Wilson, love you all and my heart is full of gladness for the gifts which you have brought me. When you get home I shall give you a good cloud which will make you feel good, I give you a good spirit and give you all good paint. I want you to come again in three months, some from each tribe.

"There will be a good deal of snow this year and some rain, in the fall there will be such a rain as I have never given you before.

"Grandfather (meaning himself, the Messiah) says when your friends die you must not cry. You must not hurt anybody

[713]Idem, page 781.

or do harm to anyone. You must not fight. Do right always. It will give you satisfaction in life.

"Do not tell the white people about this. Jesus is now upon earth. He appears like a cloud. The dead are all alive again. I do not know when they will be here, maybe this fall or in the spring. When the time comes there will be no more sickness, and everyone will be young again.

"Do not refuse to work for the whites and do not make any trouble with them until you leave them. When the earth shakes, at the coming of the new world, do not be afraid, it will not hurt you.

"I want you to dance every six weeks. Make a feast at the dance and have food that everyone may eat. Then bathe in the water. That is all. You will receive good words from me sometime. Do not tell lies."[714]

Manifestly Short Bull, who at once became the leader of the delegation to the Messiah, disregarded the last injunction of the Messiah, not to tell lies.

It was in April, 1890, that the delegates returned to Pine Ridge with their reports. A council was at once called to discuss the matter, but Selwyn, who was himself an educated full blood Sioux and postmaster at Pine Ridge, reported the project to the agent, Major Gallagher, and Good Thunder and two others were arrested and imprisoned for two days The council was not held, but Kicking Bear, who had been off to the Arapahoes, enroute to his home at Cheyenne River, stopped at Pine Ridge and told them that the Arapahoes were already dancing and could see and talk with their dead relatives, while in the dance. The excitement which the agent had thought was smothered by the arrest of the leaders, broke out again with added strength. Red Cloud himself, the great chief of the Ogalas, declared his adhesion to the new doctrine and said his people must do as the Messiah commanded.[715] A great council was held on White Clay Creek, a few miles from the Pine Ridge agency, and the ghost dance was formally inaugurated, Short Bull and others of the delegates acting as priests and leaders in the ceremony. The religious fervor into

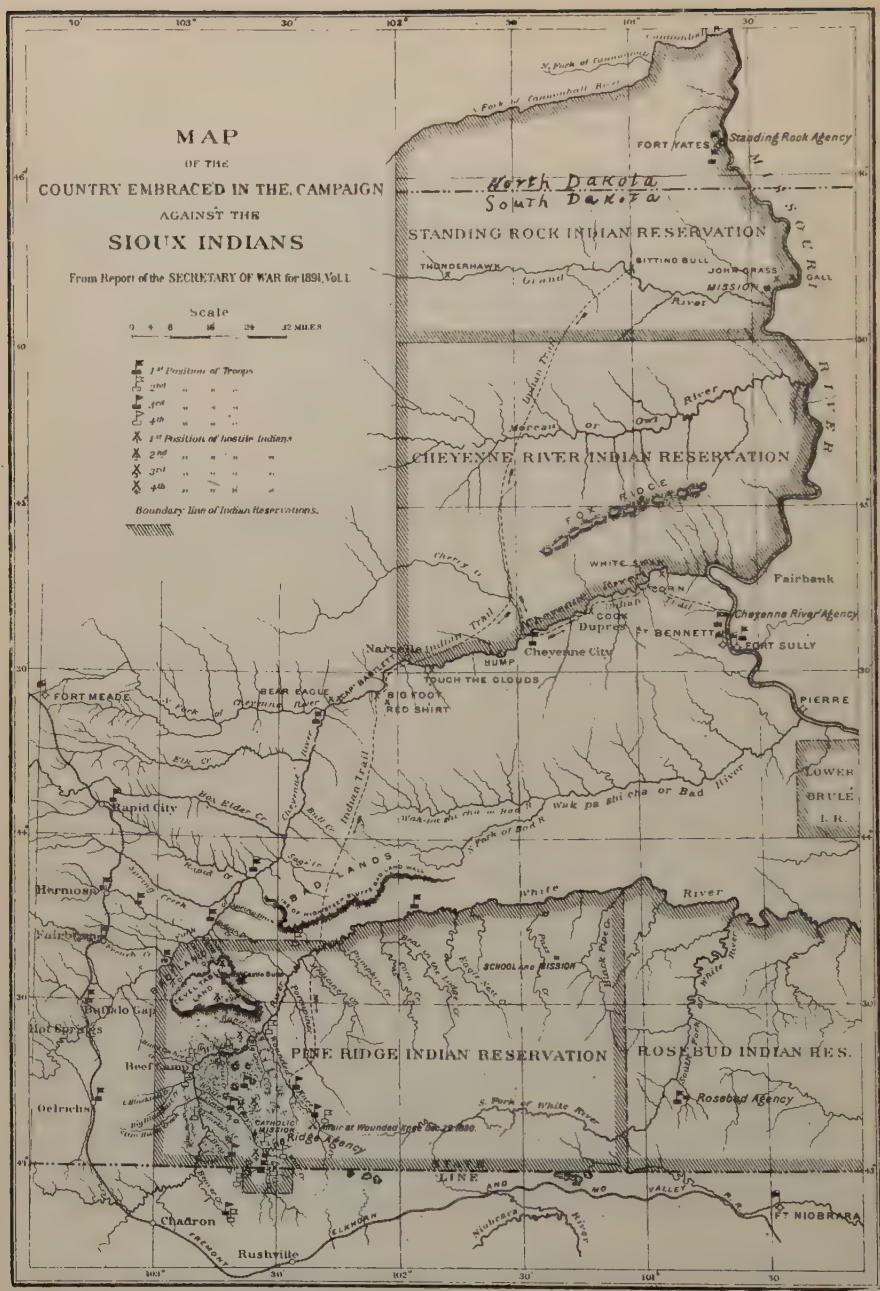
[714]Idem, page 820. Also letter of Major John R. Brennan in possession of State Historical Society.

[715]Mooney, page 822.

Short Bull

which these people were at once thrown was unparalleled and beyond all rational explanation. They dreamed dreams and saw visions. The visible presence of their long departed relatives and friends was something real and tangible to them. They were simply laboring under some strange psychologic influence not susceptible of explanation. Before going into the dance the men fasted for twenty-four hours, and then at daylight entered the sweat houses for religious purification, preliminary to painting themselves for the dance. "The sweat house is a small circular framework of willow branches driven into the ground and bent over and brought together at the top in such a way that when covered with blankets or buffalo robes the structure forms a dimunitive round top tepee just high enough to enable several persons to sit or stand in a stooping posture inside. The doorway facing the east, and at the distance of a few feet in front of the door way is a small mound of earth on which is placed a buffalo skull with the head turned as if looking into the lodge. The earth of which the mound is formed is taken from a hole in the center of the lodge. Near the sweat house on the outside there is a tall sacrifice pole, from the top of which are strung strips of bright colored cloth, packages of tobacco, or other offerings to the diety invoked by the devotee. Fresh bundles of the fragrant wild sage are strewn on the ground inside of the sweat house, and a fire is kindled outside a short distance away. In this fire stones are heated by the medicine men and when all are ready, the devotees, stripped to the breech cloth, enter the sweat house. The stones are then handed into them by the priests by means of two forked sticks and are deposited by him in the hole in the earth in the center of the lodge. Water is then passed in to him, which is poured over the hot stones until the whole interior is filled with steam and he sits in this aboriginal Turkish bath until his body is dripping with perspiration. During this time the doctors outside are doing their part in the way of praying to the gods and keeping up the supply of hot stones and water until, in their estimation, he has been sufficiently purified physically or morally, when he emerges, plunges into the neighboring stream and resumes his clothing. After this the dancer was painted by the medicine man, the design and color being de-

Sweat Lodge



Map of the Campaign of 1890

termined by a previous trance vision. This process occupied most of the morning, so that it was about noon before the circle for the dance was formed. A small tree was planted in the center of the circle with the American flag floating from the top. Around the base of this tree sat the priests. A young woman standing within the circle gave the signal for the performance by shooting into the air toward the cardinal points, four sacred arrows, made after the old primitive fashion with stone heads and dipped in the blood of a steer before being brought to the dance. These were then gathered up and tied to a branch of the tree, together with the bow. During the dance this young woman stood within the circle, holding a red stone pipe toward the west, the direction from which the Messiah was to appear. The performers, men and women, sat on the ground in a large circle around the tree. A plaintive chant was then sung, after which a vessel of some sacred food was passed around the circle until everyone had partaken, when at a signal by the priests the dancers rose to their feet, joined hands and began to chant the opening song and began to move slowly around the circle from right to left. The dance was thus kept up until the performers were utterly exhausted and fell in a trance."[716] This religious excitement spread rapidly to all of the Dakota reservations, but the real disturbance was confined to Pine Ridge, Rosebud, Hump's band of Minneconjous on the Cherry Creek, belonging to the Cheyenne River agency, and to Sitting Bull's band on Grand River, belonging to the Standing Rock reservation. The Indians independent of the religious movement, attendant upon the Messiah craze, had some serious grounds of complaint against the whites at this juncture, and designing men among them took advantage of the religious sentiment to foment hostile sentiments, not perhaps with a view to inciting an outbreak, but rather to secure a reform of the evils and additional supplies. It cannot be said from any evidence yet produced that the reservation Dakotas had any definite plan of resorting to open warfare. The bad condition in the relations between the whites and Indians at this juncture were due to several causes. The signing of the treaty of 1889 by which the great Sioux

[716]Mooney, Page 825.

reservation was broken up had been earnestly opposed by the old heathen Indians, such as Red Cloud and Sitting Bull, who argued strenuously that the Indians would be more than ever at the mercy of the whites if this thing was done, and particularly that the rations would be cut off. Under the Black Hills treaty of 1876, it will be remembered that the government bound itself to supply the Indians with full rations, or so much thereof as should be needed, until they became self-supporting. At about this time the Indian department had coucluded that the Indians never would become self-supporting or make any progress in that direction so long as full rations were issued to them, and it was therefore resolved to begin a process of gradual reduction of supplies, hoping thereby to induce the Indians to greater effort to supply their own needs. Unfortunately this experiment was taken immediately after the signing of the treaty of 1889, and appeared to be a prompt fulfillment of the prophesies of Red Cloud and Sitting Bull. Again, 1889 and 1890 were the most disastrous years in the history of Dakota agriculture. By reason of the great and far-reaching drought thousands of white settlers were compelled to leave their homes on the fertile and ordinarily productive lands east of the Missouri, and the feeble attempts of the reservation Indians at agriculture proved a total failure. Thus they were greatly limited, not only in the ordinary supplies received from the government, but entirely deprived from any returns from their own labor. These conditions produced great distress among them, and in many of the camps the inhabitants were for months on short rations and at the verge of starvation. The situation was one well calculated, independent of any other exciting cause, to drive the Indians to hostility, and supplemented by the Short Bull version of the Messiah theology, the Sioux believed the time had come when with a little assistance on their part the whites would miraculously be swept from the face of the earth. Another serious complication grew out of the change of agents at Pine Ridge agency. In the early autumn of 1890, and while the ghost dance excitement was at its height, Major Gallagher, who had occupied the position for four years, was succeeded by Dr. Royer. Royer's appointment was purely political. He was totally inexperienced in Indian affairs, and upon the test

proved to lack tact, judgment and courage. The Indians were quick to perceive his weakness and from the first showed little respect for his authority and within a few days began to treat him with utter contempt, and in the emergency which confronted him the agent called upon the military for support in preserving order upon the reservation. This was the first time since the establishment of the agency at Pine Ridge that the military had been called into requisition. Never before had there been an emergency in which a Dr. McGillycuddy or a Major McLaughlin were so essential to the preservation of peace as at this time. It may safely be assumed that had Dr. McGillycuddy been at the helm there would have been no bloodshed, no soldiers, and the Messiah war would have been wholly averted. From 1879 to 1886 Pine Ridge was in charge of Dr. V. T. McGillycuddy, a man of unflinching courage, determined will and splendid executive ability. Taking charge of these Indians when they had come in fresh from the warpath, he managed them for seven years without a soldier nearer than sixty miles away. Relying on the Indians themselves, he introduced the principle of home rule by organizing a force of fifty Indian police, drilled in regular cavalry and infantry tactics. With these he was able to thwart all the mischievous schemes of Red Cloud, maintain authority and start the Indians well on the road to civilization.

Through the cattlemen on the ceded lands came the first notice to the department of intended danger. The first note to reach the interior department was in the shape of a letter addressed to Secretary Noble by Charles L. Hyde, a citizen of Pierre, dated May 29, 1890, a little more than one month after the return of the delegates from the west, in which he revealed trustworthy information that a portion of the Sioux were secretly planning an outbreak. Mr. Hyde obtained this information from a young half-breed from Pine Ridge who was attending the government school at Pierre, and who was in correspondence with his relatives at home.

CHAPTER XLV

Official Action Taken—Short Bull's Progressive Views—McLaughlin Visits Sitting Bull—Military Called Out—There was no Outbreak—Indians Retire to the Bad Lands—Attempt to Arrest Sitting Bull—Death of the Old Disturber—Praise for the Indian Police.

The department at once sent out instructions to the various agents to use every discreet means to prevent the dancing. This interference only increased the excitement. Short Bull, who had come into great prominence among the Indians, but who had been suppressed by Agent Wright at Rosebud, his old home, had joined the dancers at Pine Ridge, and who demonstrated most progressive ideas, having been in the first place only a sort of John the Baptist in the wilderness declaring the coming of the Messiah at a definite time something more than a year in advance, on the 31st of October, 1890, boldly announced himself as the true Messiah, and declared that inasmuch as the whites had so seriously interfered in the ghost dance that he would at once "start this thing a running." "I have told you that this would come to pass in two seasons, but since the whites are interfering so much I will advance the time from what my Father above told me to do, so the time will be shorter. * * * If the soldiers surround you four deep three of you on whom I have put holy shirts will sing a song that I have taught you, when some of the soldiers will drop dead, then the rest will start to run, but their horses will sink into the earth. The riders will jump from their horses, but they will sink into the earth also. Then you can do as you desire with them. Now you must know this, that all the soldiers and that race will be dead. There will be only five thousand of them left living on the earth. My friends and relations, this is straight and true." He then instructed them to gather in a great camp at Pass Creek to await further instructions.

In the story which follows Professor James Mooney's account of the Messiah war in South Dakota is almost literally followed, except that some portions not material to the coherent relation of the part of the Dakotas in it, and some editorial views, have been omitted. Professor Mooney's relation is fair, impartial and exceedingly accurate.

Soon afterward McLaughlin personally visited Sitting Bull at his camp on Grand River and attempted to reason with the Indians on the absurdity of their belief. In reply, Sitting Bull proposed that they should both go with competent attendants to the country of the Messiah and see and question him for themselves, and rest the truth or falsity of the new doctrine on the result. The proposition was not accepted. There can be no question that the leaders of the ghost dance among the Sioux were fully as much deceived as their followers.

As the local agents had declared the situation beyond their control, the war department was at last called on and responded. On November 13th the president had directed the secretary of war to assume military responsibility to prevent an outbreak, and on November 17th troops, under command of General John R. Brooke, were ordered to the front. The general plan of the campaign was under the direction of General Nelson A. Miles, in command of the military department of the Missouri. On November 19th the first troops arrived at Pine Ridge from Fort Robinson, Nebraska, and were speedily reinforced by others. Within a few days there were at Pine Ridge agency, under the immediate command of General Brooke, eight troops of the Seventh cavalry under Colonel Forsyth; a battalion of the Fifth infantry under Captain Capron, and a company of the Eighth infantry and eight companies of the Second infantry under Colonel Wheaton. At Rosebud were two troops of the Ninth cavalry, with portions of the Eighth and Twenty-first infantry, under Lieutenant Colonel Poland. Between Pine Ridge and Rosebud were stationed seven companies of the First infantry under Colonel Shafter. West and north of Pine Ridge were stationed portions of the First, Second and Ninth cavalry under command of Colonel Tilford and Lieutenant Colonel Sanford. Further west, at Buffalo Gap, on the railroad, were stationed three troops from the Fifth and Eighth cavalry under Captain Wells. Further

north on the railroad, at Rapid City, was Colonel Carr with six troops of the Sixth cavalry. Along the south fork of Cheyenne River Lieutenant Colonel Offley took position with seven companies of the Seventeenth infantry, and east of him was stationed Lieutenant Colonel Summer with three troops of the Eighth cavalry, two companies of the Third infantry, and Lieutenant Robinson's company of Crow Indian scouts. Small garrisons were also stationed at Forts Meade, Bennett and Sully. Most of the force was placed in position between the Indians now gathered in the Bad Lands, under Short Bull and Kicking Bear, and the scattered settlements nearest them. Seven companies of the Seventh infantry, under Colonel Merriam, were also placed along Cheyenne River to restrain the Indians of Cheyenne River and Standing Rock reservations. In a short time there were nearly 3,000 troops in the field in the Sioux country. General Miles established his headquarters at Rapid City, South Dakota, close to the center of disturbance. On December 1st the secretary of the interior directed that the agents be instructed to obey and co-operate with the military officers in all matters looking to the suppression of an outbreak.

Upon the first appearance of the troops a large number of Indians of Rosebud and Pine Ridge, led by Short Bull, Kicking Bear and others, left their homes and fled to the rough, broken country known as the Bad Lands, northwest of White River in South Dakota, on the edge of Pine Ridge reservation, and about fifty miles northwest of the agency. In their flight they destroyed the houses and other property of the friendly Indians in their path and compelled many to go with them. They succeeded, also, in capturing a large portion of the agency beef herd. Others rapidly joined them until soon a formidable body of 3,000 Indians had gathered in the Bad Lands, where, protected by the natural fastnesses and difficulties of the country, their future intentions became a matter of anxious concern to the settlers and the authorities.

From the concurrent testimony of all the witnesses, including Indian Commissioner Morgan and the Indians themselves, this flight to the Bad Lands was not properly a hostile movement, but was a stampede caused by panic at the appearance of the troops.

The Sioux nation numbers over 25,000, with between 6,000 and 7,000 warriors. Hardly more than 700 warriors were concerned altogether, including those of Big Foot's band and those who fled to the Bad Lands. None of the Christian Indians took any part in the disturbance.

While it is certain that the movement toward the Bad Lands, with the subsequent events, was the result of panic at the appearance of the troops, it is equally true that the troops were sent only on the request of the civilian authorities. On this point General Miles says: "Not until the civil agents had lost control of the Indians and declared themselves powerless to preserve peace, and the Indians were in armed hostility and defiance of the civil authorities, was a single soldier moved from his garrison to suppress the general revolt." Throughout the whole trouble McLaughlin at Standing Rock consistently declared his ability to control his Indians without the presence of troops.

In accordance with instructions from the Indian office, the several agents in charge among the Sioux had forwarded lists of disturbers whom it would be advisable to arrest and remove from among the Indians, using the military for the purpose if necessary. The agents at the other reservations sent in altogether the names of about fifteen subjects for removal, while Royer at Pine Ridge forwarded as a "conservative estimate" the names of sixty-four. Short Bull and Kicking Bear being in the Bad Lands, and Red Cloud being now an old man and too politic to make much open demonstration, the head and front of the offenders was Sitting Bull, the irreconcilable; but McLaughlin, within whose jurisdiction he was, in a letter of November 22d, advised that the arrest be not attempted until later in the season, as at the date of writing the weather was warm and pleasant—in other words, favorable to the Indians in case they should make opposition. The worst element had withdrawn to the Bad Lands, where they were making no hostile demonstrations, but were apparently badly frightened and awaiting developments to know whether to come in and surrender or to continue to retreat. The dance had been generally discontinued on the reservations, excepting at Sitting Bull's camp on Grand River and Big Foot's camp on Cheyenne River. The presence of troops had stopped the dances

near the agencies, and the secretary of the interior, in order to allay the dissatisfaction, had ordered that the full rations due under the treaty should be issued at all the Sioux agencies, which at the same time were placed under the control of the military. Such were the conditions on the opening of December, 1890. Everything seemed to be quieting down, and it was now deemed a favorable time to forestall future disturbance by removing the ringleaders.

Agent McLaughlin at Standing Rock had notified the department some weeks before that it would be necessary to remove Sitting Bull and several others at no distant day to put an end to their harmful influence among the Sioux, but stated also that the matter should not be precipitated, and that when the proper time came he would accomplish the undertaking with his Indian police without the aid of troops. As soon as the war department assumed control of the Sioux agencies, it was determined to make an attempt to secure Sitting Bull by military power. Accordingly orders were given to the noted scout, William F. Cody, better known as Buffalo Bill, who was well acquainted with Sitting Bull and was believed to have influence with him, to proceed to Standing Rock agency to induce him to come in, with authority to make such terms as might seem necessary, and, if unsuccessful, to arrest him and remove him from his camp to the nearest post, Fort Yates. Cody arrived at Fort Yates on November 28th, and was about to undertake the arrest, when his orders were countermanded at the urgent remonstrance of Agent McLaughlin, who represented that such a step at that particular time was unwise, as military interference was liable to provoke a conflict, in which the Indians would have the advantage, as the warm weather was in their favor. He insisted that there was no immediate danger from the dancing, and that at the proper time—when the weather grew colder—he would take care of Sitting Bull and the other disturbers, whose removal he advised with the aid of the Indian police, whom, in all the years of service, he had always found equal to the emergency. The attempt was accordingly postponed. In the meantime Sitting Bull had promised to come into the agency to talk over the situation with the agent, but failed to keep his engagement. A close watch was kept over his

movements, and the agent was instructed to make no arrests except by authority from the military or the secretary of the interior.

There is no question that Sitting Bull was plotting mischief. His previous record was one of irreconcilable hostility to the government, and in every disturbance on the reservation his camp had been the center of ferment. It was at his camp and on his invitation that Kicking Bear had organized the first ghost dance on the reservation, and the dance had been kept up ever since in spite of the remonstrance of the agent. At the same time the turbulent followers of the medicine man took every opportunity to insult and annoy the peaceable and progressive Indians who refused to join them, until these later were forced to make complaint to the agent. In October, while the dance was being organized at his camp, Sitting Bull had deliberately broken the "pipe of peace" which he had kept in his house since his surrender in 1881, and when asked why he had broken it, replied that he wanted to die and wanted to fight. From that time he discontinued his regular visits to the agency. It became known that he contemplated leaving the reservation to visit the other leaders of dissatisfaction at the southern Sioux agencies, and to frustrate such an attempt the agent had gradually increased the number of police in the neighborhood of his camp, and had arranged for speedy information and prompt action in case of any sudden move on his part.

Forseeing from the active movements of the military that the arrest of Sitting Bull was liable to be ordered at any moment, and fearing that such action might come at an inopportune time and thus result in trouble, McLaughlin made arrangements to have him and several other disturbers arrested by the Indian police on the night of December 6th, the weather and other things being then, in his opinion, most favorable for the attempt. On telegraphing to the Indian department, however, for authority, he was directed to make no arrests excepting upon orders from the military authorities or the secretary of the interior. In reply to a telegram from General Ruger, McLaughlin stated that there was no immediate need of haste, and that postponement was preferable, as the winter weather was cooling the ardor of the dancers.

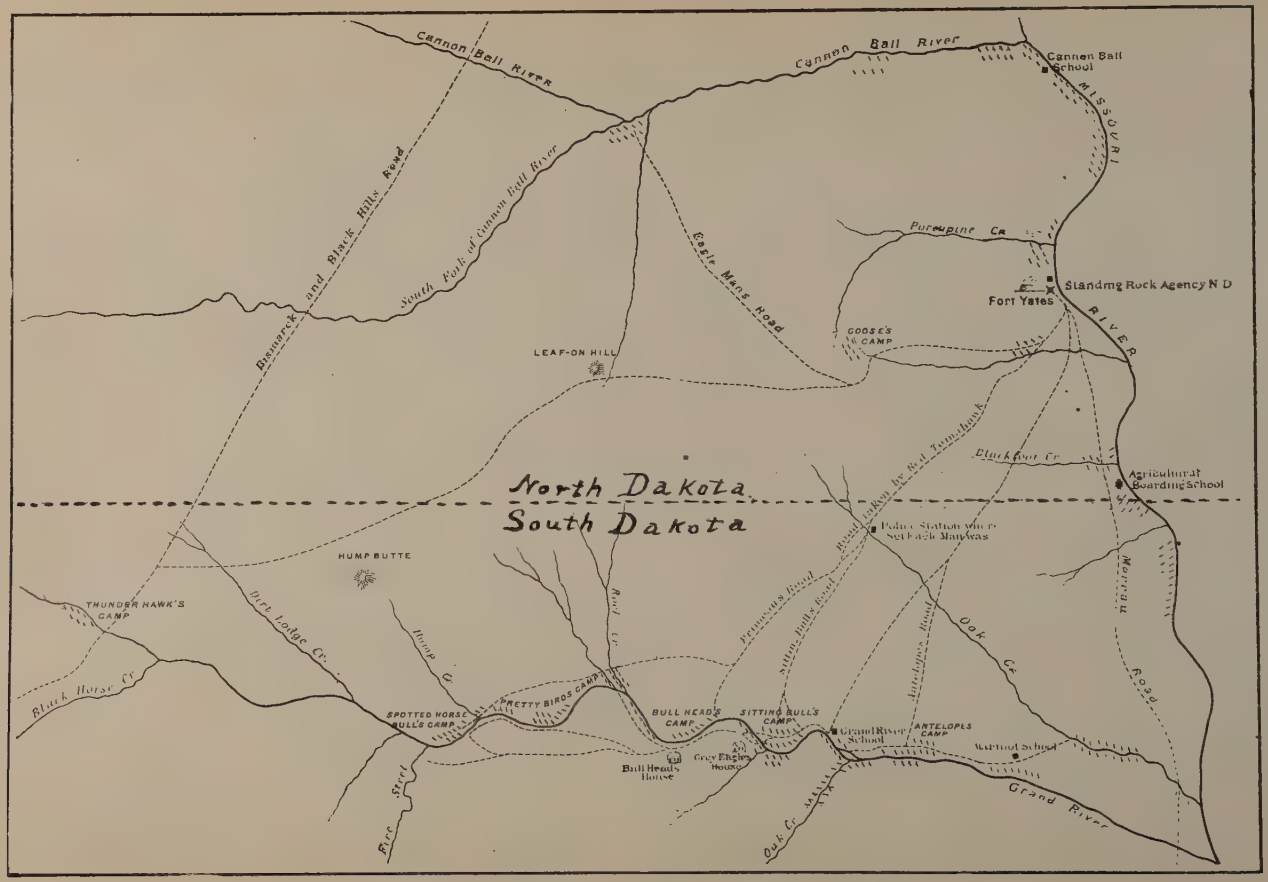
On December 12th the military order came for the arrest of Sitting Bull. Colonel Drum, in command at Fort Yates, was directed to make it his personal duty to secure him and to call on the agent for assistance and co-operation in the matter. On consultation between the commandant and the agent, who were in full accord, it was decided to make the arrest on the 20th, when most of the Indians would be down at the agency for rations, and there would consequently be less danger of a conflict at the camp. On the 14th, however, late Sunday afternoon, a courier came in from Grand River with a message from Mr. Carignan, the teacher of the Indian school, stating, on information given by the police, that an invitation had just come from Pine Ridge for Sitting Bull asking him to go there, as God was about to appear. Sitting Bull was determined to go, and sent a request to the agent for permission, but in the meantime had completed his preparations to go anyhow in case permission was refused. With this intention it was further stated that he had his horses already selected for a long and hard ride, and the police urgently asked to be allowed to arrest him at once, as it would be a difficult matter to overtake him after he had once started.

It was necessary to act immediately, and arrangements were made between Colonel Drum and Agent McLaughlin to attempt the arrest at daylight the next morning, December 15th. The arrest was to be made by the Indian police, assisted, if necessary, by a detachment of troops, who were to follow within supporting distance. There were already twenty-eight police under command of Lieutenant Bull Head, in the immediate vicinity of Sitting Bull's camp on Grand River, about forty miles southwest of the agency and Fort Yates, and couriers were at once dispatched to these and to others in that direction to concentrate at Sitting Bull's house, ready to make the arrest in the morning. It was then sundown, but with loyal promptness the police mounted their ponies and by riding all night from one station to another, assembled a force of forty-three trained and determined Indian police, including four volunteers, at the rendezvous on Grand River before daylight. In performing this courier service Sergeant Red Tomahawk covered the distance

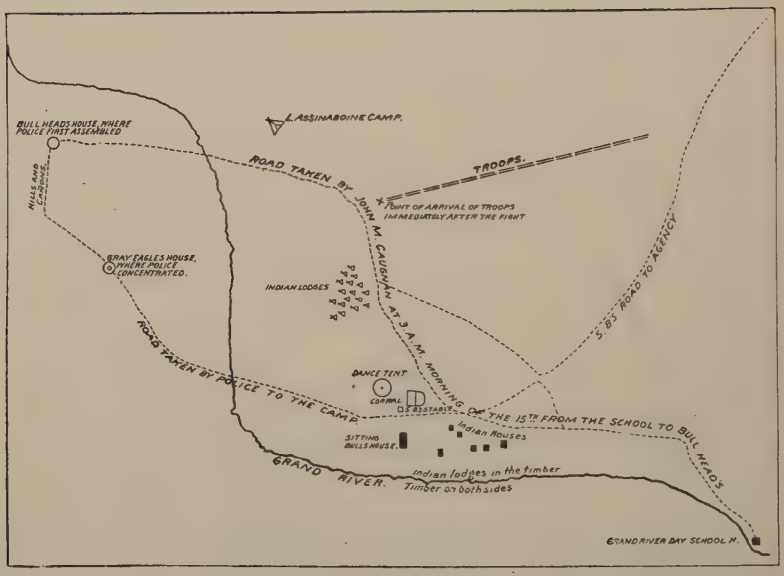
of forty miles between the agency and the camp, over an unfamiliar road, in four hours and a quarter; and another, Hawk Man, made 100 miles, by a roundabout way, in twenty-two hours. In the meantime two troops of the Eighth cavalry, numbering 100 men, under command of Captain E. G. Fechet, and having with them a Hotchkiss gun, left Fort Yates at midnight, guided by Louis Primeau, and by a rapid night march arrived within supporting distance near Sitting Bull's camp just before daybreak. It was afterward learned that Sitting Bull, in anticipation of such action, had had a strong guard about his house for his protection for several nights previous, but on this particular night the Indians had been dancing until nearly morning, and the house was consequently left unguarded.

At daybreak on Monday morning, December 15, 1890, the police and volunteers, forty-three in number, under command of Lieutenant Bull Head, a cool and reliable man, surrounded Sitting Bull's house. He had two log cabins, a few rods apart, and to make sure of their man, eight of the police entered one house and ten went into the other, while the rest remained on guard outside. They found him asleep on the floor in the larger house. He was aroused and told that he was a prisoner and must go to the agency. He made no objection, but said, "All right; I will dress and go with you." He then sent one of his wives to the other house for some clothes he desired to wear, and asked to have his favorite horse saddled for him to ride, which was done by one of the police. On looking about the room two rifles and several knives were found and taken by the police. While dressing, he apparently changed his mind, and began abusing the police for disturbing him, to which they made no reply. While this was going on inside, his followers, to the number of perhaps 150, were congregating about the house outside, and by the time he was dressed an excited crowd of Indians had the police entirely surrounded and were pressing them to the wall. On being brought out, Sitting Bull became greatly excited and refused to go, and called on his followers to rescue him. Lieutenant Bull Head and Sergeant Shave Head were standing on each side of him, with Second Sergeant Red Tomahawk guarding behind, while the rest of the police were

trying to clear the way in front, when one of Sitting Bull's followers, Catch-the-Bear, fired and shot Lieutenant Bull Head in the side. Bull Head at once turned and sent a bullet into the body of Sitting Bull, who was also shot through the head at the same moment by Red Tomahawk. Sergeant Shave Head was shot by another of the crowd, and fell to the ground with Bull Head and Sitting Bull. Catch-the-Bear, who fired the first shot, was immediately shot and killed by Alone Man, one of the police, and it became a desperate hand-to-hand fight of less than forty-three men against more than a hundred. The trained police soon drove their assailants into the timber nearby, and then returned and carried their dead and wounded into the house and held it for about two hours, until the arrival of the troops under Captain Fechet, about half past 7. The troops had been notified of the perilous situation of the police by Hawk Man, who had volunteered to carry the information from Sitting Bull's camp. He succeeded in getting away, assisted by Red Tomahawk, although so closely pursued that several bullets passed through his clothing. In spite of the efforts of the hostiles, the police also held possession of the corral, which Sitting Bull had filled with horses in anticipation of his flight. When the cavalry came in sight over a hill, about 1,500 yards distant from the camp, the police at the corral raised a white flag to show where they were, but the troops, mistaking them for hostiles, fired two shells at them from the Hotchkiss, when Sergeant Red Tomahawk, who had taken command after the wounding of his superior officers, paraded his men in line and then rode out alone with a white flag to meet the troops. On the approach of the soldiers, Sitting Bull's warriors fled up Grand River a short distance and then turned south across the prairie toward Cherry Creek and Cheyenne River. Not wishing to create such a panic among them as to drive them into the hostile camp in the Bad Lands, Captain Fechet pursued them only a short distance and then left them to be handled by the other detachments in that direction. Their wives and their families, their property and their dead, were left behind in the flight. As soon as possible Captain Fechet also sent word to them, by some Indian women, to return to their homes and they would not be molested. To further reassure them, the troops at once began their march



Campaign Ending in Sitting Bull's Death


BULL HEADS HOUSE, WHERE POLICE FIRST ASSEMBLED
L. ASSINABOINE CAMP.
ROAD TAKEN BY
TROOPS.
POINT OF ARRIVAL OF TROOPS IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE FIGHT
HILLS AND CAMPS
GRAY EAGLES HOUSE, WHERE POLICE CONCENTRATED.
INDIAN LODGES
ROAD TAKEN BY JOHN M. CAUGHAN AT 3 A.M. MORNING OF THE 15TH FROM THE SCHOOL TO BULL HEADS
S. 85 ROAD TO AGENCY
DANCE TENT
CORRAL
SITTING BULLS HOUSE.
Indian Houses
ROAD TAKEN BY POLICE TO THE CAMP.
GRAND RIVER.
Indian lodges in the timber
Timber on both sides
GRAND RIVER DAY SCHOOL H.

Sketch of the country where fight took place between Sitting Bull's Indians and the government police, December 15, 1890.

Locality of Sitting Bull's Home

back to the post. As a result of this sensible policy, very few of the Sitting Bull band joined the hostiles. They had made no resistance to the troops, but fled immediately upon their appearance.

The fight lasted only a few minutes, but with terribly fatal result. Six policemen were killed or mortally wounded, including the officers Bull Head and Shave Head, and one other less seriously wounded. The hostiles lost eight killed, including Sitting Bull and his son Crow Foot, 17 years of age, with several wounded. During the fight the women attacked the police with knives and clubs, but notwithstanding the excitement the police simply disarmed them and put them in one of the houses under guard.

The warmest praise is given the Indian police for their conduct on this occasion by those who are most competent to judge. Some who thus faced death in obedience to orders had near relatives among those opposed to them. Agent McLaughlin, in one official letter, says that he cannot too strongly commend their splendid courage and ability in this action, and in another letter says: "The details of the battle show that the Indian police behaved nobly and exhibited the best of knowledge and bravery, and a recognition by the government for their services on this occasion is richly deserved. * * * I respectfully urge that the interior department cooperate with the war department in obtaining congressional action which will secure to these brave survivors and to the families of the dead a full and generous reward." Colonel Drum, under whose orders the arrest was made, after stating that Sitting Bull was not hurt until he began struggling to escape and until one of the police had been shot, adds: "It is also remarkable that no squaws or children were hurt. The police appear to have constantly warned the other Indians to keep away, until they were forced to fight in self defense. It is hardly possible to praise their conduct too highly." Notwithstanding the recommendation of the commissioner of Indian affairs, congress has taken no action in recognition of their services on this occasion.

Before the action orders had been sent to the police to have with them a wagon, in order to convey Sitting Bull quickly away from the camp, so as to avoid trouble, but in

the excitement of preparation this was overlooked. The police returned to the agency late in the afternoon, bringing with them their dead and wounded, together with two prisoners and the body of Sitting Bull, which was turned over to the military authorities at Fort Yates. The four dead policemen were buried at the agency next day with military honors. Bull Head and Shave Head died in the hospital soon afterward with the consolation of having their friends around them in their last moments. A few days later Rev. Thomas L. Riggs, who never in his life failed the Sioux in time of need, went out to Sitting Bull's camp and buried the dead hostiles. The agent states that the large majority of the Indians were loyal to the government, and expressed satisfaction at what they considered the termination of the disturbance. Couriers were again sent after the fleeing Indians by McLaughlin, warning them to return to the agency, where they would be safe, or suffer the consequences if found outside the reservation. Within a few days nearly 250 had come in and surrendered, leaving only about one-third still out. Most of these soon after surrendered with Hump on Cherry Creek, while the remainder, about fifty, joined Big Foot or went on to Pine Ridge.

CHAPTER XLVI

Northern Indians Start for Bad Lands—Good Behavior of Hump—Big Foot Escapes to Messiah Camp—He is Apprehended and Placed Under Arrest—Attacks Soldiers—Battle of Wounded Knee Ensues—Agency Indians Alarmed—Affair at the Mission—Miles at the Front—Understanding Promptly Reached—Quiet Restored—Concluding Remarks.

On December 18th the Indians who had already fled to the Bad Lands attacked a small party of men on Spring Creek of Cheyenne River. Major Tupper, with 100 men of Carr's division, was sent to the rescue, and a skirmish ensued with the Indians, who were concealed in the bushes along the creek. The government wagons, while crossing the creek, were also attacked by the hostiles, who were finally driven off by reinforcements of cavalry under Captain Wells. On the same date over 1,000 Indians returned to Pine Ridge. News was received that there were still about 1,500 fugitives camped on Cheyenne River in the neighborhood of Spring Creek.

The most dangerous leader of dissatisfaction in the north after the death of Sitting Bull was considered to be Hump, on Cheyenne River reservation. The agent in charge had long before recommended his removal, but it was thought that it would now be next to impossible to arrest him. Hump, with his band of about 400 persons, and Big Foot, with nearly as many, had their camps about the junction of Cherry Creek and Cheyenne River. For several weeks they had been dancing almost constantly, and were very sullen and apparently very hostile. After serious consideration of the matter, the task of securing Hump was assigned to Captain E. P. Ewers of the Fifth infantry, who had had charge of this chief and his band for seven years, and had their full confidence and

respect. He was then on duty in Texas, but was ordered forward and reported soon after at Fort Bennett, on the border of the reservation. So dangerous was Hump considered to be, that the civil agents did not think it possible even for the officer to communicate with him. However, Captain Ewers, without troops and attended only by Lieutenant Hale, at once left the fort and rode out sixty miles to Hump's camp. "Hump at the time was twenty miles away and a runner was sent for him. Immediately upon hearing that Captain Ewers was in the vicinity he came to him and was told that the division commander desired him to take his people away from the hostiles and bring them to the nearest military post. He replied that if General Miles sent for him he would do whatever he desired. He immediately brought his people into Fort Bennett and complied with all the orders and instructions given him, and subsequently rendered valuable service for peace. Thus an element regarded as among the most dangerous was removed." After coming into the fort, Hump enlisted as a scout under Captain Ewers, and soon afterward, in connection with the same Lieutenant Hale, proved his loyalty by bringing about the surrender of the Sitting Bull fugitives. Subsequently Captain Ewers further distinguished himself by conducting the Northern Cheyenne—who were considered as particularly dangerous, but who regarded Captain Ewers with absolute affection—from Pine Ridge to Tongue River, Montana, a distance of 300 miles, and in the most rigorous of the winter season, without an escort of troops and without the loss of a single life or the commission by an Indian of a single unlawful act.

The Sitting Bull fugitives who had not come in at once had fled southward toward their friends and near relatives of Cheyenne River reservation, and were encamped on Cherry Creek, a few miles above its junction with Cheyenne River at Cheyenne City. As their presence there could only serve to increase the unrest among the other Indians in that vicinity, and as there was great danger that they might attempt to join those already in the Bad Lands, Captain Hurst of the Twelfth infantry, commanding at Fort Bennett, directed Lieutenant H. E. Hale, on December 18th, to go out and bring them in. On arriving at Cheyenne City the officer

found it deserted, all the citizens excepting one man having fled in alarm a short time before, on the report of Narcesse Narcelle that the Sitting Bull Indians were coming and had sworn to kill the first white man they met. Having succeeded in frightening the whole white population Narcelle left at once for the fort.

After some difficulty in finding anyone to assist him, Hale sent a policeman to bring back Narcelle, and sent out another Indian to learn the situation and condition of the Indian camp. His only interpreter for the purpose was Mr. Angell, the single white man who had remained, and who had learned some of the Sioux language during his residence among them. While thus waiting, a report came that the Indians had raided a ranch about ten miles up the creek. Not hearing from his scouts, the lieutenant determined to go alone and find the camp, and was just about to start when Hump, the late dangerous hostile, but now an enlisted scout, rode in with the news that the Sitting Bull Indians were approaching only a short distance away, and armed. Although from the reports there was every reason to believe that they had just destroyed a ranch and were now coming to attack the town, the officer, with rare bravery, kept his determination to go out and meet them, even without an interpreter, in the hope of preventing their hostile purpose. Hump volunteered to go with him. The two rode out together and soon came up with the Indians, who received them in a friendly manner. There were forty-six warriors in the party, besides women and children, wagons and ponies. Says the officer: "I appreciated the importance of the situation, but was absolutely powerless to communicate with the Indians. I immediately formed the opinion that they could be easily persuaded to come into the agency if I could but talk with them. While I was trying by signs to make them understand what I wanted, Henry Angell rode into the circle and took his place at my side. This generous man had not liked the idea of my going among the Indians, and from a true spirit of chivalry had ridden over to 'see it out.'" Verily, while such men as Ewers, Hale and Angell live, the day of chivalry is not gone by.

With Angell's assistance as interpreter, the officer told the Indians that if they would stay where they were for one day,

he would go back to the agency and return within that time with the chief (Captain J. H. Hurst) and an interpreter, and no soldiers. They replied that they would not move, and, having directed Angell to kill a beef for them, as they were worn out and well nigh starving, and leaving Hump with them to reassure them, the lieutenant rode back to Fort Bennett, forty miles away, notified Captain Hurst, and returned with him, Sergeant Gallagher and two Indian scouts as interpreters, the next day. Knowing the importance of haste, they started out on this winter ride of forty miles without blankets or rations.

On arriving Captain Hurst told them briefly what he had come for, and then, being exhausted from the rapid ride, and knowing that an Indian must not be hurried, he ordered some beef and a plentiful supply of tobacco for them, and said that after he and they had eaten and rested they could talk the matter over. In the evening the principal men met him and told him over a pipe that they had left Standing Rock agency forever; that their great chief and friend, Sitting Bull, had been killed there without cause; that they had come down to talk with their friends on Cherry Creek about it, but had found them gone, and were consequently undecided as to what they should do. The captain replied that he had come as a friend; that if they would surrender their arms and go back with him to Fort Bennett, they would be provided for and would not be harmed; that he could make no promises as to their future disposition; that if they chose to join Big Foot's camp, only a few miles up the river, the result would be their certain destruction. After deliberating among themselves until midnight, they came in a body, delivered a number of guns, and said they would go back to the fort. Accordingly they broke camp the next morning and arrived at Fort Bennett on December 24th. The entire body numbered 221, including fifty-five belonging on Cherry Creek. These last were allowed to join their own people, camped near the post. The Sitting Bull Indians, with some others from Standing Rock, numbering 227 in all, were held at Fort Sully, a few miles below Fort Bennett, until the close of the trouble Thirty-eight others of the Sitting Bull band had joined Big Foot and afterward fled with him.

After the death of Sitting Bull and the enlistment of Hump in the government service, the only prominent leader outside of the Bad Lands who was considered as possibly dangerous was Sitanka, or Big Foot, whose village was at the mouth of Deep Creek, a few miles below the forks of Cheyenne River. The duty of watching him was assigned to Lieutenant Colonel E. V. Sumner of the Eighth cavalry, who had his camp just above the forks. Here he was visited by Big Foot and his head men, who assured the officer that they were peaceable and intended to remain quietly at home.

Friendly relations continued until the middle of December, when Big Foot came to bid good bye, telling Sumner that his people were all going to the agency to get their annuities A day or two later the order came to arrest Big Foot and send him as a prisoner to Fort Meade. Believing that the chief was acting in good faith to control his warriors, who might easily go beyond control were he taken from them, Colonel Sumner informed General Miles that the Indians were already on their way to the agency; that if Big Foot should return he (Sumner) would try to get him, and that otherwise he could be arrested at the agency, if necessary. Soon after, however, the report came that Big Foot had stopped at Hump's camp on the way to the agency, to meet the fugitives coming south from Sitting Bull's camp.

On the receipt of this information, Sumner at once marched down the river with the intention of stopping Big Foot. When about half way to Hump's camp, Big Foot himself came up to meet him, saying that he was friendly, and that he and his men would obey any orders that the officer might give. He stated that he had with him 100 of his own Indians and thirty-eight from Standing Rock (Sitting Bull's band). When asked why he had received these last, knowing that they were refugees from their reservation, he replied that they were his brothers and relations; that they had come to his people hungry, footsore, and almost naked; and that he had taken them in and fed them, and that no one with a heart could do any less.

Sumner then directed one of his officers, Captain Hennisee, to go to the Indian camp with Big Foot and bring in all the Indians. That officer started and returned the next day, December 21st, with 333 Indians. This large number was a

matter of surprise in view of Big Foot's statement shortly before, but it is possible that in speaking of his party he intended to refer only to the warriors. They went into camp as directed, turned out their ponies to graze, and were fed, and on the next morning all started quietly back with the troops. As they had all along appeared perfectly friendly and compliant with every order, no attempt was made to disarm them. On arriving near their own village, however, it became apparent that Big Foot could not control their desire to go to their homes. The chief came frankly to Sumner and said that he himself would go wherever wanted, but that there would be trouble to force the women and children, who were cold and hungry, away from their village. He protested also that they were now at home, where they had been ordered by the government to stay, and that none of them had done anything to justify their removal. As it was evident that they would not go peaceably, Colonel Sumner determined to bring his whole force on the next day to compel them. In the meantime he sent a white man named Dunn, who had a friendly acquaintance with Big Foot, to tell him that the Indians must obey the order to remove. Dunn delivered the message and returned, being followed later by the interpreter, with the statement that the Indians had consented to go to the agency, and would start the next morning, December 23d. That evening, however, scouts came in with the word that the Indians had left their village and were going southward. It was at once thought that they intended turning off on another trail to the agency, but instead of doing so they kept on in the direction of Pine Ridge and the refugees in the Bad Lands, taking with them only their ponies and tipi poles.

The cause of this precipitate flight after the promise given by Big Foot is somewhat uncertain. The statement of the interpreter, Felix Benoit, would make it appear that the Indians were frightened by Dunn, who told them that the soldiers were coming in the morning to carry them off and to shoot them if they refused to go. While this doubtless had the effect of alarming them, the real cause of their flight was probably the fact that just at this critical juncture Colonel Merriam was ordered to move his command up Cheyenne River to join forces with Sumner in compelling their

surrender. Such is the opinion of General Ruger, who states officially that "Big Foot and adherents who had joined him, probably becoming alarmed on the movement of General Merriam's command from Fort Bennett and a rumor that Colonel Sumner would capture them, eluded Colonel Sumner's command and started for the Pine Ridge reservation." This agrees with the statement of several of the survivors that they had been frightened from their homes by the news of Merriam's aproach. Sumner, in his report, calls attention to the fact that they committed no depredations in their flight, although they passed several ranches and at one time even went through a pasture filled with horses and cattle without attempting to appropriate them. He also expresses the opinion that Big Foot was compelled unwillingly to go with his people. The whole number of fugitives was at least 340, including a few from the bands of Sitting Bull and Hump. Immediately on learning of their flight Colonel Sumner notified General Carr, commanding in the direction of the Bad Lands.

Nearly 3,000 troops were now in the field in the Sioux country. This force was fully sufficient to have engaged the Indians with success, but as such action must inevitably have resulted in wholesale killing on both sides, with the prospect of precipitating a raiding warfare unless the hostiles were completely annihilated, it was thought best to bring about a surrender by peaceful means.

The refugees in the Bad Lands who had fled from Pine Ridge and Rosebud had been surrounded on the west and north by a strong cordon of troops, operating under General Brooke, which had the effect of gradually forcing them back toward the agency. At the same time that officer made every effort to expediate the process by creating dissensions in the Indian camp, and trying in various ways to induce them to come in by small parties at a time. To this end the Indians were promised that if they complied with the orders of the military their rights and interests would be protected, so far as it was within the power of the military department to accomplish that result. Although they had about lost confidence in the government, these assurances had a good effect, which was emphasized by the death of Sitting Bull, the arrest of Big Foot, and return of Hump to his agency, and the steady

pressure of the troops from behind; and on December 27, 1890, the entire force broke camp and left their stronghold in the Bad Lands and began moving in toward the agency at Pine Ridge. The several detachment of troops followed behind, within supporting distance of one another, and so closely that the fires were still burning in the Indian camps when the soldiers moved in to occupy the same ground.

As early as December 6th a conference had been brought about at Pine Ridge, through the efforts of Father Jutz, the priest of the Catholic mission, between General Brooke and the leading chiefs of both friendlies and "hostiles." Although no definite conclusion was reached, the meeting was a friendly one, ending with a feast and an Indian dance. The immediate effect was a division in the hostile camp, culminating in a quarrel between the two factions, with the result that Two Strike and his party left the rest and moved in toward the agency, while Short Bull and Kicking Bear retreated further into the Bad Lands. On hearing of this condition of affairs, General Brooke sent out American Horse and Big Road with a large party of warriors to meet Two Strike and go back with him to persuade the others, if possible, to come in. At the same time the troops were moved up to intercept the flight of the hostiles.

On Christmas day the Cheyenne scouts, camped on Battle Creek north of the Bad Lands, were attacked by a party of hostiles led by Kicking Bear in person. The fight was kept up until after dark, several being killed or wounded on both sides, but the hostiles were finally driven off.

But the tragedy was near at hand. Orders had been given to intercept Big Foot's party in its flight from Cheyenne River toward the Bad Lands. This was accomplished on December 28, 1890, by Major Whitside of the Seventh cavalry, who came up with him a short distance west of the Bad Lands. Not having succeeded in communicating with the refugees who had fled there, and who were already on their way to the agency, Big Foot had made no stop, but continued on also toward Pine Ridge. On sighting the troops he raised a white flag, advanced into the open country and asked for a parley. This was refused by Major Whitside who demanded an unconditional surrender, which was at once given, and the Indians

moved on with the troops to Wounded Knee Creek, about twenty miles northeast of Pine Ridge agency, where they camped as directed by Major Whitside. In order to make assurance complete, General Brooke sent Colonel Forsyth to join Major Whitside with four additional troops of the Seventh cavalry, which, with the scouts under Lieutenant Taylor, made up a force of eight troops of cavalry, one company of scouts, and four pieces of light artillery (Hotchkiss guns), with a total force of 470 men, as against a total of 106 warriors then present in Big Foot's band. A scouting party of Big Foot's band was out looking for the camp of Kicking Bear and Short Bull, but as these chiefs, with their followers, were already on their way to the agency, the scouting party was returning to rejoin Big Foot when the fight occurred the next morning. It was the intention of General Miles to send Big Foot and his followers back to their own reservation, or to remove them altogether from the country until the excitement had subsided.

At this time there were no Indians in the Bad Lands. Two Strike and Crow Dog had come in about a week before and were now camped close to the agency. Kicking Bear and Short Bull, with their followers, had yielded to the friendly persuasions of American Horse, Standing Bear and others who had gone out to them in the interests of peace, and both parties were now coming in together and had arrived at the Catholic mission, five miles from the agency, when the battle occurred.

On the morning of December 29, 1890, preparations were made to disarm the Indians of Big Foot's band, preparatory to taking them to the agency and thence to the railroad. In obedience to instructions the Indians had pitched their tipis on the open plain a short distance from the creek, and surrounded on all sides by the soldiers. In the center of the camp the Indians had hoisted a white flag as a sign of peace and a guarantee of safety. Behind them was a dry ravine running into the creek, and on a slight rise in the front was posted the battery of four Hotchkiss machine guns, trained directly on the Indian camp. In front, behind, and on both flanks of the Indian camp were posted the various troops of cavalry, a portion of two troops, together with the Indian scouts, being dismounted and drawn up in front of the Indians at a distance

Battle of Wounded Knee

(See Key on opposite page)

of only a few yards from them. Big Foot himself was ill of pneumonia in his tipi, and Colonel Forsyth, who had taken command as senior officer, had provided a tent warmed with a camp stove for his reception.

Shortly after 8 o'clock in the morning the warriors were ordered to come out from the tipis and deliver their arms. They came forward and seated themselves on the ground in front of the troops. They were then ordered to go by themselves into their tipis and bring out and surrender their guns. The first twenty went and returned in a short time with only two guns. It seemed evident that they were unwilling to give them up, and after a consultation of the officers part of the soldiers were ordered up to within ten yards of the group of warriors, while another detachment of troops was ordered to search the tipis. After a thorough hunt these last returned with about forty rifles, most of which, however, were old and of little value. The search had consumed considerable time and created a good deal of excitement among the women and children, as the soldiers found it necessary in the process to overturn the beds and other furniture of the tipis, and in some instances drove out the inmates. All this had its effect on their husbands and brothers, already wrought up to a high nervous tension, and not knowing what might come next. While the soldiers had been looking for the guns, Yellow Bird, a medicine man, had been walking about among the warriors, blowing on a eagle bone whistle, and urging them to resistance, telling them that the soldiers would become weak and powerless, and that the bullets would be unavailing against the sacred "ghost

Key to Map on Opposite Page

A and I—Seventy-six men from A and I troops forming dismounted line of sentinels.
B—B troop dismounted and in line.
C—C troop mounted and in line.
D—D troop mounted and in line.
E—E troop mounted and in line.
G—G troop mounted and in line.
K—K troop dismounted and in line.
1—Tent from which hostile warrior shot two soldiers.
2—Tent occupied by Big Foot and wife.
3—Tents put up for use of Big Foot's band.
4—Council ring.
5—Officers' tents.
6—Enlisted men's tents.
7—Bivouac of Second battalion.
8—Four Hotchkiss guns and squads.
9—Indian village.
10—Indian ponies.
11—Dismounted line of sentinels.
12—Captains Ilsley and Moylan.
13—Lieutenants Garlington and Waterman.
14—Captain Godfrey and Lieutenant Waterman.
15—Captain Jackson and Lieutenant Donaldson.
16—Lieutenant Taylor, commanding scouts.
17—Captain Edgerly and Lieutenant Brewer.
18—Captain Nowlan and Lieutenant Gresham.
19—Indian houses.
20—Lieutenants Sickle and Rice.

shirts," which nearly every one of the Indians wore. As he spoke in the Sioux language, the officers did not at once realize the dangerous drift of his talk, and the climax came too quickly for them to interfere. It is said one of the searchers now attempted to raise the blanket of a warrior. Suddenly Yellow Bird stooped down and threw a handful of dust into the air, when, as if this were the signal, a young Indian, said to have been Black Fox, from Cheyenne River, drew a rifle from under his blanket and fired at the soldiers, who instantly replied with a volley directly into the crowd of warriors, and so near that their guns were almost touching. From the number of sticks set up by the Indians to mark where the dead fell, as seen by the author a year later, this one volley must have killed nearly half the warriors. The survivors sprang to their feet, throwing their blankets from their shoulders as they rose, and for a few minutes there was a terrible hand to hand struggle, where every man's thought was to kill. Although many of the warriors had no guns, nearly all had revolvers and knives in their belts under their blankets, together with some of the murderous war clubs still carried by the Sioux. The very lack of guns made the fight more bloody, and it brought the combatants to closer quarters.

At the first volley the Hotchkiss guns trained on the camp opened fire and sent a storm of shells and bullets among the women and children, who had gathered in front of the tipis to watch the unusual spectacle of military display. The guns poured in 2-pound explosive shells at the rate of nearly fifty per minute, mowing down everything alive. The terrible effect may be judged from the fact that one woman survivor, Blue Whirlwind, with whom Mr. Mooney conversed, received fourteen wounds, while each of her two little boys were also wounded by her side. In a few minutes 200 Indian men, women and children, with sixty soldiers, were lying dead and wounded on the ground, the tipis had been torn down by the shells and some of them were burning above the helpless wounded, and the surviving handful of Indians were flying in wild panic to the shelter of the ravine, pursued by hundreds of maddened soldiers and followed up by a raking fire from the Hotchkiss guns, which had been moved into position to sweep the ravine.

There can be no question that the pursuit was simply a massacre, where fleeing women, with infants in their arms, were shot down after resistance had ceased and when almost every warrior was stretched dead or dying on the ground. On this point such a careful writer as Herbert Welsh says: "From the fact that so many women and children were killed, and that their bodies were found far from the scene of action, and as though they were shot down while fleeing, it would look as though blind rage had been at work, in striking contrast to the moderation of the Indian police at the Sitting Bull fight when they were assailed by women." The testimony of American Horse and other friendlies is strong in the same direction. Commissioner Morgan in his official report says that "Most of the men, including Big Foot, were killed around his tent, where he lay sick. The bodies of the women and children were scattered along a distance of two miles from the scene of the encounter."

This is no reflection on the humanity of the officer in charge. On the contrary, Colonel Forsyth had taken measures to guard against such an occurrence by separating the women and children, as already stated, and had also endeavored to make the sick chief, Big Foot, as comfortable as possible, even to the extent of sending his own surgeon, Dr. Glennan, to wait on him on the night of the surrender. Strict orders had also been issued to the troops that women and children were not to be hurt. The butchery was the work of infuriated soldiers whose comrades had just been shot down without cause or warning. In justice to a brave regiment it must be said that a number of the men were new recruits, fresh from eastern recruiting stations, who had never before been under fire, were not yet imbued with military discipline, and were probably unable in the confusion to distinguish between men and women by their dress.

After examining all of the official papers bearing on the subject in the files of the war department and the Indian office, together with the official reports of the commissioner of Indian affairs and the secretary of war and the several officers engaged; after gathering all that might be obtained from unofficial printed sources and from conversation with survivors and participants in the engagement on both sides, and after

going over the battle ground in company with the interpreter of the scouts engaged, Professor Mooney arrives at the conclusion that when the sun rose on Wounded Knee on the fatal morning of December 29, 1890, no trouble was anticipated or premeditated by either Indians or troops; that the Indians in good faith desired to surrender and be at peace, and that the officers in the same good faith had made preparations to receive their surrender and escort them quietly to the reservation; that in spite of the pacific intent of Big Foot and his band, the medicine man, Yellow Bird, at the critical moment urged the warriors to resistance and gave the signal for the attack; that the first shot was fired by an Indian, and that the Indians were responsible for the engagement; that the answering volley and attack by the troops was right and justifiable, but that the wholesale slaughter of women and children was unnecessary and inexcusable.

Authorities differ as to the number of Indians present and killed at Wounded Knee. General Ruger states that the band numbered about 340, including about 100 warriors, but Major Whitside, to whom they surrendered, reported them officially as numbering 120 men and 250 women and children, a total of 370. This agrees almost exactly with the statement made to the author by Mr. Asay, a trader, who was present at the surrender. General Miles says that there were present 106 warriors, a few others being absent at the time in search of the party under Kicking Bear and Short Bull. Among those who surrendered were about seventy refugees from the bands of Sitting Bull and Hump. No exact account of the dead could be made immediately after the fight, on account of a second attack by another party of Indians coming up from the agency. Some of the dead and wounded left on the field were undoubtedly carried off by their friends before the burial party came out three days later, and of those brought in alive a number afterward died of wounds and exposure, but received no notice in the official reports. The adjutant general, in response to a letter of inquiry, states that 128 Indians were killed and thirty-three wounded. Commissioner Morgan, in his official report, makes the number killed 146. Both these estimates are evidently too low. General Miles, in his final report, states that about 200 men, women and children were

killed. General Colby, who commanded the Nebraska state troops, says that about 100 men and over 120 women and children were found dead on the field, a total of about 220. Agent Royer telegraphed immediately after the fight that about 300 Indians had been killed, and General Miles, telegraphing on the same day, says, "I think very few Indians have escaped." Fifty-one Indians were brought in the same day by the troops, and a few others were found still alive by the burial party three days later. A number of these afterward died. No considerable number got away, being unable to reach their ponies after the fight began. General Miles states that ninety-eight warriors were killed on the field. The whole number killed on the field, or who later died from wounds and exposure, was probably very nearly 300.

According to an official statement from the adjutant general, thirty-one soldiers were killed in the battle. About as many more were wounded, one or two of whom afterward died. All of the killed, excepting Hospital Steward Pollock and an Indian scout named High Backbone, belonged to the Seventh cavalry, as did probably also nearly all of the wounded. The only commissioned officer killed was Captain Wallace. He received four bullet wounds in his body and finally sank under a hatchet stroke upon the head. Lieutenant E. A. Garlington, of the Seventh cavalry, and Lieutenant H. L. Hawthorne, of the Second artillery, were wounded. The last named officer owed his life to his watch, which deflected the bullet that otherwise would have passed through his body.

The heroic missionary priest, Father Craft, who had given a large part of his life to work among the Sioux, by whom he was loved and respected, had endeavored at the beginning of the trouble to persuade the stampeded Indians to come into the agency, but without success, the Indians claiming that no single treaty ever made with them had been fulfilled in all its stipulations. Many of the soldiers being of his own faith, he accompanied the detachment which received the surrender of Big Foot, to render such good offices as might be possible to either party. In the desperate encounter he was stabbed through the lungs, but yet, with bullets flying about him and hatchets and war clubs circling through the air, he went about his work, administering the last religious consolation

to the dying until he fell unconscious from loss of blood. He was brought back to the agency along with the other wounded, and although his life was despaired of for some time, he finally recovered. In talking about Wounded Knee with one of the friendly warriors who had gone into the Bad Lands to urge the hostiles to come in, he spoke with warm admiration of Father Craft, and Professor Mooney asked why it was, then, that the Indians had tried to kill him. He replied: "They did not know him. Father Jutz always wears his black robe, but Father Craft on that day wore a soldier's cap and overcoat. If he had worn his black robe no Indian would have hurt him." On inquiring afterward, Professor Mooney learned that this was not correct, as Father Craft did have on his priestly robes. From the Indian statement, however, and the well known affection in which he was held by the Sioux, it is probable that the Indian who stabbed him was too much excited at the moment to recognize him.

The news of the battle was brought to the agency by Lieutenant Guy Preston of the Ninth cavalry, who, in company with a soldier and an Indian scout, made the ride of sixteen or eighteen miles in a little over an hour, one horse falling dead of exhaustion on the way. There were then at the agency, under command of General Brooke, about 300 men of the Second infantry and fifty Indian police.

The firing at Wounded Knee was plainly heard by the thousands of Indians camped about the agency at Pine Ridge, who had come in from the Bad Lands to surrender. They were at once thrown into great excitement, undoubtedly believing that there was a deliberate purpose on foot to disarm and massacre them all, and when the fugitives—women and children, most of them—began to come in, telling the story of the terrible slaughter of their friends and showing their bleeding wounds in evidence, the camp was divided between panic and desperation. A number of warriors mounted in haste and made all speed to the battleground, only about two hours distant, where they met the troops, who were now scattered about, hunting down the fugitives who might have escaped the first killing, and picking up the dead and wounded. The soldiers were driven in toward the center, where they threw up intrenchments, by means of which they were finally

able to repel the attacking party. With the assistance of a body of Indian scouts and police they then gathered up the dead and wounded soldiers, with some of the wounded Indians and a few other prisoners to the number of fifty-one, and came into the agency. In the meantime the hostiles under Two Strike had opened fire on the agency from the neighboring hills and endeavored to approach, by way of a deep ravine, near enough to set fire to the buildings. General Brooke, desiring to avoid a general engagement, ordered out the Indian police—a splendidly drilled body of fifty men—who gallantly took their stand in the center of the agency inclosure, in full view of the hostiles, some of whom were their own relatives, and kept them off, returning the fire of besiegers with such good effect as to kill and wound several others. The attacking party, as well as those who rode out to help their kinsmen at Wounded Knee, were not the Pine Ridge Indians (Oglala), but the Brules from Rosebud under the lead of Two Strike, Kicking Bear and Short Bull. On the approach of the detachment returning from Wounded Knee, almost the entire body that had come in to surrender broke away and fell back to a position on White Clay Creek, where the next day found a camp of 4,000 Indians, and including more than 1,000 warriors now thoroughly hostile. On the evening of the battle General Miles telegraphed to military headquarters, "Last night everything looked favorable for getting all the Indians under control; since report from Forsyth it looks more serious than at any other time." It seemed that all the careful work of the last month had been undone.

The conflict at Wounded Knee bore speedy fruit. On the same day, as has been said, a part of the Indians under Two Strike attacked the agency and the whole body of nearly 4,000 who had come in to surrender started back again to intrench themselves in preparation for renewed hostilities. On the morning of December 30th, the next day after the fight, the wagon train of the Ninth cavalry (colored) was attacked within two miles of the agency while coming in with supplies. One soldier was killed, but the Indians were repulsed with the loss of several of their number.

On the same day news came to the agency that the hostiles had attacked the Catholic mission five miles out, and

Colonel Forsyth, with eight troops of the Seventh cavalry and one piece of artillery, was ordered by General Brooke to go out and drive them off. It proved that the hostiles had set fire to several houses between the mission and the agency, but the mission had not been disturbed. As the troops approached the hostiles fell back, but Forsyth failed to occupy the commanding hills and was consequently surrounded by the Indians, who endeavored to draw him into a canyon and pressed him so closely that he was obliged three times to send back for reinforcements. Major Henry had just arrived at the agency with a detachment of the Ninth cavalry, and on hearing the noise of the firing started at once to the relief of Forsyth with four troops of cavalry and a Hotchkiss gun. On arriving on the ground he occupied the hills and thus succeeded in driving off the hostiles without further casualty, and rescued the Seventh from its dangerous position. In this skirmish, known as the "Mission fight," the Seventh lost one officer, Lieutenant Mann, and a private, Dominic Francischetti, killed, and seven wounded.

On New Year's day of 1891, three days after the battle, a detachment of troops was sent out to Wounded Knee to gather up and bury the Indian dead and to bring in the wounded who might be still alive on the field. In the meantime there had been a heavy snowstorm, culminating in a blizzard. The bodies of the slaughtered men, women and children were found lying about under the snow, frozen stiff and covered with blood. Almost all the dead warriors were found lying near where the fight began, about Big Foot's tipi, but the bodies of the women and children were found scattered along for two miles from the scene of the encounter, showing that they had been killed while trying to escape. A number of women and children were found still alive, but all badly wounded or frozen, or both, and most of them died after being brought in. Four babies were found alive under the snow, wrapped in shawls and lying beside their dead mothers, whose last thought had been for them. They were all badly frozen and only one lived. The tenacity of life so characteristic of wild people as well as of wild beasts was strikingly illustrated in the case of these wounded and helpless women and children who thus

lived for three days in a Dakota blizzard, without food, shelter or attention to their wounds.

A long trench was dug and into it were thrown all the bodies, piled one upon another like so much cordwood, until the pit was full, when the earth was heaped over them and the funeral was complete. Many of the bodies were stripped by the whites, who went out in order to get the "ghost shirts," and the frozen bodies were thrown into the trench, stiff and naked. They were only dead Indians. As one of the burial party said, "It was a thing to melt the heart of a man, if it was of stone, to see those little children, with their bodies shot to pieces, thrown naked into the pit." The dead soldiers had already been brought in and buried decently at the agency. When the writer visited the spot the following winter, the Indians had put up a wire fence around the trench and smeared the posts with sacred red medicine paint.

The Indian scouts at Wounded Knee, like the Indian police at Grand River and Pine Ridge, were brave and loyal, as has been the almost universal rule with Indians when enlisted in the government service, even when called on, as were these, to serve against their own tribe and relatives. The prairie Indian is a born soldier, with all the soldier's pride of loyalty to duty, and may be trusted implicitly after he has once consented to enter the service. The scouts at Wounded Knee were Sioux, with Philip Wells as interpreter. Other Sioux scouts were ranging the country between the agency and the hostile camp in the Bad Lands, and acted as mediators in the peace negotiations which led to the final surrender Fifty Cheyenne and about as many Crow scouts were also employed in the same section of country. Throughout the entire campaign the Indian scouts and police were faithful and received the warmest commendation of their officers.

On New Year's day, 1891, Henry Miller, a herder, was killed by Indians a few miles from the agency. This was the only noncombatant killed by the Indians during the entire campaign, and during the same period there was no depredation committed by them outside of the reservation. On the next day the agent reported that the school buildings and Episcopal church on White Clay Creek had been burned by hostiles, who were then camped to the number of about 3,000

on Grass Creek, fifteen miles northeast of the agency. They had captured the government beef herd and were depending on it for food. Red Cloud, Little Wound, and their people were with them and were reported as anxious to return, but prevented by the hostile leaders, Two Strike, Short Bull and Kicking Bear, who threatened to kill the first one who made a move to come in. A few days later a number of Red Cloud's men came in and surrendered, and reported that the old chief was practically a prisoner and wanted the soldiers to come and rescue him from the hostiles, who were trying to force him into the war. They reported further that there was much suffering from cold and hunger in the Indian camp, and that all the Oglala (Red Cloud's people of Pine Ridge) were intending to come in at once in a body.

On the 3d of January General Miles took up his headquarters at Pine Ridge and directed General Brooke to assume immediate command of the troops surrounding the hostile camp. Brooke's men swung out to form the western and northern part of a circle about the hostiles, cutting them off from the Bad Lands, while the troops under General Carr closed in on the east and northeast in such a way that the Indians were hemmed in and unable to make a move in any direction excepting toward the agency.

On January 3d a party of hostiles attacked a detachment of the Sixth cavalry under Captain Kerr on Grass Creek, a few miles north of the agency, but were quickly repulsed with the loss of four of their number, the troops having been reinforced by other detachments in the vicinity. In this engagement the Indian scouts again distinguished themselves. The effect of this repulse was to check the westward movement of the hostiles and hold them in their position along White Clay Creek until their passion had somewhat abated.

On January 5th there was another encounter on Wounded Knee Creek. A small detachment which had been sent out to meet a supply train coming into the agency, found the wagons drawn up in a square to resist an attack made by a band of about fifty Indians. The soldiers joined forces with the teamsters, and by firing from behind the protection of the wagons succeeded in driving off the Indians and killing a number of their horses The hostiles were reinforced, however, and a

hard skirmish was kept up for several hours until more troops arrived from the agency about dark, having been sent in answer to a courier who managed to elude the attacking party. The troops charged on a gallop and the Indians retreated, having lost several killed and wounded, besides a number of their horses.

In the meantime overtures of peace had been made by General Miles to the hostiles, most of whose leaders he knew personally, having received their surrender on the Yellowstone ten years before, at the close of the Custer war. On the urgent representations of himself and others congress had also appropriated the necessary funds for carrying out the terms of the late treaty, by the disregard of which most of the trouble had been caused, so that the commander was now able to assure the Indians that their rights and necessities would receive attention. They were urged to come in and surrender, with a guaranty that the general himself would represent their case to the government. At the same time they were informed that retreat was cut off and that further resistance would be unavailing. As an additional step toward regaining their confidence, the civilian agents were removed from the several distributing agencies, which were then put in charge of military officers well known and respected by the Indians. Cheyenne River agency was assigned to Captain J. H. Hurst, the Rosebud agency to Captain J. M. Lee, while Royer at Pine Ridge was superseded on January 8th by Captain F. E. Pierce. The last named officer was afterwards relieved by Captain Charles G. Penny.

The friendly overtures made by General Miles, with evidences that the government desired to remedy their grievances, and that longer resistance was hopeless, had their effect on the hostiles. Little Wound, Young-Man-Afraid-of-His-Horses (more properly "Young-Man of-Whose-Horses-They-are-Afraid"), Big Road and other friendly chiefs, also used their persuasions with such good effect that by January 12th the whole body of nearly 4,000 Indians had moved in to within sight of the agency and expressed their desire for peace. The troops closed in around them, and on the 16th of January, 1891, the hostiles surrendered, and the outbreak was at an end. They complied with every order and direction given

by the commander, and gave up nearly 200 rifles, which, with other arms already surrendered, made a total of between 600 and 700 guns, more than had ever before been surrendered by the Sioux at one time. As a further guaranty of good faith, the commander demanded the surrender of of Kicking Bear and Short Bull, the principal leaders, with about twenty other prominent warriors as hostages. The demand was readily complied with, and the men designated came forward voluntarily and gave themselves up as sureties for the good conduct of their people. They were sent to Fort Sheridan, Illinois, near Chicago, where they were kept until there was no further apprehension, and were then returned to their homes. After the surrender the late hostiles pitched their camp, numbering in all 742 tipis, in the bottom along White Clay Creek, just west of the agency, where General Miles had supplies of beef, coffee and sugar issued to them from the commissary department, and that night they enjoyed the first full meal they had known in several weeks.

Thus ended the so-called Sioux outbreak of 1890-91. It might be better designated, however, as a Sioux panic and stampede, for, to quote the expressive letter of McGillycuddy, writing under date of January 15, 1891, "Up to date there has been neither a Sioux outbreak or war. No citizen in Nebraska or Dakota has been killed, molested, or can show the scratch of a pin, and no property has been destroyed off the reservation." Only a single noncombatant was killed by the Indians, and that was close to the agency. The entire time occupied by the campaign, from the killing of Sitting Bull to the surrender at Pine Ridge, was only thirty-two days. The late hostiles were returned to their homes as speedily as possible. The Brule of Rosebud, regarded as the most turbulent of the hostiles, were taken back to the agency by Captain Lee, for whom they had respect, founded on an acquaintance of several years' standing, without escort and during the most intense cold of winter, but without any trouble or dissatisfaction whatever. The military were returned to their usual stations, and within a few weeks after the surrender affairs at the various agencies were moving again in the usual channel.

Since the close of the Messiah war in January, 1891, but few events of noteworthy interest have occurred in the affairs

Gall, Uncpapa Chief, 1876

of the Dakota Indians. Their record has been one of slow but steady progress to better conditions and higher standards of civilization. On April 15, 1892, the Sissetons, having first taken their allotments of land in severalty, their reservation between Lake Traverse and Lake Kampeska was thrown open to settlement and all of the members of the tribe became full citizens. The next year, 1893, the Yanktons negotiated for the sale of their surplus lands, after having taken their allotments in severalty, and in 1895 their reservation was formally opened. In 1896 Gall, the famous war chief of the Uncpapas, died at his home on Oak Creek, of the Standing Rock reservation. An extended biography of this man, by Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson, will be found at page 151 of the first South Dakota Collections. After his surrender in 1881 he at once became one of the most reliable and progressive Christian Indians of the Standing Rock reserve. He was a good farmer, and owned and cultivated a fertile tract on the Oak Creek bottoms, in a delightful situation and surrounded by every comfort. In August, 1900, Charger, the noted Christian Indian and leader of the "fool soldiers" band, who rescued the Shetak captives in 1862, died at his home near Cheyenne River agency. He lived throughout his years a life of Christian doing and benevolence. Rain in the Face, who attained great notoriety in the Custer war, still lives at his home on the Grand River, and Red Cloud, in his 83d year, blind and decrepit, still maintains an existence at Pine Ridge agency, perforce yielding to the inevitable, but in sentiment as hostile to Christianity, civilization and progress as he has ever been.

At this time the Dakotas are living at nine reservation agencies and four citizen communities, as follows: The citizen communities are the Sissetons in Roberts and Marshall counties, South Dakota, the Yanktons in Charles Mix county, a portion of the Minnesota Santees at Flandreau, South Dakota, and another small band on the Minnesota River in Yellow Medicine county, Minnesota; the agency Indians are the main body of the Minnesota Santees in Knox county, Nebraska, the Spotted Tail Brules at Rosebud, South Dakota, the

Oglalas and a portion of the Minneconjous at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, the Lower Brules at Lower Brule agency, South Dakota, the Lower Yanktonais at Crow Creek agency, South Dakota, the main body of the Minneconjous, Two Kettles and Sans Arcs at Cheyenne River, South Dakota, the main body of the Blackfeet and Uncpapas, with small bands of Upper Yanktonais and Sans Arcs at Standing Rock agency, North Dakota, which reservation extends over the line into South Dakota, the Upper Yanktonais and the hostile element of the Santees of White Lodge and Inkpaduta's bands at Fort Peck, Montana, the Cut Head Yanktonais and the Sissetons of Standing Buffalo's band, who fled to Canada during the war of the outbreak, at Devils Lake, North Dakota. These Devils Lake Indians have already taken their lands in severalty, and their surplus lands will be opened for settlement during the present year, 1904. For the benefit of the Dakotas the government has established extensive schools for higher education at Flandreau, Chamberlain, Pierre and Rapid City, South Dakota, while elementary schools exist at every convenient point throughout the reservations. In addition to this there are denominational schools under control of the Catholics, Congregationalists, Episcopals and Presbyterians upon the various reservations and under the existing policy of the department, encouraging education among the Indians and absolutely refusing to issue rations to children of school age anywhere, except at the schools where they belong, is having the effect of disseminating education among all of the bands. While many of the old heathen Indians of the old regime remain, they have lost their influence, and the younger generations are essentially Christian. All have accepted the white man's dress and there is not a blanket Indian remaining in all of the bands. While many of the old men still live in polygamy, the custom has been entirely abandoned by the younger generation, and is not likely to be revived, since the government will not recognize an Indian in polygamous marriage. Naturally averse to industry, one of the difficult problems has been to induce them to engage in gainful avocations, but more and more they become

industrious and self sustaining. As stock breeders and growers, a business best adapted to the region in which they reside, they are meeting with reasonable success. And while the way up to the higher levels of civilization is and must inevitably be through hardship and sacrifice, they have already made the vicarious atonement and their situation at present is at least hopeful.

INDEX TO PART TWO

Page

Acton, Minn., massacre at..... 269
Allen, Capt., gets lost on prairies.... 198
Allison, Senator W. B., chairman Black Hills commission..... 417
Allouez, Father Claude, missionary.. 32
Prevents war between Chippewas and Dakotas..... 32
Meets Dakotas 33
Ambush, Big Chippewas for Redwing.. 66
For Dakotas at Crow Wing.... 61
For Capt. Marsh at Redwood.. 274
For Reno at Little Big Horn.. 429
For Fetterman at Fort Phil Kearney 361
For Custer at Little Big Horn.. 430
American Fur Company influences Indian agents 205
American Horse killed at Slim Buttes 437
Americans take Prairie du Chien..... 88
Amidon, Joseph B., killed at Sioux Falls 305
Anderson, Capt., meets Wapasha in 1815 98
Andrews, Joseph, killed by Sissetons.. 139
Angell, Henry, helps Lieut. Hale in Messiah war 485
Annual reunions of Dakota bands..25, 194
Aquipaguetin, captures Father Hennepin 37
Armadale, S. D., annual Sioux reunions there 25
Arickara, Ree settlement on Missouri River 81
Arms and ammunition, effect of upon Sioux 28
Ash Hollow, battle of.....224, 225
Ashley's men massacred by Rees, 1823. 141
Asiatic origin of Dakotas..... 17
Assinoboins secede from Dakotas..... 25
Astoria expedition..... 82
Atkinson, Gen. Henry makes trade treaty, 1825 147

Page

Bailey, Alexis, trader to Wakpekutes. 161
Goes to Washington..... 182
Baptism, first Sioux by Father Hennepin 38
Bayfield, Wis., missionary settlement, ...32, 35
Battle of Birch Coule, Minn..... 285
Big Mound, N. D..... 319
Blue Water 224
Buffalo Lake, N. D..... 322
Crow Wing 61
Elk River 63
Fort Meigs 86
Fort Phil Kearney, Wyo..... 359
Fort Ridgely, Minn..... 281
Killdeer Mountain, N. D..... 331
Little Big Horn, Mont....428, 433
New Ulm, Minn..... 281
Partridge River 64
Rosebud 425
Slim Buttes, S. D..... 437
Stony Lake, N. D..... 323
Battle of Wagon Boxes (Fort Phil Kearney)..... 373
White Stone Hill, N. D..... 328
Wood Lake, Minn..... 295
Wounded Knee, S. D..... 492
Bean, S. L., surveys Sioux boundary, 1835 145
Bear dance at Keoxa, (Winona)..... 130
Bear's Rib, escorts Lieut. Warren, 1857 229
Defines Yankton land claims.. 249
Benson, Minn., massacre at..... 178
Benteen, Capt., scout at Little Big Horn 429
Bible translated by Riggs and Williamson 75
Big Chippewa fight on Chippewa River 66
Big Eagle opposed to Outbreak..... 271
Leads at Birch Coule..... 285
Big Elk, oration over Black Buffalo.. 96

Page

Big Foot, band dancing..... 473
Attempt to bring him in..... 487
Flight to Bad Lands..... 488
Surrenders to Whiteside..... 490
Big Marten's war.....64, 65
Big Mound, battle of..... 319
Big Mouth, goes south to avoid trouble 355
Big Stone Lake, home of Tetons..... 22
Visited by DeLusigan..... 55
Big White, Mandan chief, with Lewis and Clark 80, 81
Biography of Little Crow, Jr..... 340
Inkpaduta 342
Birch Coule, battle of..... 285
Black Moon, chief of Uncpapas....400, 401
At battle of Little Big Horn..429
Killed in battle..... 431
Blackfeet, condition of in 1869..... 392
Rescue Mrs. Kelley..... 329
Black River, Wis..... 31
Black Hills, S. D., annoyed by hostiles 437
Custer's report upon..... 408
Custer's expedition, 1874..... 407
Movement to settle..... 414
Rush of miners to..... 421
Black Hills commission of 1875..... 416
Offer to buy right to mine.... 417
Fail to make treaty..... 421
Black Hills commission of 1876..... 439
Treaty of 1876..... 440
Blackhawk war 165
Blackhawk (Sioux) releases captives.. 309
Black Buffalo, Teton chief..... 71
Escorts Lewis and Clark..... 75
Helps the Rees..... 81
Stops the Astorians 82
Dies at Portage des Sioux, 1815 96
Funeral oration over..... 96
Bluewater, battle of..... 224
Bois Brules defined..... 49
Bone Necklace, Yanktonais chief..309, 312
Boundary of Sioux territory, 1776.... 27
Treaty of 1825..... 144
Dispute of 1870..... 400
Brady, Cyrus Townsend, quoted....370, 381
Brooke, Gen. John A., commander in Messiah war..... 471
Brown, Capt. Frederick, killed with Fetterman 365
Brown, Maj. J. R., helps get Roaring Cloud 241
Goes out to bury dead..... 284
Brown, Samuel J., acknowledgments to 14
Inspector of scouts..... 348
Heroic service and famous ride 349

Page

Helps Sibley secure hostiles.. 297
Bruce, A. I., Santee agent..... 204
Brules, origin of name..... 26
Condition of in 1869..... 392
Settle at Whetstone agency.... 394
Brunson, Rev. Alfred, Methodist missionary 177
Bull Head, chief of police.....476, 477
Buffalo Bill takes a hand..... 474
Buffalo hunt, visited by Nicollet and Fremont 193
Buffalo Lake, battle of..... 323
Burbank, Gov. John A., quoted..... 395

Cadotte, Michael, killed by Little Crow 164
California trail opened..... 218
Brules make trouble upon..... 350
Cameron, Murdoch, trader, sells whisky 77
Helps monopolize Indian trade 83
Campaign of 1862, map..... 275
1863, map 321
Story of 1863..... 316
Story of 1864 and map..... 333
Story of 1865..... 336
Plans for 1876..... 424
Map of 1876.....432, 433
Map of Sitting Bull campaign.. 479
Colin, Campbell, interpreter at Fort Meigs 87
Advises Sissetons..... 138
Makes mischief at Arickara.... 142
With treaty commissioners, 1825 147
Builds post on Elm River.... 161
Guides Father DeSmet..... 206
Sells wood to LaBarge..... 204
Campbell, Jack, hung for massacre of Jewett family 336
Canadian government, acknowledgments to 14
Cannibalism charged to Sioux..... 87
Cannon River, home of Wakpekutes.. 161
Captives taken to Yellow Medicine.... 287
Released by Sibley..... 296
Story of Shetak..... 305
Carver, Jonathan, visits Sioux..... 55
Land grant bogus..... 56
Grandsons investigate..... 129
Carrington, Gen. H. B., sent to Montana trail..... 355
Recovers bodies of Fetterman's men 370
Cass, Gen. Lewis, visits Sioux..... 138
Catawbas of Siouan stock..... 18
Catholic missionaries 31, 208
Catlin, George, artist, visits Sioux.. 166
Story of "The Dog"..... 167

Page
Work characterized 167
Likeness of 169
Census of the Sioux in 1660..... 31
In 1840 197
Celebration of July 4, 1825..... 151
Champagney, Louis, killed by Chunksah 89
Chanopa, S. D., home of Thunderface 196
Home of Lean Bear..... 301
Character of Little Crow, Jr..... 340
Charger, Martin, organizes "Fool Soldiers" 307
Demands return of captives.. 309
Death of 506
Cheyennes help Red Cloud..... 360
Chiefs and head men mentioned—
American Horse 437
Aquipaguetin 37
Bear's Rib 249, 229
Big Chippewa 66
Big Eagle 271, 285
Big Elk 96
Big Foot 490, 487, 488, 473
Big Marten 55, 65
Big White 80, 81
Black Buffalo 71, 96, 75, 81
Black Hawk 165, 309
Black Moon 400, 401, 429, 431
Bone Necklace 312
Bull Head 476, 477
Crazy Horse..403, 423, 424, 437, 443
Crawford, Charles 286
Eagle Head 157, 179
Eagle Help 175
Gall..322, 360, 429, 438, 447, 467 .....505, 506
Grey Eagle..... 323
Greyfoot 238
Hump 454, 467, 483
Inkpaduta..209, 233, 243, 244, 314, ..318, 324, 328, 335, 342, 360, 429, 430
Ironfriend 138, 139
Itasapa 87
Ixatape 56
Kaniknapi 196
Little Crow..63, 76, 86, 88, 96, 98, 109, 110, 112, 137, 146, 164, 177, 182, 243, 254, 264, 268, 270, 271, 272, 289, 291, 292, 293, 296, 297, ...301, 305, 317, 340
Little Paul Mazakutemane 217, ...239, 243, 278, 288, 289
Little Six 154, 269
Little Soldier 158
Little Thunder 224
Man Afraid of His Horses..372, 418
Mazawaumane 289
Noka 62
John Otherday..... 241, 239, 276, 410
Red Cloud, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 358, 360, 371, 373, 375, 381, 382, 383, 385, 387, 394, 395, 396, 399, 419, 440, 444, 449, 453, 462, 467, 503
Red Fish 88, 207
Red Iron 259
Red Legs 275
Red Thunder 78, 85, 107
Red Tomahawk 476
Redwing, 64, 76, 78, 86, 94, 136, ...146, 182
Renville, Gabriel.....127, 294, 384
Roaring Cloud 240, 241
Round Wind 178
Shake Hand 69
Shakopee.....62, 63, 127
Scarlet Plume 291
Short Bull....460, 463, 470, 472, 504
Solomon Twostars, 85, 161, 269, 292, 293, 294, 301, 326, 335, 336, 343
Spirit Walker 239, 296
Spotted Tail, 351, 353, 354, 355, 394, 396, 417, 419, 420, 440, 442, ...443, 444, 446, 448, 449
Struck by the Pawnee..... 70
Struck by the Ree, 70, 248, 314, ...456, 457
Swift Bear 382
Sweet 62
Sitting Bull, 322, 360, 400, 450, 438, 447, 449, 451, 455, 467, 473, ...476, 477, 478, 484
Sleepyeyes 146, 235
Smutty Bear 96, 164, 245, 248
Split Lip 158
Standing Buffalo 291, 347
Striped Arrow 279
Tamaha 91, 124, 136
Tecumseh 84
Teeoskahtay 84
Tooponca Zeze 154
Wamundiyakapi 209
Wamdesapa 204, 215
Wanatan 291
Waneta, 86, 87, 101, 104, 106, 139, ...147, 151
Wazzacoota, see Wizikute.
Wizikute makes map for Hennepin 40
Wizikute, guide to Long..... 131
Wapasha, 64, 78, 86, 90, 94, 96, 98, 119, 121, 136, 146, 160, 165, ...178, 180
White Lodge 301, 305, 329
Wovoka 458
Wowinapa 182, 202, 271, 317
Mankato 285, 295

Page

Shappa 86
Sioux help Cheyennes..... 394
Chippewas obtain firearms..... 28
Invade Dakota country..... 62
Hostility of..... 20
Refuse to go to Washington.. 77
Execute Sioux prisoners..... 155
Break up missions..... 175
Killed by Sioux..... 177
Wholesale massacre of by Sioux 179
Choteau, Auguste, at Portage des Sioux 94
Pierre, Sr., in Ree fight..... 80
Pierre, John 96
Christian Sioux mentioned..... 232
Chunksah kills Dubois and Champagney 89
Courtmartialed and executed... 90
Civil war, influence upon Santees.... 255
Clark, Capt. William, makes treaty of 1815 94
Coe, Rev. Allan, visits Fort Snelling 161, 173
Columbia Fur Company founded by Joseph Renville 141, 176
Copway, George, Methodist missionary 177
Council of Lewis and Clark at Teton River 75
Coureur des Bois defined..... 49
Courtis, W. H., quoted..... 381
Courts for Indian offenses..... 453
Cox, Christian C., special commissioner, quoted 407
Craft, Father, stabbed at Wounded Knee 497
Crawford, Rev. Charles, with hostiles at Birch Coule 286
Likeness of 217
Crazy Band, see "Fool Soldiers."
Crazy Horse hostile..... 403
Camp destroyed 423
Meets Crook on Rosebud..... 425
Surrenders advantage gained.. 425
At battle of Little Big Horn.. 429
Follows Crook to Black Hills.. 437
Surrenders through influence of Spotted Tail 443
Killed at Red Cloud agency.... 443
His people secede..... 444
Crook, Gen. George G., winter campaign 423
In 1876 campaign..... 424
Fights Crazy Horse on Rosebud 425
Fights American Horse at Slim Buttes 437

Page

Negotiates with Crazy Horse... 442
Crow Dog kills Spotted Tail..... 449
Sentenced to be hung..... 452
Crow Wing, great battle at..... 61
Cullen, Wm. J., commands militia company 284
Custer, Col. George A., Yellowstone expedition 404
Black Hills expedition, 1874.... 405
Report on Black Hills..... 408
Fatal scout up Rosebud..... 426
Ambushed and destroyed..... 431
Custer, Capt. Tom, arrests Rain in the Face 405
Custer City's boom..... 421
Cuthairs, name of reproach..... 278

Dakotas distinguished from Siouans.. 15
Meaning of word..... 19
First mentioned by Europeans. 20
A roving people..... 27
Emigrate to prairies.....23, 28, 56
Give up use of boats..... 51
First hear cannon fire..... 29
Change due to firearms and horses 29
Exempt from epidemics..... 29
Usually not aggressors..... 30
Surrender advantages gained 60, 113, 425
Surrender murderers 55
Number in 1660..... 31
Boundary in 1776..... 27
May have massacred Menard.. 32
Fight Hurons 32
Meet Allouez 33
Take Hennepin captive..... 35
Die from change of diet..... 146
Become hostile 160
Kill Chippewas 177
Massacre many Chippewas.... 179
Massacre Chippewas at Fort Snelling 155
Send delegates to Messiah.... 460
Location and condition in 1904. 507
Dakota settlements attacked, 1863.... 301
Dances of Sioux described by Lewis and Clark 72
Ghost dance described..... 464
Bear dance 130
Thunderbird dance 212
Daniels, Dr. J. W., commissioner.... 402
Black Hills commissioner, 1876. 439
Death song of Toponca Zeze..... 158
DeIsles' map 54
DeLand, Charles E., acknowledgments to 14
DeLap, Hiram, Methodist missionary.. 177

Page
DeLingery marches against Dakotas.. 52
DeLusigan visits Big Stone Lake.... 55
Denton, Samuel, Swiss missionary.. 177
Desciples' Church 240
DeSmet, Father Peter John, first visits Sioux 207
Attends Laramie treaty council, 1852 387
Witnesses Laramie treaty, 1868 387
D'Iberville co-operates with LeSueur.. 43
Dickson and Cameron get trade..... 80
Dickson, Maj. Robert, visits Pike.... 77
Marries Red Thunder's sister.. 85
Opposes American trade..... 83
Given extraordinary powers.... 83
Defeats Rolette's meat contract 89
Grows insolent to officers..... 88
Petitions for redress..... 134
Again in Dakota trade..... 134
Dickson, William, son of Robert.... 171
Dictionary of Dakota words, Hennepin's 57
Dodge, Indian commissioner at Fort Snelling 180
Dodge, Col. Richard I., quoted..... 380
Drought of 1889-90, effect of..... 468
Drummond Island, visited by Dakotas 98
Dubois, Antoine, killed by Chunksah.. 89
Duluth meets Hennepin..... 40
Duly, Mrs. William J., Shetak captive 305
Dupree, Frederick, assists captives.. 313
Durion, Pierre, guide, first settler..68, 70
Durion, Pierre, Jr., guide to Astorians 68

Eagle Head, Sioux chief..... 179
Apprehends murderers 157
Eagle Help, Wahpeton chief, kills mission cattle 175
Edgerton, Hon. A. J., in battle of Big Mound 319
Edmunds, Gov. Newton, secures peace commission 336
Opposed by military..... 328
Makes treaties at Fort Sully.. 338
Member Black Hills commission, 1876 439
Educational institutions 507
Edwards, Gov. Ninian, commissioner, 1815 94
Eggs on Head, killed at Chamberlain.. 455
Elk River, battle of..... 63
Emigration of bands from timber..19, 20
English trader killed by Ixatape..... 56
Make peace 63
Opposition to American trade.. 83
Take advantage of prophet craze 84
Retake Prairie du Chien..... 88

Page
Enumeration of Sioux, 1660..... 31
In 1840 197
Government undercount 402
Everitt, Lillie, Shetak captive..... 305

Ewers, Capt. E. P., brings in Hump.. 483
Factories for trade..... 83
Farebault, Alexander, early trader.. 165
Opposes treaty of 1837..... 182
Fetterman, Capt., massacre of force.. 361
Fielner, Sully's topographer, killed.. 330
Fight on Spring Creek, 1890..... 483
Fisk's, Capt., emigrant train attacked 335
Firearms, prowess determined by.... 28
Social effect of..... 31
Firehearts, band mentioned..... 152
Fireleaf band American in sentiment. 87
Flandreau, settlement on Sioux River. 390
Flandrau, Charles E., rewards Greyfoot and brother..... 239
Kills Roaring Cloud..... 241
Commands at New Ulm..... 281
Flatmouth, principal chief of Chippewas 65
People massacred at Fort Snelling 154
Fletcher, J. E., Santee agent..... 204
Fool Soldiers, members of band..... 313
Resolve to rescue Shetak captives 307
Forsyth, Thomas, goes to Fort Snelling, 1819 135
Forsyth, Col., commanded at Wounded Knee 491
Fort Abercrombie attacked by Little Crow 296
Kiowa, treaty of 1825..... 147
Abraham Lincoln, built and attacked 402
McKay, English post at Prairie du Chien 88
McLean, becomes Abraham Lincoln 401
Meigs, Sioux in battle at..... 86
Phil Kearney built..... 357
In desperate straits..... 367
Pierre in 1832, picture..... 170
Randall built by Harney..... 226
Reno garrisoned 356
Reno and Phil Kearney abandoned 386
Rice built by Sully..... 330
Ridgely built 215
Attacked by Little Crow..... 280
Relieved by Sibley..... 276
Shelby, American post at Prairie du Chien 88
C. F. Smith built by Carrington 300

Page

Snelling begun by Leavenworth 135
Invites hostilities 155
Stephenson, Waneta's gallantry 86
Wadsworth, Sisseton, built.... 336

Fox Indians, constantly at war..... 41
Fraser, Jack, kills Sac Indian..... 177

Fraser, Lieut., with Sioux at Sandusky 87
Fremont, Gen. John C., in Dakota country 184, 185
French come up Missouri..... 58

Friendlies organize Soldiers' lodge.... 288
Witness battle of Wood Lake.. 295
Fear white vengeance..... 296
Enlist as scouts..... 336
Disarmed by military..... 437
Frontenac receives Dakota delegate.. 22
Fur trade ruined by war of 1812..... 92
Fur companies subsidize Indian agents 204

Galbraith, sends Sheean after Inkpaduta 266
Gale, Dr. John, with treaty commissioners, 1825 146
Galpin, Charles E., discovers white captives 305
Gardner, Abbie (Sharp), captured by Inkpaduta 234
Rescued by John and Paul.... 240

Garreau not first settler..... 68
Gavin, Daniel, Swiss missionary..... 177

Gall, Uncpapa chief, at battle of Big Mound 322
Assists in Red Cloud wars..... 360
At battle of Little Big Horn.. 429
Meets Gen. Miles in council.... 438
Goes to Canada 438
Returns and surrenders..... 447
Opposes treaty of 1889..... 467
Death of 506
Likeness of 505

Geology of Black Hills..... 416
Ghost dance described..... 464
Gibson, Samuel, drover, loses cattle.. 161
Goodfellow, Ferd J., acknowledgments to 14

Godfrey, Joe, turns state's evidence.. 299
Gordon, William, interpreter, 1825.... 147
Grant, Capt. Louis, goes out to bury dead 284

Grey Eagle, killed at Stony Lake.... 323
Greyfoot rescues Mrs. Marble..... 238
Guerin, John, guide to Menard..... 31

Page

Guignas, Father, missionary to Dakotas 55

Habitat of Sioux.....15, 19, 41
Hale, Lieut., brings in hostiles..... 485
Halfman, Yankton chief, meets Lewis and Clark 70
Harney, Gen. W. S., sent against Brules 224
Battle of Ash Hollow..... 350
Goes to Fort Pierre..... 225
Uses chloroform..... 227
Builds Whetstone agency..... 394
Harrison, Gen. W. H., whips Tecumseh 84
Hazelwood Republic 232
Headmen, how chosen 147
Hedges, Nat, killed on Montana trail, 1865 352
Hempstead, interpreter 129
Hendricks, Capt. Mark, at Wood Lake 291
Hennepin, Father Louis, among Dakotas 35
Henry, Capt. Guy V., wounded at Rosebud 425
Heroic Christian Indians..... 278
Hoeckin, Father Christian, Catholic missionary 207
Hole in the Day, Chippewa chief, kills Sioux 175, 178
Horses, advantage to Dakotas..... 28

Hostiles tried by military court..... 298
Removed to Fort Snelling.... 299
Convicted and condemned..... 299
Some reprieved by Lincoln.... 300
Prisoners attacked by whites.. 300
Hanged at Mankato..... 301

Hostiles range buffalo country, 1870.. 400
On Yellowstone, 1872..... 402
House, Maj. A. E., locates hostiles, 1863 329
How, D. K., helps Fool Soldiers..... 312
Huggins, Alexander, missionary farmer 173
Visits Fort Pierre with Riggs.. 195
Huggins, Amos, missionary teacher at Lac qui Parle 254
Killed by hostiles, 1862..... 279
Slayer hanged 301
Huggins, Miss Fanny, missionary teacher 175
Hunt, Wilson Price, leads Astorians.. 82
Hunter, Andrew, guides missionaries.. 283
Hunting party for Fremont..... 187
Hump, last of hostiles..... 454
Band became ghost dancers.... 467
Surrenders to Ewers..... 483
Hurons guide Menard..... 31

Page
War with Dakotas 32
Hyde, Charles L., learns first of Messiah craze 469

Incestuous marriages forbidden..... 194
Iowas lived on Minnesota River..... 22
Inkpaduta's first appearance..... 209
Names of men in band..... 233
Massacre at Spirit Lake..... 233
Fights Little Crow at Lake Thompson 243
Goes unpunished 244
At Sioux Falls, 1862..... 314
Joins Sissetons at Big Mound.. 318
Recrosses Missouri 324
Leads at Whitestone Hill..... 328
Leads at Killdeer Mountain.. 335
Joins Red Cloud..... 360
Meets Reno at Little Big Horn 429
Biographical sketch 342
Ireland, Bishop John, defends Hennepin 40
Ireland children, Shetak captives..... 305
Iron Friend confesses murder of white men 138
Appears at Fort Snelling..... 139
Itasape disloyal to England..... 87
Indian courts established 453, 455
Indian department, acknowledgments to 14
Ixatape kills Mallard Duck..... 56

Jackson, Andrew, writes to Sissetons 164
Jacobson, killed at James River ferry 329
James River valley conquered by Tetons 22
Occupied by Yanktons..... 24
Annual reunion of tribes..... 25
Jenness, Lieut. John C., killed at Wagon Boxes 374
Jenneys, Prof. W. S., survey of Black Hills 416
Jewett family massacred..... 336
Jeoffrey's map 54
Johnson, John, Methodist missionary. 177
Joliet's map 34
Jones, Robinson, massacred at Acton. 269
Jogues, Father Isaac..... 21
Jordon, Col. Charles P., acknowledgments to 14

Kaniknapi, hostile Wahpeton, threatens Riggs 196
Kerr, Prof. Robert F., quoted..... 249
Kelly, Mrs. Frances, rescued from Blackfeet 329
Kicking Bear, Messiah delegate..... 460
Attacks Brooke's scouts..... 490

Page
Killdeer Mountain, battle of..... 331
King, David, Methodist missionary.. 177
Keoxa, Indian village at Winona..... 130

LaBarge, Capt. Joseph, attacked by Yanktons 205
LaBath, Francois, goes to Washington 182
Lac qui Parle mission..... 173
Lacrosse, Indian ball game, described 78
LaFrambois, Joseph, Sr., goes to Washington 182
LaFrambois, Francois, scout for Sully, ...327, 331
LaFrambois, Joseph, Jr., guide to Capt. Bee 236
With hostiles at Birch Coule.. 286
Scout for Sully..... 319
Quoted, 234, 236, 249, 301, 305, ...314, 316, 326, 329, 343, 344, 346
Lake Shetak settlement destroyed.... 305
Lake Pepin posts..... 52
Lake Traverse settlement..... 141
Lamson kills Little Crow..... 317
Language resembles Mongolian..... 17
LaPlant, Louis, sketch of Charger... 307
Conducts Shetax captives to Randall 313
LaSalle's expedition to Mississippi.... 35
Lea, Luke, Indian commissioner..... 358
Lean Bear called into outbreak..... 301
Killed at Shetak..... 305
Leavenworth, Col. Henry, begins Fort Snelling 135
Removed from Snelling..... 183
Conquers Rees 141
With treaty commission, 1825.. 146
LeSueur's first visit to Dakotas..... 40
Takes Sioux to Canada..... 21
Gets license to mine..... 43
Builds Fort L'Hullier..... 46
Map of northwest 1701..... 44
LeSueur Tigers in siege of New Ulm. 282
Lewis and Clark's expedition..... 68
Trouble with Black Buffalo.... 71
Likenesses, see portraits.
Lincoln, Abraham, commutes many sentences 300
Warrant for execution of hostiles 302
Liquor feared by Spotted Tail..... 394
Lisa, Manuel, in trade..... 80
Learns of Prophet craze..... 84
Main trading establishments... 92
Agent for Tetons, war of 1812.. 88
Little Big Horn battle field, maps, 432, 433
Custer goes on fatal scout.... 426
Mistake of military..... 427
Black Moon leader..... 429

Page

Black Moon killed in battle... 431
Gall succeeds Black Moon.... 429
Crazy Horse leads Oglalas.... 429
Inkpaduta leads Santees and Yanktonais 429
Reno's charge 429
Inkpaduta meets Reno..... 430
Ambush for Reno..... 429
Reno's retreat 430
Benteen's scout 429
Reno entrenched 434
Custer ambushed and destroyed 431
Little Crow dynasty, sketch of..... 109
Little Crow I. fights Big Marten..... 63
Little Crow II. (Wakoowamani), likeness of 110
Treats with Pike..... 76
Visits Macinac 86
Not at Portage des Sioux..... 96
Visits Drummond Island..... 98
Speaks against Americans..... 88
Pleases Forsyth 137
Described by Schoolcraft..... 114
Goes to Washington..... 182
Signs boundary treaty..... 146
People kill Cadotte 164
Little Crow III. (Big Eagle), death of 112
Encourages Methodist mission. 177
Little Crow, Jr., at father's deathbed 110
Leads Santees against Inkpaduta 243
Builds home 254
Deposed from chieftainship.... 264
Waits for annuity money..... 268
Likeness 270
Supreme in outbreak 271
Warns friends 272
Sends for Sissetons..... 291
Threatens captives 292
Last council with people..... 293
Absconds upon defeat at Wood Lake 296
Attacks Fort Abercrombie.... 297
Killed by Lamson..... 317
Biographical sketch of..... 340
Little Paul (Mazakutemane), likeness of 217
Brings in Abbie Gardner Sharp 239
Speaks for Soldiers' lodge..... 243
Aids missionaries' escape..... 278
Defies hostiles and demands captives 278
Little Six I. kills Chippewas..... 154
Little Six II. begins massacre..... 269
Little Soldier's revenge..... 158
Little Thunder, punished by Harney.. 224
Live stock at Lisa's posts in Dakota.. 93

Page

Location of Sioux bands in 1904..... 507
Loisel's post mentioned.....70, 81
Long's first expedition..... 129
Second expedition 104
Loth, George, killed at Big Stone.... 279
Lover's leap at Lake Pepin..... 131
Lynde, James W., first victim of massacre 273

MacClaren at Wood Lake..... 295
McDonell, Col., thanks Sioux..... 100
McDowell, Robert E., acknowledgements to 14
McGillicuddy, agent at Pine Ridge.. 445
Subdues Red Cloud..... 449
Exonerated 454
Needed in Messiah craze..... 469
Criticises Messiah war..... 504
McKay, Col., thanks Sioux..... 100
McLaughlin, Maj., agent at Standing Rock 469
Handles his Indians in 1890... 473
Humiliates Sitting Bull..... 450
McLean, Nathaniel, Santee agent.... 258
McPhail, Col. Samuel, in outbreak, 284, ...287, 291
Mankato at Birch Coule..... 285
Killed at Wood Lake..... 295
Man Afraid of His Horses at Laramie 372
Preserves order in council, 1875 418
Maps, Joliet's of 1673..... 34
Hennepin's of 1680..... 39
Wazikute's mentioned 40
Coronellis' mentioned 49
LeSueur's, 1701 44
DeIsle's, 1703 53
Laws', of 1723 50
Jeoffrey's, of 1762 54
Lewis and Clark's, of 1804.... 72
Sioux territory in 1822..... 41
Campaign of 1862..... 75
Route of Shetak captives..... 310
Campaign of 1863..... 321
Campaign of 1864..... 333
Fort Phil Kearney and vicinity 366
Little Big Horn battlefield.... 433
Campaign of 1876..... 432
Sioux country, 1890..... 466
Grand River country..... 479
Vicinity of Sitting Bull's home 480
Wounded Knee battle field.... 492
Marble, Mrs., captured by Inkpaduta. 234
Rescued by Greyfoot..... 237
Markham, Moses, carries news of massacre 234
Marksman, Methodist missionary..... 177
Marquette, Father Pierre, missionary 33, 35

Page

Marriages, mixed 50
Marsh, Capt., commands at Ridgely.. 265
Ambushed at Minnesota River.. 274
Marshall, Gov. William R., in outbreak 284, 291, 297
Martelle, heroic ferryman..... 274
Massacre at Spirit Lake..... 234
At Springfield 236
On Minnesota River 256
Matlock, G. C., Indian agent..... 205
Mazawamunua, speech of..... 289
M'dewakanton, name defined..... 23
Mentioned by LeSueur 46
At Portage des Sioux..... 94
Medical practice among Sioux..... 37
Menard, Father Rene, Catholic missionary 31
Menard, Pierre, on upper Missouri.... 80
Mendota, treaty of..... 214
Messiah craze, begins..... 459
Half heathen, half Christian.. 460
Not a hostile movement..... 472
Military called out..... 471
Sitting Bull breaks peace pipe. 475
Buffalo Bill takes a hand..... 474
Sitting Bull's arrest ordered.... 474
Capt. Fetchet supports police.. 477
Sitting Bull's death..... 477
Riggs buries hostiles..... 482
Hump surrenders to Ewers.... 483
Big Foot's flight 488
Captured by Whitside 490
Battle of Wounded Knee..... 491
Fight on Spring Creek..... 483
Kicking Bear attacks scouts.. 490
Short Bull returns to agency.. 490
Miller, Henry, killed near agency 501
Miles makes peace..... 504
Methodist mission 177
Miles, Gen. Nelson, meets Sitting Bull and Gall 438
Fights Gall 447
In command Messiah war..... 477
Makes peace 504
Mille Lacs, old home of Sioux..... 24
Miller, Col. John, at Portage des Sioux 96
Military withdrawn from Montana road 386
Called out in Messiah craze.. 471
Minneconjous, origin of name..... 26
Condition in 1869..... 392
In battle of Killdeer Mountain. 331
Mischief Maker, head chief of Oglalas. 351
Mississippi River discovered.....33, 35
Missouri River trade.....80, 81

Page

Missionaries—
Allouez, Claude 32
Brunson, Alfred 177
Coe, Allan 161, 173
Craft, Father 497
Delap, Hiram 177
Denton, Samuel 177
DeSmet, Father 221, 387
Gavin, Daniel 177
Guignas, Father 55
Hoecken, Christian 207
Johnson, John 177
Jogues, Isaac 21
Marksman, Peter 177
Marquette, Pierre 33, 35
Menard, Rene 31
Rambault, Charles 21
Riggs, S. R., 173, 174, 195, 196, ...197, 213, 257
Riggs, Alfred L..... 176
Riggs, Thomas L.....14, 147, 197
Ravoux, Augustine 198
Whipple, Henry 253, 439
Missionary movement begins..... 31
Protestants visit Fort Snelling. 161
Move to new reservations.... 231
Saved by Sioux converts..... 279
Mitchell, Col. D. D., superintendent 203, 220
Mongolians resemble Sioux..... 18
Montana trail undertaken 351
Murderers surrendered 55

Naduwessi, Chippewa name for Sioux. 20
Neutral strip treaty of 1825..... 162
New Ulm battle..... 281
Nicolet, Jean, French explorer, mentions Sioux 20, 30
Nicollet, Dr. Joseph N., maps Dakota country 184
With Fremont on Missouri.... 192
Nobles, Col. W. H., builds road to Missouri River 245
Noble, Mrs., captured by Inkpaduta.. 234
Killed by Roaring Cloud..... 240
Noka, old, Chippewa chief..... 62
Northern Pacific trespasses on Tetons 401
O'Fallon, Benjamin, Indian agent.... 146

Oglalas, Sioux tribe..... 26
At Fort L'Hullier..... 46
Sign trade treaty..... 152
Condition of in 1869..... 392
Okandandas, Sioux band..... 71
Omahas, relatives of the Sioux..... 22
One Stab, captured by Custer..... 410
Oohenopas (Two Kettles), origin of name 26

Page
Oration of Big Elk over Black Buffalo 96
Origin of Dakotas 15
Orthography of Sioux names.....71, 150
Otherday, John, likeness of..... 276
Brings in Abbie Gardner Sharp 239
Helps take Roaring Cloud.... 241
Saves white agency people.... 278
Outbreak, war of the, causes leading to 256
Massacre at Acton, beginning of 269
Massacre at Redwood agency.. 272
Ambush of Capt. Marsh..... 274
At the upper agency..... 278
Battles of Fort Ridgely..... 280
Battle of New Ulm..... 281
Missionaries saved 283
Battle of Birch Coule..... 285
Friendlies protect captives.... 290
Battle of Wood Lake..... 295
Captives released 296
Hostiles tried and executed.... 301
Shetak captivees rescued..... 305
Battle of Big Mound..... 319
Battle of White Stone Hill.... 328
Battle of Killdeer Mountain... 332
Edmunds makes peace..... 338

Paiute Indians sun worshipers..... 459
Partridge River, battle at..... 64
Payjuhutaze, Williamson's station.... 231
Paupin, Isadore, killed by Sissetons.. 138
Pawnee house visited by Lewis and Clark 70
Peace commission appointed..... 382
Perrot, Nicholas, sent to Sioux..... 40
Picotte, Charles, counsel for Yanktons 246
Likeness of 247
Pilcher, Joshua, agent in Ree war.. 141
Superintendent of Indian affairs 203
Pike, Gen. Zebulon M., on Mississippi. 76
Pike's friend, Tamaha..... 90
Pike's Island 182
Pipestone quarry visited by Nicollet.. 184
Pine lumber demanded 181
Pine Ridge agency established..... 445
Platt, John, killed at Stony Lake.... 323
Poage, Miss Sarah, missionary teacher 173
Marries Gideon Pond..... 177
Politicians incite Sioux to outbreak.. 263
Police regulations of Tetons..... 73
Policemen killed at Sitting Bull's camp 481
Brave and faithful 477
Polygamy dying out..... 507

Page
Pond, Rev. S. W., settles at Snelling 173
Discusses Sioux warfare 112, 179, 180
Pond, Rev. Gideon H., settles near Snelling 173
At Benson massacre 178
Pope, T. W., Methodist missionary.... 177
Pope, Gen. John, plans compaign.... 316
Portage des Sioux, treaty of..... 95
Portraits in this volume—
Waneta .....Frontispiece.
Little Crow II..... 110
Wapasha II..... 121
Tamaha 125
George Catlin 169
Rev. S. R. Riggs..... 175
Charles Crawford 217
Little Paul Mazakutemane..... 217
Sleepyeye 234
Charles Picotte 247
Two Lance 247
Little Crow, Jr..... 270
John Otherday 277
Red Cloud 385
Spotted Tail 448
Sitting Bull 451
Struck by the Ree..... 456
Short Bull 463
Gall 505
Posts built by LeSueur..... 41
Pottawottamies fly from Sioux..... 30
Powell, Capt. James W., in battle Wagon Boxes 373
Prairie du Chien treaty of 1825..... 143
Preface 13
Primeau, Charles, trader near Pierre. 313
Primeau, Louis, guide in Messiah war 477
Prophet craze 84
Pryor, Lieut. Nathaniel, in Ree fight 80, 96

Quinn, Mrs. Patrick, Chippewa woman 178

Revoux, Father, missionary, visits Dakota 198
Radisson first sees Sioux 21, 31
Rain in the Face kills Honzinger and Baliran 404
Rambault, Father Charles, missionary 21
Ramsey, Gov. Alexander, comes to Minnesota 209
Ex officio superintendent 204
Bad conduct about treaty money 257
Investigated by president..... 260
Responsibility for outbreak.... 261
Acts promptly to protect settlers 283

Page

Red Cloud, chief of the Oglalas, likeness of 385
Becomes chief 351
Warns whites to keep off..... 353
Besieges Sawyer on Montana trail 352
Refuses to sign treaty of 1866.. 354
Makes war on Carrington to protect buffalo 355
Creates reign of terror..... 358
Recruited by Cheyennes and Arapahoes 360
Commands at Fetterman massacre 371
Concentrates force at Fort Phil Kearney 373
Defeated in battle of Wagon Boxes 375
Undaunted by defeat, keeps up war 381
Sent for by peace commission 382
Sends Man Afraid to Laramie. 383
Wins great victory 387
Sends aid to Cheyennes..... 395
Returns to Powder River..... 394
First trip to Washington..... 395
Speeches at Washington..... 396
Settles at agency near Laramie 399
Price asked for Black Hills.... 419
Meets Black Hills commission, 1876 440
Moves to Missouri River 444
Defies McGillicuddy 449
Opposes civilization 453
Opposes treaty of 1889..... 467
Subscribes to Messiah doctrine 462
Captive in Short Bull's camp.. 503
In old age..... 506

Red Cloud's war.....351, 387
Red Iron compelled to sign receipt.. 259
Redfield, Maj., first Yankton agent.. 251
Red Fish, Sisseton scout for Dickson. 88
Red Fish, Teton, appeals to Father DeSmet 88
Red Legs at Birch Coule..... 285
Red Thunder, cut head Yanktonais, ...78, 85, 107
Red Tomahawk's great ride..... 476
Redwing I. at battle of Elk River.. 64
Redwing II.....76, 78, 86, 94, 137, 146, 182
Redwood agency, conditions at, 1862.. 254
Ree Indians, Sioux war with..... 24
Compelled to vacate 24
Massacre traders 141
Religious services at Fort Pierre..... 197
Rencontre, Zephyr 247

Page

Reno, Capt., at Little Big Horn battle 229, 234
Renville, Gabriel, opposes Little Crow 294, 348
Renville, Joseph, interpreter and trader 85, 161, 176, 173
Death and sketch of..... 199
Renville, Rev. John B., quoted 67, 85, 88, 92, 108, 161, 182, 198, 301, ...343, 346
Renville, Joseph, Jr., guide to Nicollet and Fremont 184
Raynolds, Capt. W. F., expedition to Yellowstone 249
Destroys Crazy Horse's camp 423
Rhoerig, Prof. Frederick L. O., on language 17
Riggs, Rev. Stephen R., missionary. 173
Likeness 174
Threatened by Kaniknapi 196
Visits Fort Pierre 195
Estimate of number of Sioux.. 197
Interprets treaty of Traverse des Sioux 213
Witnesses "Traders' Paper"... 257
House at Lac qui Parle burns.. 231
Riggs, Mrs. S. R., teaches Indian women to wash 175
Riggs, Alfred L., birth mentioned.. 176
Riggs, Rev. Thomas L., acknowledgements to 14
Quoted 147, 157
Buries hostiles at Sitting Bull's camp 482
Roaring Cloud kills Mrs. Noble..... 240
Is killed by Flandrau..... 241
Robertson, trader, meets Forsyth.... 137
Robertson, Thomas A., acknowledgements to 14
With hostiles at Birch Coule.. 286
Messenger to Sibley..... 289
Robinson, Amos, quoted 223
Robinson, Dr. DeLorme W., acknowledgements to 14
Quoted 37, 340
Rolette, Joseph, trader.....79, 89
Roque, trader and interpreter..... 129
Rose, Edward, interpreter..... 146
Rosebud, battle of..... 425
Rosebud agency established..... 445
Round Wind, Wahpeton chief..... 178
Royer, Dr., agent at Pine Ridge..... 468

St. Ignace mission..... 35
St. Pierre, a French trader..... 52
St. Peter, Minn., Riggs' mission there 176
Sacs and Foxes massacre Santees.... 164
Sacs kill Wakpekutes..... 177
Sanborn, Gen., meets Man Afraid.... 372

Page
Sandusky, O., Fort Stephenson fight.. 86
Sans Arcs, condition in 1869..... 392
Santees, name defined..... 23
First meet English.....80, 85
At Portage des Sioux..... 94
Move to reservations..... 215
Taken to Crow Creek..... 328
Removed to Nebraska..... 388
Some settle at Flandreau..... 390
Santies of the Missouri..... 204
Sawyer, Col., builds Montana road.... 352
Scapegoats sought by Santees..... 346
Scarlet Plume at Little Crow's council 291
Schools for the Sioux..... 507
Selkirk settlement 135
Selwyn, William, educated Sioux in Messiah craze 460, 462
Settlements on Sioux River..... 245
Shake Hand, Yankton chief..... 69
Shakopee, sketch of dynasty..... 127
Shakopee I. in fight at Elm River.... 63
Shappa, See Red Thunder.
Shea, Rev. John G., defends Father Hennepin 40
Sheean, Lieut., at Fort Ridgely....265, 266
Sheridan, Gen. P. H.....407, 408
Sherman, Gen. T. W., arms Col. Nobles 246
Shetak, See Lake Shetak.
Shetak catives released 310, 311
Short Bull, Messiah delegate..... 460
Likeness of 463
False Messiah 470, 472
Held as hostage by Miles.... 504
Sibley, Col. Henry Hastings, criticises Col. Snelling 159
Goes to Washington..... 182
Makes big hunting party..... 186
Called by Gov. Ramsey to command militia 283
Relieves Brown at Birch Coule. 287
Writes to Little Crow..... 289
Troops at Wood Lake..... 291
Communicates with friendlies.. 295
Releases the white captives.... 296
Scares the Sissetons..... 315
Leads campaign of 1863..... 316
Captures Wowinapa 317
In battle of Big Mound....318, 324
His work commended..... 339
Member Black Hills commission, 1876 439
Sichangues, see Brules.
Simon saves missionaries..... 278
Saves German woman..... 287
Sioux, see Dakotas.
Siouan defined 15
Sioux Falls, S. D., massacre at..... 305

Page
Sioux territory extended to Big Horn. 141
Sioux wars, Pond's record of..... 179
Sioux country defined in 1852..... 220
Map of 1890..... 330
Sisseton, name defined..... 23
Settle at Big Stone Lake..... 24
Mentioned by LeSueur..... 24
Meet Gen. Pike..... 77
Massacre traders 138
Perish in blizzard..... 160
Attack warehouse at Yellow Medicine 267
Refuse to aid hostiles..... 292
Flee to Devils Lake..... 315
In battle of Big Mound..... 322
Finally receive justice..... 325
Sitting Bull, at Big Mound, 1862..... 322
Serves with Red Cloud..... 360
Comes into prominence..... 438
Councils with Miles..... 438
Flees to Canada..... 438
Surrenders 447
Becomes agency Indian..... 449
His great pretensions..... 450
Likeness 451
Punished by Indian court..... 455
Opposes treaty of 1889..... 467
Becomes a ghost dancer..... 467
Attempt to arrest..... 477
Death of..... 478
Sleepyeye, likeness of..... 235
Signs treaty of 1825..... 146
Charged with helping Inkpaduta 236
Smutty Bear at Portage des Sioux.. 96
Sign neutral strip treaty..... 164
Stops Col. Noble's road builders 245
Drives on Medary settlers.... 248
Opposes Yankton treaty of 1858 248
Snelling, Col. Josiah, relieves Leavenworth 138
Gives Dakotas to Chippewa.... 155
Snelling, W. J., writes of execution of Sioux 157
Soldiers in Dakota, 1862..... 301
Soldiers' lodge, organization and powers 187
Among Wahpetons 243
At Lower agency 264
To protect white captives..... 288
Solomon Twostars aids white captives 287
Defeats Little Crow's scheme.. 294
Fights at Webster..... 336
Quoted....85, 161, 269, 292, 293, ...301, 326, 335, 336, 343

Page
Speech of Little Crow..... 99
Of Wapasha 98
Of Little Paul.....243, 290
Of Red Cloud..... 396
Spencer, George, white captive, saved by His Thunder..... 274
Spirit Walker, clothes Mrs. Marble.. 239
Flies from Sibley's army..... 296
Split Lips' cowardice..... 158
Spotted Tail, likeness of..... 448
Mischievous in 1865..... 351
Makes peace and visits Laramie 353
Signs treaty of 1866..... 354
Settles at Whetstone agency.... 394
Visits Washington 396
Inspects Black Hills..... 417
Fixes price for Black Hills.... 419
Objects to moving about..... 440
Visits Indian Territory..... 442
Induces Crazy Horse to surrender 443
Becomes insubordinate 446
Is killed by Crow Dog..... 449
Squaws, beasts of burden..... 29
Struck by Pawnee, Yankton chief.... 70
Struck by the Ree, birth and decoration 70
Likeness of 456
Supports Yankton treaty..... 248
Always friendly to whites..... 314
Death and sketch of..... 457
Stripped Arrow, kills George Loth.... 279
Stony Lake battle..... 323
Stockades in South Dakota..... 314
Standing Buffalo, Sisseton chief..291, 347
Stanley, Gen. D. S., reports on Tetons 392
On Yellowstone expedition.... 404
Stevens, Rev. Jedediah, missionary 161, 173
Sully, Gen. Alfred, in campaign 1863 .....316, 326
In campaign 1864..... 330
Superintendent Indian affairs..... 203
Survey of Sioux boundary..... 145
Sweat lodge, Father Hennepin's..... 37
In ghost dance.....364, 365
Sweet, Chippewa chief..... 62
Swift Bear, messenger to Red Cloud 382
Swiss missionaries 177
Summers, Capt., campaign against Santees 199
Taliaferro, Maj. Lawrence, agent to the Santees.....143, 154, 162, 178, 203
Tamaha, loyal to Americans in 1812 .....90, 91, 124, 136
Likeness of 124
Tecumseh war 84
Teeoskahtay, visits Montreal.....22, 46
Ten Eyck, Capt., goes to Fetterman's relief 367
Terry, Gen., in Little Big Horn campaign 415, 426
Tetons, emigration of.....19, 22, 23, 31
Mentioned 51, 71, 80, 82
Side with Americans, 1812..84, 94
Conquer the Crows..... 140
Sign treaty of 1825..... 147
Make trouble on California trail 218
Warren finds them herding buffalo 228
Neutral in outbreak.....279, 306
Analyzed by Stanley, 1869..... 392
Occupy buffalo range on Powder River 352
Hostile attitude 350, 400
Prepare for war of 1875..421, 422
Turned over to war department 423
Assemble for war..... 424
Refuse to go to Indian Territory 442
Tippecanoe, battle of..... 84
Todd, Capt. J. B. S., treats with Yanktons 246
Tooponca Zeze kills Chippewas..... 154
Thacher, Mrs., captured by Inkpaduta 234
Killed by savages 237
Thomas, Maj. M. T., in campaign of 1864 330
Thompson, Maj. Clark W., superintendent 261
Thunderbird dance described 212
Thunderface, Wahpeton chief 195
Thunderhawk, loyal policeman..... 446
Thwaites, Reuben Gold, condemns Hennepin 40
Treaty of Portage des Sioux..... 95
Between Sioux and Chippewas.. 137
Of 1825 142
Power to make, how delegated 147
Of 1837 selling Wisconsin land. 181
Of Traverse des Sioux..... 213
Of Fort Pierre..... 226
Of Fort Sully..... 338
With Sissetons, 1867..... 389
Of Laramie 383
Of Black Hills opening..... 440
Of 1889 467
Treaty council at Fort Laramie, 1852.. 220
Treaty commissioners at Laramie 354
Traders, their character..... 49
Trade as a means of discipline 43, 51, 306
Factories for trade..... 83
Withdrawn from hostile tribe.. 56
At Lake Pepin 52

Page
Traders oppose boundary treaty..... 218
Traders' paper, signed at Traverse des Sioux 259
Traditions of the Sioux.....15, 16
Tradition of St. Anthony's Falls.... 133
Trespassers on Sioux lands..400, 407, ...415, 421
Trask, Sergt., killed at Choteau Creek 329
Traveling Hail made chief..... 264
Traverse des Sioux, council at..... 212
Trudeau's post, see Pawnee house.
Two Kettles 26
Condition of in 1869..... 392
Two Lance, likeness of..... 247
Tutelos of Siouan stock..... 18
Tyler, Hugh, attorney for traders.... 259

Uncpapas, origin of name..... 26
Make treaty of 1825..... 153
In battle of Killdeer Mountain. 331
Condition in 1869..... 392
Upper agency, condition of in 1862.... 254
Ural-Altaic tribes and Dakotas resemblance 18

Verandrye attacked by Dakotas..... 52
Vermillion visited by Father Ravoux. 198
VanOsdel, Hon. A. L., in battle of Big Mound 319
Village life broken up on reservations 454

Wars, tribal of the Sioux, 41, 47, 51, ...52, 59, 74, 82, 112
Of the outbreak..... 269
Red Cloud's 356
Custer war of 1876..... 422
Messiah craze 459
Wagner, A. H., government farmer.. 273
Wakpekutes mentioned by LeSueur.. 46
Name defined 23
Mentioned 94, 161, 177
Wahpetons, name defined 23
Mentioned by LeSueur 46
Mentioned 178
Wamdesapa, seceding Wakpekute 204, 215
Wamundiyakapi recognized by Ramsey 209
Wanatan, Sisseton chief in Little Crow's council 291
Waneta, sketch of..... 101
Personal appearance and dress. 104
Enlists at 17..... 86
Mentioned 87, 106, 139, 151, 147
Wapasha, sketch of dynasty..... 119
Wapasha I. visits Quebec..... 57
Fights at Elk River..... 64
Wapasha II. sees Pike at Prairie du Chien 78

Page
In war of 1812.....88, 98
Likeness of 121
Mentioned..86, 90, 94, 136, 146, ...160, 165, 180, 202
Wapasha III., opposed to outbreak.... 271
Warren, W. W., historian, quoted..59, 67
Warren, Gen. G. K., visits Black Hills 227
Watson, drover, loses cattle..... 198
Wazzacoota, see Wizikute.
Weiser, Dr., killed at Big Mound.... 319
Welch, Maj. Thomas, at Wood Lake.. 291
Williamson, Dr. Thomas S., establishes mission 173
Warns settlers of danger..... 248
Testifies in Ramsey case..... 268
Warns agent of Inkpaduta uprising 265
Williamson, Rev. John P., birth of.. 176
Acknowledgements to 14
Mentioned 233, 402
Quoted 47
Wilson, Jack, Paiute Indian Messiah. 461
Winona, Minn., visited by Long..... 130
Winnebagoes removed to Long Prairie 201
Wiseman family massacred..... 329
Witherspoon, James, quoted 252
Wizikute, Hennepin's friend..... 40
Wizikute, Long's guide 131
Wood, Lieut. John R., escorts Sawyer. 352
Wovoka, See Jack Wilson..... 459
Wowinapa captured by Sibley..... 317
Whetstone agency established..... 394
Whipple, Bishop Henry, mission at Redwood 253
Member Black Hills commission 253
Whisky, great factor in trade..... 80
Whitford, James G., Methodist missionary 177
White Crane, Yankton chief..... 69
White Lodge, called into outbreak.... 301
Takes Shetak captives..... 305
Returns to Minnesota..... 328
Whitestone Hill, battle of..... 328
Whiteside captures Big Foot 490
White Thunder killed..... 453
Wright, Mrs John W., Shetak captive 305, 311

Yanktons, formerly at Mille Lacs.... 69
Emigration of 19
Settle in James valley..... 24
Title to land 244
Visited by Lewis and Clark 68, 75
Make treaties 94, 144, 147
Attack LaBarge's boat..... 205
Make treaty, 1858..... 248

Remove to reservation..... 251
Yankton Society of Dare Devils..... 70
Yankton, city gateway to Black Hills. 414
Yanktonais, name defined 24
Emigrations of 19, 23, 56, 64
Scare Lewis and Clark..... 75
Help Fool Soldiers rescue captives 308
Condition in 1869..... 392
Enlist in English war..... 85